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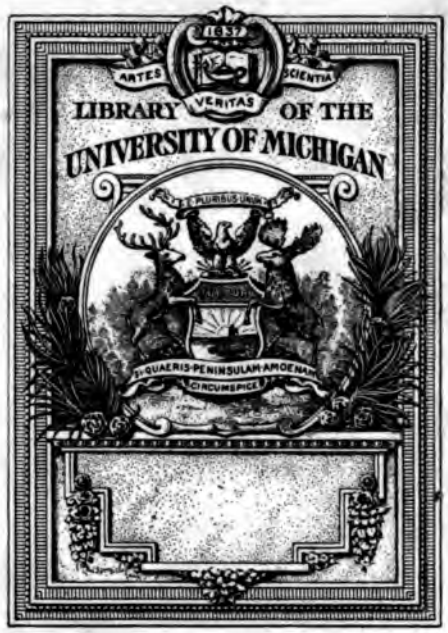
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# Meliora:

A Quarterly Review

OF

# Social Science

IN ITS

Ethical, Economical, Political, and Ameliorative Aspects.

VOL. III.

"MELIORA VIDEO PROBOQUE."

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# Meliora.

ART. I.—1. *The Sense Denied and Lost.* By THOMAS BULL, M.D. Edited by the Rev. B. G. JOHNS, Chaplain of the Blind School, St. George's Fields. London. Longman and Co., 1859.
2. *Edinburgh Review* for January 1854.
3. *Encyclopædia Britannica.* Eighth Edition. Article, *Blind.*
4. *Reports of Societies for Home Teaching of the Blind,* 1859, 1860.

TO be deprived of any of the five senses which are the gateways of all our knowledge, and the instruments by which we perform our actions, must seriously affect our comfort and our influence; but when either sight or hearing is denied or lost, the calamity is great. The eye, which, by the aid of light, mirrors the outer world upon the white curtain of its inner chamber, is a wondrous mechanism, and enables the soul to hold communion with nature and with man. Endowed with exquisite beauty, and throwing a halo around the human countenance, the organ of perception by which external things in all their variety of colour and of form are discerned, the human Eye has been with great propriety styled 'the Queen of the Senses.' But it owes this place, says a late philosopher,* 'mainly to the fact that its empire is far wider than those ruled over by its sisters. The ear is enabled to hear the music of the spheres, but in reality is limited in space to those sounds which the earth and its atmosphere yield, and in time to the passing moment. The starry abysses for it are silent, and the past and the future equally dumb. The nostril, the tongue, and the hand are similarly bounded, perhaps even more so; but the eye so triumphs over space, that it traverses in a moment the boundless ocean which stretches beyond our atmosphere, and takes home to itself stars which are millions of miles away; and so far is it from being fatigued by its flight, that, as the Wise King said, "it is not satisfied with seeing." Our only physical conception of limitless infinity is derived from the longing of the eye to see farther than the farthest star. And its empire over time is scarcely less bounded. The future it cannot pierce; but our eyes are never lifted to the midnight heavens without being visited by light which left the stars from which it comes untold centuries ago; and suns which had burned out, even before Adam was

* 'The Five Gateways of Knowledge,' by the late Dr. George Wilson, p. 25.

ted, are shown to us as the blazing orbs which they we
e immeasurably distant ages, by beams which have surv
r source through all that time.'

y the eye alone can distance be measured. Sound gives
equate ideas of extension; but the eye can trace the s
ch separates planet from planet, star from sun, and can en
mind to comprehend the vastness of creation. Irradiated
y from the rays of light, the diversified face of nature spr
attractions to the sense of sight, and kindles fine conceptio
he imagination. Naturally quick of discernment, it can a
educated in a very high degree. 'The sailor on the look-o
see a ship where the landsman sees nothing; the Esquima
distinguish a white fox amidst the white snow; the Americ
kwoodsman will fire a rifle-ball so as to strike a nut out of t
uth of a squirrel without hurting it; the Red Indian boys h
r hands up as marks to each other, certain that the unerri
w will be shot between the spread-out fingers; the astronon
see a star in the sky, where to others the blue expanse
roken; the shepherd can distinguish the face of every sheep
flock; the mosaic worker can detect distinctions of colo
re others see none; and multitudes of additional examp
ht be given of what education does for the eye.' *

The blind are, however, deprived of all these advantages of
an of vision. The visible universe has no charm for the
it is with difficulty that they can form any idea of space or

are more numerous and more prolific. Besides disease, accidents in mines and manufactories, trades directly injurious to the sight —above them all, the intense ardour with which business is conducted in these days, and the consequent wear and tear of the constitution, particularly the nervous system, are the most prominent sources of this calamity. It is thus evident that while juvenile blindness is yearly diminishing, adult blindness is on the increase. The statistics of the blind are very imperfect. In Europe, blindness is found to decrease in advancing from the equator to the poles; it being computed in Egypt at the rate of one to three hundred—blindness throughout the East being a far commoner calamity than with us. For this there are many causes. The dust and flying sand, pulverized and reduced to minute particles, enter the eyes, causing inflammation, which being neglected, frequently ends in total loss of sight; while sleeping in the open air, on the roofs of houses, and the consequent exposure of the eyes to the noxious nightly dews, is another source of this malady. A western traveller calculates that there are four thousand blind in Cairo alone. In Great Britain and Ireland there is rather more than one in about one thousand two hundred, which gives an aggregate in this country of nearly thirty thousand. Of these, less than one-fifth are under twenty years of age, the majority of the remaining four-fifths having become blind after this period: for it is a popular mistake to suppose that the adult have once been the adolescent blind; by far the greater majority have never been so.' *

It is remarkable how few are born blind in this country compared with the actual number of adults who are deprived of the sense of sight. Dr. Bull states that although he was for nearly twenty-five years physician to the London Lying-in Institution, where there were a thousand births annually, he had not a single case under his observation, and his medical friends informed him that they had never seen one. In the population of this empire there are not more than two thousand five hundred who may be ranked under the list of 'born blind.' Many of these cases arise from infant diseases immediately after birth. Purulent ophthalmia attacks a child sometimes within a week after nativity; and unless this be promptly attended to and controlled, which can be done, sight is rapidly affected and destroyed. Small-pox in this early stage of life has been often followed with the same fatal results to the eye; but this cause, though once more destructive than any other, is seldom seen now. The vast majority of those who suffer from the loss of sight have experienced this sad calamity by accident.

* Bull, p. 4. The 'Edinburgh Review' (January 1854) makes the average in Egypt one in every hundred, in Norway one in a thousand, and in Japan, according to Golownin, no fewer than 36,000 are in the city of Jeddo!

Nature and art have done much to alleviate the affliction of the blind. Other senses have been intensified so as in a great measure to become substitutes for the lost one. These being also highly cultivated reach a perfection not attained by the same faculties in those who see. Some have been remarkable for their quickness of hearing. This organ is more easily educated than any other, and naturally inclines to music. The Red Indian can detect the sounds that echo through the forests, and tell if a beast of prey or of the chase is near. The blind being accustomed to this means of acquiring knowledge and discernment in infancy, have their hearing generally very highly developed. The sounds of voices become the means of knowing friends, and of pronouncing upon the changes which had affected the health or the age of well-known acquaintances. Dr. Bull records a very curious illustration of this in his practice of medicine, even after blindness had set in. 'A few days since,' he says, 'a lady swallowed a small piece of chicken bone, which, sticking in the gullet, caused much pain and some alarm. A portion of bread was masticated, swallowed, and carried with it the foreign body, as was strikingly evidenced to me by the altered tones of the voice. Shortly the sufferer, from a return of pain and uneasiness, feared the bone was still there. My convictions remained unaltered, accounting for the latter fact on the well-known principle, that in all such cases the painful sensation continues long after the foreign body has been dislodged. Time proved the correctness of this opinion.' He also mentions that by the change in the voice of a friend whom he had not met for three or four years, he remarked, 'Has he not become very thin?' which was actually the case. Of course his was a physician's ear attuned to the nicest distinctions in sounds by a long practice; but the blind generally found upon the tones of the voice their impressions of change in their friends, no less than in the recognition of them. By watching the different voices in any company, Dr. Moyes knew the dimensions of the apartment, and how to address himself to those present. By this faculty, we doubt not, the blind have so greatly excelled as musicians.

Touch is the sense by which the blind ascertain the form, size, and density of bodies, and it has been cultivated for the purpose of teaching them to read, and to labour for their bread. By this the mechanical art of composing for the press, and performing all the necessary work in printing, has been acquired by them, and carried out with an accuracy equal to that of those who had sight. Weaving, spinning, sewing, and even embroidering, have also been acquired. Into some institutions the art of turning has been introduced with success, and watchmaking in others. William Huntley, of Barnstaple, was the son of a watchmaker, and was blind from his birth. His father, observing his aptness for mechanical

chanical pursuits, instructed him in his own trade, and he became so expert therein as to succeed his father in the business, and to carry it on with advantage to himself and the town in which he resided. But these higher and more difficult mechanical arts cannot profitably be made to occupy the blind in institutes established for their benefit, for persons in the trade would scarcely employ them. Instances have also been known of still greater advancement in tactile power. The family tailor of Macdonald of Clanronald was blind, yet the tartan dresses were well shaped and sewed. 'On one occasion he received orders to make his master's brother, who had lately returned from India, a suit of tartan within a given time, and proceeded to work without delay. It so happened that this gentleman passed at a late hour through the room where the blind tailor was at work, and hearing some low singing, he asked "Who's there?" to which the poor fellow replied, "It is I, working at your honour's hose." "How can you work without a candle?" said he, forgetting that Maguire was blind. "Oh, please your honour," rejoined the tailor, "midnight darkness is the same as noonday to me."'

The olfactory nerves have often been highly developed. Man has not generally been so proficient in their use as his dogs, though to training the latter owe much of their quickness. The Peruvian Indians have been noted for their ability to tell by the sense of smell, in the dark, the different races surrounding them. But the blind have outstripped all in their education of this sense. To them smell is not merely an apparatus for detecting the presence of the various odours that regale, or that disgust. The scent of the air perfumed with honeysuckle and sweetbriar will serve them to guide their way, and the smell of a person becomes the means of recognition. The sense of taste has been with this class the means of increasing their knowledge; but this and the last-mentioned sense gather their knowledge very slowly, and hence have been less distinguished than some of the others. It may be remarked that the loss of sight has its advantages not less than its disadvantages in the education of the mind. The blind are able to give more undivided attention to any subject of thought, and to pursue without distraction problems of abstract science.

Art has contributed largely to enable the blind to surmount the loss of sight. Modes of education adapted to their condition have been devised by the ingenious and philanthropic, and institutions have been established to afford them an asylum during the period of their instruction. One of the earliest systems was a modification of the Sclavonian alphabet, whose letters were of a square form. Another was by movable letters—a plan which enabled Ussher, the Archbishop of Armagh, to educate his two aunts, who were born blind. In the sixteenth century, letters were engr[illegible]

for their use, but this required too delicate touch for general adoption. Pierre Moreau, in 1640, used movable characters cast in lead, but did not meet with encouragement. 'A simpler and more ingenious method than any of these consisted in forming letters by means of pins stuck into large pincushions, leaving out only the heads, which of course were easily felt, and rendered the shape of the letters quite distinct as well as palpable, while the arrangement could be altered at pleasure, and with extreme facility. By this natural and easy plan the celebrated Mademoiselle Paradis learned to read.'* In 1783, the mode which has prevailed over every other was invented in France by Valentine Haüy, and consisted of letters raised or embossed on paper. It was taught in the succeeding year. Great discussions have taken place on the merits of the various embossed systems proposed for the purpose of teaching the blind to read. These controversies have greatly hindered the work of philanthropy, by dividing the benevolent into parties, and wasting means in separate systems of printing. The schemes are of two general classes, and have been styled the *Alphabetical* and the *Arbitrary*. The one retains the letters of the Roman alphabet, while the other uses characters which represent letters, words, and sounds. These two are subdivided into several branches. Of the alphabetical, the best system was invented by Mr. Alston, of Glasgow, a gentleman who interested himself greatly in the condition of the blind, and whose self-denying labours have made his memory fragrant in the commercial capital of Scotland. It meets the wants of the case most fully, and works can be printed on less space and at less cost than by any other. The conditions necessary in a system of instruction for the blind are thus stated: '1. It must resemble as nearly as possible the type in ordinary use among those who had eyesight; (*a*) that the blind scholar learning to read may have every possible help from words which he may have formerly seen, but which now his fingers must decipher; (*b*) that he may derive help in learning from any one who can read an ordinary book, or, if needful, that his friend may be able to read to him. 2. It must present the words correctly spelled in full, that when he learns to write, he may do so in a correct manner which others can read. 3. The raised characters must be clear, sharp, and well defined, which the finger hardened by long work, and the keen, soft touch of a little child may be alike able to discern.'† Alston's system satisfies these conditions. Besides this, there are others possessing many advantages, such as the American—on the plan of Alston—the French, and Alston's modified.

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* See 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' Art. Blind.

† Johnson's 'Tangible Typography.'

The

The arbitrary systems are various. Lucas's consists of stenographic characters larger than the whole words in the alphabetic. Frere's is more phonetic, and contains twenty-nine symbols. Moon's invention is ingenious. Each letter of the alphabet 'is formed of two lines only, most of the letters bearing a partial resemblance to those in ordinary use. Nine forms placed in different positions represent the whole alphabet and numerals; one form serving for A, V, K, L, and X, and another for E, L, M, and Y, while there are four contracted forms, *ment*, *ing*, *tion*, and *ness*.' The advocates of this system have been loud in its praise, and Dr. Bull asserts that it is best suited to the blind. He at least failed with Frere's and Lucas's, and even in the Roman letter; but he mastered Moon's system in one lesson. Hence he became zealous for the common use of Mr. Moon's plan. He also mentions, among many others, a case of a gentleman who had failed during the occasional efforts of nineteen years to acquire other systems, learning Moon's in two or three days. The majority of the blind who have learnt to read have hitherto done so by the alphabetical system; but it may be improved so as to combine some advantages of the others. A very great objection against the arbitrary and stenographic systems is, the necessity to teach writing by the Roman character. The Rev. B. G. Johns, Chaplain of the Blind School, Southwark, states that 'the Roman letter is as easily learned as Moon's system,' and that 'the adoption of any arbitrary system will do much to cut them [the blind] off still more from communion with their fellow-men, and render their isolation more complete.' The following table will show how the different systems can be carried out in the printing of the New Testament.

| Systems. | Number of Volumes. | Number of Pages. | Square Inches in each Page. | Price. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | £. s. d. |
| American . . | 2 | 430 | 117 | 0 16 0 |
| Alston's . . . | 4 | 623 | 90 | 2 0 0 |
| Lucas's . . . | 9 | 841 | 70 | 2 0 0 |
| Frere's . . . | 8 | 733 | 110 | 2 10 0 |
| Moon's . . . | 9 | .. | 110 | 4 10 0 |

The Rev. W. Taylor, of York, says: 'No alphabet seems to possess so many advantages as the Roman alphabet.' Mr. Hughes, the Governor of the Blind School at Manchester, says: 'I would discourage all systems of embossing which could not be read or taught by seeing persons.'

Moon's system has, however, been gaining ground rapidly within the last few years. The societies which have been established for teaching the blind at their own homes—one of the most beneficent modes of conferring the inestimable advantage

of reading upon this class of persons—have generally adopted Moon's system. Their testimony is, that their pupils, many of whom are adults, have acquired this system with considerable ease. The following extracts from the Report of the Society for 1859 show their successes.

'An old soldier, who lost his sight forty years go aat Gibraltar, and is now seventy years of age, learnt to read in two lessons.'

'The oldest pupil who has learnt to read this year is a widow, *seventy-seven years* of age, who accomplished this task in about a month. Another very aged pupil is an old sailor, *seventy-five years* of age, twenty-five of which have been spent in darkness. He had formerly tried another system, and could not feel the letters at all; but he learnt in two or three lessons by Moon's easy system, and can now read the word of God for himself.'

The Edinburgh Society bears a similar testimony:—

'The result of these efforts has been in the *highest degree satisfactory*. If there was a doubt in the minds of some persons as to the superiority of Moon's system for adults *over all others*, it has now been dispelled. Not only have many of the inmates of the Edinburgh Blind Asylum learnt to prefer Moon's type to every other, but forty blind persons in the city have also acquired the power of reading by it. While much success has followed the introduction of Moon's system into the Edinburgh Asylum, that of Aberdeen has also welcomed it cordially.'

The Liverpool Society report that 'Moon's system has been selected, because experience has proved it to be the most simple and most easily learned. For those who could read before losing their sight, the work is accomplished in two or three, or even sometimes in one lesson, little more being requisite in these cases than learning the alphabet.'

The Cheltenham Society has been labouring with very great zeal and considerable success. Ten ladies and one gentleman act as teachers, and there are twenty-five blind persons under tuition, whose ages vary from seven to seventy-eight. These are taught to read the Scriptures, to write and cipher, and such mechanical arts as may enable them to earn their own livelihood. They are paid for their work at once, and the articles are afterwards exposed for sale. The following is an extract from the Report for 1860:—

'The principal objects that recommend this society to notice and support are, the thrift and economy strictly observed; it employs no paid officers; it makes no charge for rent; its expenses are trifling; its chief, almost its only expense, is for materials and printing. Its friends are its instructors as well as its supporters: their work is done voluntarily and cheerfully, and their highest reward, which is their only one, is the hope of doing good. What the society now requires is friends—friends to contribute, friends to teach. With a few friends and small funds it has done some good; with new friends, and larger funds, it hopes to do more. Yet, without anything to boast of, much has been done to be thankful

thankful for. Not a few have been rescued in part from destitution and dependence, have been reclaimed from idleness and waste of time, have been raised in the scale of usefulness, and been made to feel they are no longer a burden to society, mere cumberers of the ground. Some are able in part to gain a livelihood, more have been taught to read the Word of God; and some, it is humbly hoped, by God's grace and blessing, are enabled from the heart to say for themselves, "Whereas I was blind, now I see."'

The same plan has been extending over all the towns of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and efforts are being made to convey its blessings to the blind throughout the world. These are most important testimonies to the advantages of Mr. Moon's system for adults, and to the success of the societies for teaching the blind at home. We are also told that, out of seventy-one who accomplished learning to read in the first year, twenty of them, including two above seventy years of age, could read at their second or third lesson.'

We hail with pleasure this Home Teaching Society. Its efforts can be performed with great economy, and they confer a lasting blessing on the objects of their solicitude. It is deeply to be regretted that books on Mr. Moon's system cost so much. It prevents the poor blind from getting a library, when the New Testament costs four pounds ten shillings. We trust that this may soon be obviated, and that a literature for the blind may be provided sufficient to guide their minds, not only to the knowledge that is saving, but to other acquirements of learning. There is a 'Society for Printing and Distributing Books for the use of the Blind,' whose labours may do much in this way, especially when the duty is taken off paper.

The blind are taught to write by an apparatus of great simplicity. A ciphering frame has also been devised for them. Geography is taught by means of globes and boards made expressly for them; astronomy, by an orrery and celestial maps, and mathematics by analogous arrangements. Music is acquired with considerable ease, and so are many of the mechanical arts. In almost all institutes for the blind these arts are cultivated to a very great extent—basket-work and matting, making flower-screens, shoes, coloured rugs (the colours being laid in a certain order to the hand), and knitted fancy-work; weaving and spinning. In the Exhibition of 1851 a large stand was filled entirely with their work. In most of the large towns throughout this country, institutions exist and are supported by the charitable, solely for the blind; but the number educated is small compared with the cost.

It now remains that we notice a few of those who, notwithstanding their lost sense, and in most cases ignorant of the alphabet for the blind, have risen to eminence. The number is greater than we can describe within the limited space at our disposal. But it includes poets, historians, musicians, men of science, preacher-

preachers and theologians, linguists and artists, warriors and monarchs. They form a series of chapters in 'the Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties' most stimulating to all, and especially encouraging to those who are similarly afflicted.

'Poetry,' says Prescott, 'from the time of Thamyris and the blind Mæonides down to the Welsh harper and the ballad-grinder of our day, has been assigned as the peculiar province of those bereft of vision:

> 'As the wakeful bird
> Sings darkling, and in shadiest covert hid,
> Tunes her nocturnal note.'

The greatest epic poem of antiquity was probably, as that of the modern was certainly, composed in darkness.'* Milton lost his sight in 1652, in the midst of his literary activity. He was then only forty-four, but his affliction was enhanced by the bereavement of his wife, who left him with three infant daughters, all under seven years of age. The following sonnet, well known, doubtless, to most of our readers, was written with reference to his calamity:—

> 'When I consider how my light is spent
> Ere half my days, in this dark world and wide,
> And that one talent which is death to hide,
> Lodged with me useless, though my soul more bent
> To serve therewith my Maker, and present
> My true account, lest He, returning, chide;
> "Doth God exact day-labour, light denied?"
> I fondly ask: but Patience, to prevent
> That murmur, soon replies, "God doth not need
> Either man's work, or his own gifts;" who best
> Bear His mild yoke, they serve Him best: his state
> Is kingly; thousands at his bidding speed,
> And post o'er land and ocean without rest:
> They also serve who only stand and wait.'

After darkness had settled down upon him, Milton continued his literary industry, and twice entered into matrimony. His daughters were his amanuenses, and they read without understanding the learned tongues to their blind father. Throughout seven years he had been labouring at 'Paradise Lost,' and in 1667 he received his five pounds for the first edition of the greatest poem of modern times. 'Samson Agonistes,' 'Comus,' and 'Paradise Regained' were all written after blindness had come on him. Milton had, however, long been familiar with nature, and could recall the memories of sight with which to garnish his poetry. But there have been poets who were entirely cut off from this advantage.

THOMAS BLACKLOCK, born at Annan, in Dumfries-shire, in 1721, lost his sight by small-pox when he was six months old. His

* Prescott's 'Essays,' p. 54.

father

father read to him the works of Milton, Spenser, Prior, Pope, and Addison; and the boy evinced an early disposition to poetry. Some of his pieces were shown to an eminent physician, who interested himself in the blind youth, and procured for him the advantage of a classical education at the University of Edinburgh. While there, he published his poems, in 1746. He continued to prosecute his studies until 1759, when he was licensed to preach the Gospel. He also obtained a presentation to a parish; but the parishioners objecting on account of his blindness, he resigned on a small annuity, and devoted himself to the tuition of youth. In 1767, he received the degree of doctor of divinity from the University of Marischal College, Aberdeen.

In the latter part of last century another blind poet flourished, M. PHEFEL, of Colmar, whose works fill six octavo volumes. Some of them have been translated into French. He kept a military school at Colmar, and had the honour of instructing the sons of some of the best families in the country. Prince Schwartzenberg was among his pupils. Recent years have also added some blind bards to the list of the illustrious, among whom we may mention MISS FRANCES BROWN, whose poems possess considerable melody.

Science has had some illustrious disciples among the blind. Among the ancients, certain philosophers are said by Dionysius Laertius and Thrasylus to have deprived themselves of sight in order to pursue their studies with less distraction; but Cicero, who relates this story, does not seem to credit it. 'Malebranche, when he wished to think intensely, used to close his shutters in the daytime, excluding every ray of light;'* and Bourdaloue is said to have preached with his eyes shut. Cicero's own master, Diodatus, taught geometry after he lost his sight, and Euler, the mathematician, pursued his favourite study, and published works upon it, after a similar affliction befel him. But one of the most remarkable men of science, and one who surmounted the privations of his blindness to the greatest extent, was NICOLAS SAUNDERSON. He was born in 1682, and by small-pox was deprived in infancy both of his sight and of the organs of seeing. He was early initiated into the dead languages, which enabled him afterwards to peruse the works of Euclid, Archimedes, and Diophantes in the original Greek. Mathematics was his favourite pursuit, and in this branch he became a master. Some friends aided to send him to Cambridge, where he lectured on optics. Many went to hear a man lecture on light, which he had never seen, and were highly gratified. Sir Isaac Newton sought his acquaintance, and procured for him the Lucasian professorship of mathematics.

* Prescott, p. 52.

Aided by a most powerful and retentive memory, he was able to perform the most difficult calculations in arithmetic, and to work out the most complex geometrical problems. One of the first who thoroughly understood and appreciated Newton's 'Principia,' his commentary on that great work was thought worthy of being printed twenty years after his death. He also composed other valuable mathematical works. 'One fact worthy of remark is, that he found great difficulty in understanding a demonstration of Dr. Halley's, which appeared not very difficult to other geometricians; but when he had got a notion of what was wanted, he worked out the same problem in his own way, so as to make it clear to others as well as to himself. Dr. Halley's statement, in fact, involved a *visual* idea, of which probably no one concerned, except the blind man, was aware.' * His notions of God were exceedingly vague, however, and he scarcely appreciated the evidence of design. When told of the faith of Newton, Leibnitz, and Clarke, whom he almost worshipped, he remarked on his dying bed, 'The testimony of Newton is not so strong for me as that of Nature was for him. Newton believed on the word of God himself, while I am reduced to believe on that of Newton. . . God of Newton, have mercy on me!'

There are other names of the blind well known in the annals of science. HUBER of Geneva was a naturalist of the highest order, and made more discoveries respecting bees and ants than any former observer. He used the eyes of others—especially a faithful servant—for his observations, but he was indebted to his own abilities for his philosophy. 'Thus he clearly proved that there are two distinct sets of bees in every hive—honey-gatherers and the wax-makers and nurses; that the larvæ of working bees can, by course of diet, be changed to queens: thus also he accurately described the sanguinary conflicts of rival queens, the recognition of old companions or of royalty by the use of the antennæ; thus he explained the busy hum and the unceasing vibration of wing ever going on in the hive as being necessary for due ventilation.' †

JOHN GOUGH, of Kendal, was also a famous mathematician, and an accurate botanist and zoologist. He lost his sight in his third year, yet was able to distinguish plants by the touch of his fingers. As a zoologist, Coleridge tells us that he could correct the mistakes of keen sportsmen as to birds and vermin. He was an accomplished teacher of mathematics, and had among his pupils the celebrated Dr. Dalton, of Manchester, and Dr. Whewell, now Master of Trinity, Cambridge. Dr. MOYES, of Kirkaldy, was an itinerant lecturer on chemistry and optics, though blind; and Dr. Carpenter mentions ‡ 'the case of a blind friend of his own,

* Bull, p. 92.

† 'Edinburgh Review,' January 1854.

‡ 'Principles of Human Physiology.'

who

who has acquired a very complete knowledge of conchology, both recent and fossil, and who is not only able to recognize every one of the numerous specimens in his own cabinet, but to mention the nearest alliances of a shell previously unknown to him, when he has thoroughly examined it by the touch.'

Blind MUSICIANS are well known. Among the Egyptian tablets disentombed by Sir Gardner Wilkinson, blind men are represented as professional musicians. 'The last and most famous of Irish bards' was Carolan, who lost his sight in infancy. He lived in the seventeenth century, and made very high attainments in music. He was able to appreciate the excellencies and even to detect the imperfections of fine Italian pieces. A curious story is told of his sense of touch. 'When he grew to manhood there was a time when his harp would sound only of love, under the impulse of a passion he had conceived for Bridget Cruise. The lady did not unite her love with his; and after a while he loved and married another, named Mary Maguire. Many years after, he went on a pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory, a cave in the island of Loughderg, Donegal, and on returning to the shore, met several pilgrims waiting the arrival of the boat that conveyed him. On assisting some of these into the boat, his hand unexpectedly met one which caused him to start, and he instantly exclaimed, "This is the hand of Bridget Cruise!" His sense of feeling had not deceived him; it was the hand of her he had once loved so passionately.' This fact is said to have been communicated to the narrator by himself. Ossian, the greatest of the Celtic bards, was also blind. Stanley, the author of the oratorios 'Jephthah' and 'Zinoi,' and organist of All Hallows, Bread Street, London, was blind. Mademoiselle Paradis, of Vienna, lost her sight when two years old, but became one of the delights of Parisian concerts. Many others might be mentioned in this department, but we can only name Picco, the blind Sardinian minstrel, whose strains have charmed many audiences of late.

The CHURCH, too, has had some theologians and preachers who were blind. Jerome tells us of Didymus of Alexandria, who lost his sight at five years of age, and who flourished in the fourth century. Besides the acquisition of languages and mathematics, he became a theologian, and published a treatise on the Holy Spirit, which was translated by Jerome into Latin, and is published among the works of that father.* He was a disciple of Origen, and one of the last public teachers of that father's errors. On account of this his works were condemned by the Council of the Lateran. Dr. Blacklock, already referred to among the poets,

* Many extracts from, and references to this work of Didymus may be found in Owen's 'Pneumatologia,' or work on the Holy Spirit. Works, vol. iii.

was a licentiate of the Church of Scotland. Dr. Waddel, an eminent and eloquent minister of the American Presbyterian Church, was blind for many years. The Rev. W. H. Milburn, for some time Chaplain to the American Congress, lost his sight almost entirely in youth, and could only see as much as one letter of the alphabet in a word at a time. Nevertheless, he read books at that slow rate. By the assistance of others he passed through a collegiate education, and became a preacher in the Methodist Episcopal Church. For a number of years he itinerated over the length and breadth of the land, and became a popular preacher. Many in this country had an opportunity, two years ago, of listening to his eloquence. We know another preacher blind from his early youth, who passed through the University of Glasgow, and obtained a prize in the Greek class. He then studied theology for several years, and, after the usual examination in classics, philosophy, ecclesiastical history, and theology, was licensed to preach the Gospel by one of the Presbyteries of his Church. We have heard him conduct divine service, during which he repeated from memory the psalms to be sung, and whole chapters of the Bible, and preached with considerable eloquence.

The blind are noted for their memory, therefore it is not surprising that they should excel as historians, philosophers, and linguists. Nicaise of Malignes, blind from three years old, became Professor of Canon and Civil Law in the University of Cologne in the fifteenth century. In the sixteenth century, Sheghius taught philosophy and medicine in the University of Tubingen, and published several treatises. Schomberg, in the sixteenth century, taught belles-lettres at Altorf, Leipsig, and Hamburg. Bourchenu de Valbonais, of Grenoble, in the same era, published the 'History of Dauphiné,' in two folio volumes. Prescott, the able and eloquent historian of Ferdinand and Isabella, and lately deceased, was for some years deprived of his sight. During the season of his darkness he still pursued his studies, and wrote and published histories. Dr. Bull, the author of two able medical works on maternal management, was for the last eight years of his life deprived of sight, yet he prepared a work on 'The Sense Denied and Lost,' in which he describes many interesting details relative to blindness. Lord Cranborne, blind from his childhood, published, a few years ago, a history of France for children. Thierry, the great French historian, is to be included in the same class.

In modelling and sculpture, too—the most difficult attainments for the blind—some have evidenced great proficiency. 'M. de Piles saw in Italy a blind man, a native of Cambassy in Tuscany, who was a very good designer. M. de Piles met him in the Justiniani Palace, where he was modelling in wax a statue of Minerva.

Minerva. By means of touch he had seized with precision the forms and proportions of the original. The Duke of Braeciano, who had seen him working, doubted whether he was completely blind, and, in order to put the matter to the test, he caused the artist to take his portrait in a dark cave. It proved a striking likeness. We are also told of Giovanni Gambasio, of Volteno, who became an excellent statuary, and was employed by the highest personages in Italy. He executed a statue of Pope Urban VIII. for the Grand-Duke of Tuscany. John, one of the kings of Bohemia, and the present King of Hanover, rank among blind monarchs; and Zisca, the Bohemian general, performed great acts of valour after the loss of his sight.

Many most entertaining stories might be told of the facility with which the blind can travel from place to place, but these are familiar to all our readers by means of living illustrations in their immediate localities. What we have stated of the number of blind persons in the world, the means of instruction now being employed, the institutions erected on their behalf, the abilities which so many of them have displayed, may enlist the sympathy and draw forth the aid of all our readers in ameliorating the condition of this class of persons. By means of home teaching, ladies with leisure at their disposal may find an appropriate sphere of usefulness.

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ART. II.—1. *Critical and Historical Essays.* Contributed to the Edinburgh Review.

2. *The History of England from the Accession of James II.*

3. *The Lays of Ancient Rome.*

4. *Speeches by the Right Hon. Lord Macaulay.* London: Longman and Co.

JUDGING from such notices as we have read, it would seem difficult for the critics of the day to speak of this eminent man in other terms than those of extreme admiration, or of not much less extreme dislike. The way in which the whole stock quiver of superlatives has, on this occasion, been precipitately emptied, and its contents indiscriminately applied, reminds us of a passage of Lord Macaulay's own. He remarks, in reference to a certain successful speech, that it was said of it, 'that it was more ornamented than the speeches of Demosthenes, and less diffuse than those of Cicero.' 'This unmeaning phrase,' he continues, 'has been quoted a hundred times; that it should ever have been quoted except to be laughed at, is strange: the vogue which it has obtained may serve to show in how slovenly a way most people are content to think.' A truer observation has very seldom been made; and we dare

dare say the recollection of our readers has not any very difficult or distant journey to travel back for the discovery of illustrations in professional criticisms on Lord Macaulay himself. Where there are no bounds, neither is there any centre, and there reigns only a futile and impracticable vague. This we, for our part, would fain eschew. In short, a characterization that, with precision of limit, shall possess a coherent, reasoned interior of discernment and discrimination—this is our object; and, if we fail in its accomplishment, we can assure our readers that it will be against our own best efforts.

To those who look forward to the triumphs of literary or political life, the career of Macaulay is no less instructive than interesting. What elements of success were given him, and, still more, what elements of success he himself brought, deserve, on the part of all such aspirants, the very closest attention. If it be true, as regards the former of these considerations, that he seems, from the very first, to have been borne, as it were, on supporting hands, steadily onwards, from place to place, and from honour to honour, till ambition the very greediest would have called content—no less true is it that, but for the second consideration, but for the elements of success which he himself brought, these places would never have been held, and these honours could never have been accorded. Had the youth displayed no talent, had he written no prize poems, had he not shone in the Union Debating Club, all the wealth of Zachary Macaulay, his father, and all the influence of Wilberforce, his friend, would have been powerless to aid—would have been powerless to extract from Lord Brougham one single word of that long letter of advice which, received in young Macaulay's twenty-third year, must have exercised a most valuable influence on his whole character and subsequent progress. But more, in addition to talent, and in addition to study, had not the youth possessed a rare sobriety of judgment, a rare perseverance of effort, and a rare concentration of purpose, all the other elements would have still been futile. It is to the union of these elements that we must attribute both the steadily progressive advance, and the splendid ultimate result that crowned it. The irregularities, the impetuosities, the passions, even the conscientious scruples of genius, have often rendered nugatory the wisest plans of parental experience; and we doubt very much that old Zachary's scheme would have attained an equal success, had his son been such as Burns or Byron, as Shelley or Coleridge, or even as the steady and persevering but keen-tempered Carlyle.

In truth, it is very rare to see the means of parents, the influence of friends, the powers of talent, the application of study, and the pertinacity of effort so long and so unintermittedly exerted on a single object. The reader, perhaps, has a difficulty in realizing to himself

himself our meaning here. It wants, however, but one word to make the whole case plain to him. Throughout the entire course of his life, even from very early student days, Thomas Babington Macaulay did nothing but,—in its own first words,—'write the history of England from the accession of James II. down to a time which is within the memory of men now living.' He directly admits this: he speaks of his history as 'a work which is the business and the pleasure of his life.' His Essays are no less explicit. With exceptions that hardly need be noticed, the whole of them relate to that object, and several of them are actual draughts of that whole history. Consider them—Milton, Hallam's 'Constitutional History of England,' Bunyan, Hampden, 'Burleigh and his Times, 'The War of the Spanish Succession,' Horace Walpole, Sir James Mackintosh's 'History of the Revolution,' William Pitt, Bacon, Sir William Temple, Lord Clive, Warren Hastings, 'The Comic Dramatists of the Restoration,' Samuel Johnson, Frederick the Great, Madame d'Arblay, Addison, and the Earl of Chatham; —do not they relate, all of them, to the historical period in question, and have we not perhaps been too fastidious in omitting from the list Ranke's 'History of the Popes,' and even Southey's 'Colloquies,' and Gladstone 'On Church and State?' Again, to stoop closer, may not the Milton, the Hallam, the Hampden, the Burleigh, the Mackintosh, and others, be regarded as successive sketches and *réchauffées* of the whole theme? It may be said, indeed, that it was not literature that his parents and friends, at all events, most probably aimed at; but our readers will have no difficulty in perceiving that even Macaulay's political life subserved, in reality, the same plan: it supplied him with means, and it extended to him the special experience necessary for the peculiar history he contemplated.

Thus then, parents, friends, position, study, and inclination, all working together to a common end, triumph was their due, and triumph came.

But the concentration of endeavour is, on the part of Macaulay, even greater than we have yet named. A favourite position of Thomas Carlyle, in some of his earlier essays, is, that David Hume constitutes the intellectual king of these days. By this he means that the opinions, the ideas, the system of thought, the general mode and manner of intellectually looking at, and judging matters, which characterized that philosopher, had become the common thinking property, the common thinking furniture of the majority of leading men. Of course Carlyle by no means intends to intimate that all these leading men are of necessity sceptics, or infidels, or bound to each and every special opinion of David Hume, but simply that a certain general cast of mind, which, in the case of this celebrated man, had attained to great completeness

and distinctness of development, had been inherited and adopted by them. In this sense, we find ourselves constrained to say that the intellectual father of Lord Macaulay was eminently David Hume. We fancy it is always with a sense of secret satisfaction and inward complacency that Macaulay mentions the very name of Hume. He talks of him with unction as 'a great historian,' and seems to linger with fond admiration over his 'narrative which is likely to last as long as the English tongue.' The present generation is perhaps, on the whole, not quite disposed to extend so much of its favour to David Hume, and may question the position we assume. But one glance at the last generation, with its Godwins, Benthams, Molesworths, with even its Sir James Mackintoshes and Lord Jeffreys, will suffice for the perception of an anterior probability in regard to our opinion; and a consideration of the mental points of view common to such men as Mill and Buckle in our own day will probably confirm it.

What we would allege then is, that the young ambition of Macaulay—nay, that the enduring, life-long ambition of Macaulay—was to find himself side by side with David Hume, as the continuator of his history, and as an inseparably conjunct and equal classic. For this he amassed, even while at college, and year after year industriously afterwards, all those great stores of reading and information that bore directly or indirectly on his one subject. For this he tried himself in relevant periodical papers, and feared no waste; for he said to himself cheerily and proudly: 'One day, in the long evening of my life, I will throw over these, connecting them into oneness, the bulk of an entire history, and this history, over these essays, shall be as the great dome of a cathedral that closes unitingly over its many rich and splendid chapels.' But the will of man on earth can never assure itself of identity with the will of God in heaven; and Macaulay, when he had executed, with unintermitted exactitude and complete success, three-fourths of the programme he had set himself, vanished from among us, leaving in consternation before the gap of an unparalleled fragment the largest assembly of spectators that any single historian had ever seen around him.

In our view, then, the life-long aim that determined the general action of Lord Macaulay was eminently simple. A like simplicity, and of identical origin, distinguished his character, as well as all his principles, literary, political, philosophical, and religious. In fact, all that to analysis is summed up in the name David Hume, is centrally operative in these also. And yet, at first view, the two men seem directly antagonistic. Hume was a Tory, Macaulay is a Whig; Hume was a sceptical metaphysician, Macaulay has abandoned metaphysics; Hume ridiculed the church, Macaulay attends the church; Hume swore by Pope and sniffed at Shakspeare,

speare, Macaulay swears by Shakspeare and sniffs at Pope. Positions more diametrically opposite, and on the most important concerns of humanity, political, philosophical, religious, literary, it is impossible to find. Still it is our deep belief that no single phrase can more completely and comprehensively describe Thomas Babington Macaulay than this: he is David Hume in the nineteenth century, conformed to the church, and author of the continuation of 'The History of England.'

In truth, Hume was a Tory by Jacobitic predilection only: he was a Whig in principle—so far, at least, as we are to name that principle from the practice of the present day. What, in fact, is the system of thought that David Hume is held to represent? In one word, it is the philosophy of the eighteenth century. Now, to most of us, that one word is suggestive only of infidelity, free-thinking, deism, atheism, of scepticism in religion, of sensualism in philosophy, and of republicanism in politics. Still to apply any of these terms to the philosophy of the eighteenth century would be to name it badly, for, though the doctrines and opinions implied in such expressions are certainly concomitants and attendants of that philosophy, they are, in reality, only phenomenal and temporary forms. English thinkers, whichever side they have taken, have been content to remain with a very indistinct, obscure, and confused consciousness on these points; and the consequence is, that at this moment we know of no single really intelligent and fully enlightened discussion of this subject in the English language. The Germans, on the contrary, have coolly turned upon it, lifted it, looked at it, and examined it piecemeal, till now, having at length fairly filled and satisfied themselves with what of instruction, negative or positive, they could extract from it, they have long since packed it up, and laid it on the shelf labelled *Aufklärung*, a word which, meaning in its ordinary use simply enlightenment—up-lighting or lighting-up—and badly rendered *éclaircissement* by Mr. Sibree, may be here translated, with reference at once to the special up-lighting implied, and a certain notorious exposition of that up-lighting, the 'Age of Reason.' Now, into this subject it is not our cue to enter; it suffices our objects to say at once that the fundamental principle of the *Aufklärung*, of the up-lighting, of the 'age of reason,' of the philosophy of the eighteenth century is, in one of Lord Macaulay's favourite phrases, the right of private judgment. This really constituted the spiritual attitude of humanity—its principle—in the eighteenth century; and the majority of the reproaches usual in this connexion concern not that attitude, not that principle, but a variety of secondary or temporary phenomena, necessarily or contingently concomitant.

It will have already suggested itself perhaps, then, to our readers, that this phrase, right of private judgment, still tinged, be

it observed, with the peculiar colours of its peculiar birth-time, is very fairly capable of being named the leading principle in the political, philosophical, and religious opinions of Lord Macaulay. Our space allows us only to touch such points; but we hope that the touch, light as it is, will elicit such sparks as may enable the reader to follow, more or less adequately, the general course of our thought here.

The philosophical opinions of Lord Macaulay are neither complicated nor abstruse. In his system the *à priori* has no place; everything must demonstrate its legitimacy to him *à posteriori* and by induction. 'All systems,' he says, 'religious, political, or scientific, are but opinions resting on evidence more or less satisfactory.' With metaphysics he will not meddle; they are beyond the province of humanity. The speculations of Hume in this field, with his 'Enquiry concerning the Human Understanding,' his investigation of the theory of morals, and his discourses of Palamedes concerning the state Fourli—these speculations have no other result in the eyes of Macaulay than to demonstrate the impossibility of any rational solution on such subjects; accordingly he accepts this conclusion and will inquire no further. All, however, that Hume can teach him about 'the liberty of the press,' 'the principles of government,' 'the science of politics,' 'parliament,' 'parties,' 'civil liberty,' 'commerce,' 'luxury,' the 'balance of trade,' 'passive obedience,' and the 'Protestant succession,' he learns with avidity. Adam Smith, too, he makes his own. It is in the same spirit that he recurs to Bacon as to 'the great apostle of experimental science.' 'Bacon,' he says, 'said nothing about the grounds of moral obligation or the freedom of the human will,' but he was mightily concerned about 'utility and progress.' These then, utility and progress, are to Macaulay the only recommendations. 'An acre in Middlesex is better,' he says, 'than a principality in Utopia.' And he has no patience with that philosophy which 'fills the world with long words and long beards, and leaves it as wicked and as ignorant as before.' He ridicules Cicero and Seneca for that, disdaining to supply, they preposterously seek to set us above, the wants of humanity. He agrees with Bacon that 'the earlier Greek speculators, Democritus in particular, were superior to their more celebrated successors;' and of these latter he says: 'Assuredly if the tree which Socrates planted and Plato watered, is to be judged of by its flowers and leaves, it is the noblest of trees; but if we take the homely test of Bacon, if we judge of the tree by its fruit, our opinion of it may be less favourable.'

Lord Melbourne is represented to have said once—'I wish that I was as sure of any one thing as Tom Macaulay is sure of everything.' Our task here is exposition and not discussion; still we cannot help remarking that the infallible correctness ascribed by Lord

Lord Melbourne to Macaulay, demonstrates itself, in one or two of these passages, as, after all, human. Democritus, for example (though why the inventor of the atomic theory—so wonderfully complete in almost every detail too, and the great ancient apostle of materialism—should be so much of a favourite with both Bacon and Macaulay is very plain to us), was not earlier than Socrates, but probably several years younger. At all events, he was undoubtedly contemporary with Socrates, and long survived him. The dates of Socrates are B.C. 469-399. Democritus is said by the latest authorities to have been born in the year B.C. 460, nine years after the birth of Socrates; and he is universally admitted to have reached a great age, no less, according to some, than that of 104 years. Even should we assume B.C. 470 as the birth-year of Democritus, the state of the case would remain essentially the same. Then, again, it is too bad, and indeed rather unlucky, that Macaulay should at all quarrel with Socrates, for, in truth, Socrates is the father and founder of the very system of thought professed by Bacon and by his critic after him. The age of Pericles was also an 'age of reason,' an era of 'up-lighting,' and the principle then was the principle now, the right of private judgment. For this condition of thought, Socrates was, though not by any means wholly, largely responsible, and he fell a victim to the offended traditional institutions which that principle insulted. But, this apart, there is another and a stronger reason why Socrates should be considered the father and founder of the system of thought which, since the time of Bacon, has been established among us, and it is this: Socrates was certainly the originator of generalization. This is indisputable; Socrates invented the express, the methodic, the scientific investigation of general ideas, just as certainly as Newton invented the theory of gravitation, and much more certainly than that Bacon was the first to recall attention—such is the merit assigned him by Macaulay—to the method of induction by experiment.

Be this as it may, and passing to the political creed of Macaulay, we find this latter of a similar colour to the philosophical. 'Political science,' according to him, 'is progressive and experimental like the rest.' 'Ever since I began to observe,' he remarks, 'I have been seeing nothing but growth, and hearing of nothing but decay.' Accordingly, he has no patience with the *laudatores temporis acti*, but declares them to be 'as ignorant and shallow as people generally are who extol the past at the expense of the present.' He affirms that 'the more carefully we examine the history of the past, the more reason shall we find to dissent from those who imagine that our age has been fruitful of new social evils; the truth is, that the evils are, with scarcely an exception, old; that which is new is the intelligence which [redacted]

humanity which remedies them.' As regards government, then, he is clearly for the doctrines of the political economists, and stands unreservedly by an almost absolute *laissez faire*. To all poetic theories that bear on the past, he answers by bills of mortality and tables of statistics. Social evils, in his view, must in general correct themselves; he will have no intermeddling, and confesses to a horror of all paternal government. He knows of no infallible opinion. He asks who are the wisest and best. And whose opinion is to decide that? He declares government unfit to direct our opinions, or superintend our private habits; and he sums up the whole duty of the state thus:—'Our rulers will best promote the improvement of the nation by strictly confining themselves to their own legitimate duties, by leaving capital to find its most lucrative course, commodities their fair price, industry and intelligence their natural reward, idleness and folly their natural punishment, by maintaining peace, by defending property, by diminishing the price of law, and by observing strict economy in every department of the state.'

It is evident, then, that Macaulay's political and philosophical principles go hand in hand, and that they all take origin in the philosophy of the eighteenth century. Indeed, he makes no secret of this: he openly eulogizes the Encyclopædists; and it is with great complacency that he is able to assert, 'By this time the philosophy of the eighteenth century had purified English Whiggism from that deep taint of intolerance which had been contracted during a long and close alliance with the Puritanism of the seventeenth century.'

This sentence brings us, by an obvious transition, to the consideration of Macaulay's religious principles; and in these, too, we shall find him a genuine son of the philosophy of the eighteenth century. The reader, however, must take great care not to misunderstand us here. We are not going to prove Macaulay an infidel: such a charge were simply the very last we should think of bringing. What may be called his private religious feelings, Lord Macaulay never obtruded on the world, and we are not going to invade them. What we have to do with here is wholly and solely the *public* religious principles of Lord Macaulay. These principles, indeed, two words shall name for us at once, and these two words are—Universal Toleration. In his own language, 'he is as averse to Laud on the one hand as to Praise-God-Barebones on the other;' as averse to the Puritan as to the Catholic, as averse to the High Churchman as to the Independent. Exeter Hall is to him a place of intolerance; he sneers at its 'bray,' and speaks with contempt of 'its prescriptive right to talk nonsense.' In such sentiments, it is plain, he is David Hume all but *in propriâ personâ*. He is the supporter of an established church, but were there no

poor

poor people, were there only rich people, he would be a voluntary; and, meantime, the true arrangement appears to him to be, the establishment of Episcopacy in England, of Presbyterianism in Scotland, and of Roman Catholicism in Ireland. Withal, he is a friend to the dissenters, and will stand up manfully were even a Unitarian attacked. (Speech, June 6, 1844.)

The reader who will take the trouble to examine the essays on Gladstone on 'Church and State,' and on Ranke's 'History of the Popes,' will find a host of passages confirmatory of our position. He rejoices, for example, 'in the immense strides that we have made, and continually make, in mathematics and the sciences,' but he complains that 'with theology the case is very different.' He says, 'As regards natural religion, we are no better off now than Thales or Simonides.' The argument from design was as well known by them as by us; and 'the immortality of the soul is as indemonstrable now as ever.' 'It is a mistake,' he asserts, 'to imagine that subtle speculations touching the divine attributes, the origin of evil, the necessity of human actions, the foundation of moral obligation, imply any high degree of intellectual culture. Such speculations, on the contrary, are, in a peculiar manner, the delight of intelligent children and of half-civilized men.' 'But,' he goes on to say, 'neither is revealed religion of the nature of progressive science;' and he remarks, significantly, that 'Catholic communities have, since the end of the sixteenth century, become infidel and become Catholic again; but never have become Protestant.' 'It seems to him that we have no security for the future against the prevalence of any theological error that ever has prevailed in time past among Christian men;' and of the Roman Catholic Church he observes: 'When we reflect on the tremendous assaults which she has survived, we find it difficult to conceive in what way she is to perish.' He thinks of Sir Thomas More and his belief in transubstantiation, of Samuel Johnson and certain of his foibles, of such subtle intellects as Bayle and Chillingworth becoming, after years of scepticism, Catholics, and so, 'for these reasons, he has ceased to wonder at any vagaries of superstition.' Very Humian is the remark: 'It is by no means improbable that zealots may have given their lives for a religion which had never effectually restrained their vindictive or their licentious passions.' Here, too, is a touch as if by the very pen of the same master; remarking of sects that, in power, they are bigoted, insolent, and cruel, he adds that, 'when out of power, they find it barbarous to punish men for entertaining conscientious scruples about a garb, about a ceremony,' &c. The same spirit is seen in this: 'We frequently see inquisitive and restless spirits, after questioning the existence of a Deity, bring themselves to worship a wafer.' Passages of this kind abound

in Macaulay, and even others of a still more Humian type, but these must suffice.

There is, however, a class of turns in Macaulay which have been ascribed to the circumstances of his early breeding, but which we are disposed to attribute to the same influence of Hume. Of these we should wish to give here a sample or two. Speaking in his history of Wharton, he remarks: 'His father was renowned as a distributor of Calvinistic tracts, and a patron of Calvinistic divines: the boy's first years were past amidst Geneva bands, heads of lank hair, upturned eyes, nasal psalmody, and sermons three hours long.' This description is so applicable to the circumstances of Macaulay's own boyhood, that surely, if we are to ascribe the use of such language to his early breeding, it must be by means of the principle, not of action, but of reaction. In fact, there cannot be a doubt that the feeling at the bottom of such phrases is one not of reverence, but of latent derision. Macaulay, in truth, has a weakness for what we shall name a patrician or aristocratic subrision. He tells us, for example, that the French courtiers 'sneeringly' remarked of their grand monarque, that he was in the right 'not to expose to serious risk a life invaluable to his people.' The sneer here is unconcealed then; and there can be no doubt that when he speaks of being brought to worship a wafer, as in a sentence just quoted, he is there, too, in the act of enjoying a gentle subrision. Now it appears to us that the following sentences are constructed on a similar model; and, if allowed to be subrisory, they must be pronounced eminently Humian.

'Those sectaries had no scruple about smiting tyrants with the sword of Gideon.' 'Here and there an Achan had disgraced the good cause by stooping to plunder the Canaanites, whom he ought only to have smitten.' 'Crawford was what they called a professor; his letters and speeches are, to use his own phraseology, exceeding savoury.' 'They invited Amalek and Moab to come back and try another chance with the chosen people.' 'These pious acts, prompted by the Holy Spirit, were requited by an untoward generation with,' &c. 'A pious, honest, and learned man, but of slender judgment and half crazed by his persevering endeavours to extract from Daniel and the Revelations some information about the Pope and the King of France.'

If these extracts be compared with the quotations in reference to Wharton and Louis XIV., no reader can mistake the true nature of their spirit. The turn in the last, indeed, is quite unmistakable without collation, and would hardly satisfy Dr. Cumming or the author of the 'Coming Struggle.' We had marked several other passages for quotation; but we think that sufficient evidence has now been led to establish the truth of our assertion, that the public religious position of Macaulay is very similar to that

that of David Hume. Macaulay, in fact, will not entertain any question of religion in any matters of public and general application, with the single exception of an established church; and, as we have seen, he is not solicitous about the special nature of such church, so long as it is simply established by the will of the majority. Like Hume, in truth, there are two things, in a religious sense, which Macaulay cordially hates. Hume names the one 'superstition' and the other 'enthusiasm.' Of Macaulay's feelings towards the former we have already seen enough. His notions of the latter are implied in all that he says relative to bigots and fanatics. But nowhere are his thoughts seen clearer than in his account of George Fox, the Quaker, or in his description (Ranke's 'Popes') of a converted tinker, whom the Roman Church, unlike the Protestant, he says, would have turned to its own service. In these, his cold statement of religious experiences reads like an extract from some medical work pathologically relating the symptoms and progress of some bodily malady. Such things involve a process that seems alien to him; for the most part, he looks on with disgust and scorn, or, at best, with curiosity and compassion. No; all Macaulay's sympathies are with the temporal; and when the subject of religion occurs to be taken up, it is simply viewed as one of the other material interests. It is very characteristic of him to remark, that 'Catholicism is the most attractive of all superstitions,' and that 'the Jewish religion, of all erroneous religions, is the least mischievous.' In short, when he says of Danby, 'His attachment to Episcopacy and the Liturgy were rather political than religious,' the dictum, without straining and without uncharity, might easily receive a wider application.

Those of our readers who know anything of the French philosopher Comte, or of his English disciple, Buckle, will, we dare say, have already perceived that the opinions of these 'philosophers' are not only similar, but even constitute a natural termination to those of Macaulay. They, as is well known, would sneer into annihilation all metaphysics and all theology, and would wish to see thought restricted to the observation and registration of phenomena. Well, Macaulay too takes his stand by induction, which just means the observation and registration of phenomena: he too rejects metaphysics; and if he does not wholly reject theology, he restricts it to a province certainly of the narrowest. The very law of necessary connection (borrowed from Hume), by means of which the Comtists seek to transform the manifestations of our intellectual and moral faculties into mere links of the same great chain of cause and effect which physical things obey, seems not without a certain attraction for Macaulay also. Talking of our tendency to regard the Golden Age as left behind us in the past, he says: 'This is chiefly to be ascribed to a law as certain as

the laws which regulate the succession of the seasons and the course of the trade winds: it is the nature of man to overrate present evil and to underrate present good—to long for what he has not and to be dissatisfied with what he has.'

We should be glad to join issue on several of these points, and to discuss them at length, but such is not our present object, and here we have no sufficient space. We content ourselves with saying, for the sake of our own position with the reader, that, while we do not look on the philosophy of the eighteenth century with unmingled satisfaction, we certainly regard that of Messrs. Comte and Buckle with unqualified reprobation and contempt. Further, we think that the functions of government are not of a negative nature only (exclusively restricted to the protection of person and property), but capable of an affirmative application also. Macaulay, indeed, is here in reality at variance with himself; for, in regard to a national church and a national school, he actually concedes to government a function evidently affirmative. We, for our part, see no reason—and we are sure that Lord Macaulay could not have assigned one—why the affirmative function should stop there, and are inclined to believe that, in this connection, there is a science (social science) opening, of which Lord Macaulay, in his own bitter words to Southey, 'had yet to learn the alphabet.' Again, we believe that physical truth would be an inexplicable and indeed meaningless fragment—so much mere purposeless *flotsam*—were it not there for, and did it not terminate in, metaphysical truth. Then religion is to us the tap-root of humanity, and all else is but nauci, flocci, minimi, pili. Neither can we allow that metaphysics, morals, and religion are, either severally or collectively, destitute of progress. Very far from that, we believe that the final cause of the world is neither more nor less *than* such progress, and that history has no theme whatever but, intellectually, morally, and religiously, the enlargement and enfranchisement of the consciousness of man. Progress, however, we do not view as, so to speak, fluent extension; we should name it rather a series of consecutive and accumulative progresses. The history of civilization is a history of civilizations—a history of higher following on lower dispensations; the tree of existence, the Yggdrasil of our Norse forefathers, decays as surely as it grows, but it grows as surely as it decays, and each new growth is larger, fuller, braver than the last. This tree has successively grown up and withered down, in India, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece, and Italy; it is now in full leaf in England, but a thousand years hence it may be budding and blossoming elsewhere.

We have now obtained for ourselves an insight, more or less clear, more or less complete, into the principles and aim with which Lord Macaulay entered on the arena of life; let us now see how

how he, so accoutred and impelled, bore himself, and what were the products of his so guided and directed industry.

When Macaulay left college for London in 1825, he carried with him a very complete knowledge of the Greek and Latin classics, as well as a competent acquaintance with the leading literatures of modern Europe. He does not seem to have even attempted to realize to himself an intellectual conception of the Greeks or Romans as human beings, and in relation to universal history; but the literary masterpieces of these peoples were fairly stored in his excellent memory, where his exceedingly sound and discriminating taste had well arranged, shelved, and lettered them. His knowledge of modern literature was also evidently extensive, and, on the whole, exact. The classic Italians, and the French writers of the age of Louis XIV., he had manifestly studied with great care, and discussed in his own mind with great discernment. We have also occasional notices from him of German and Spanish authors, and even a quotation or two in these languages; but though he had indubitably attained to a very considerable and satisfactory conception of the main merits of these literatures, still it appears probable to us that Macaulay could not have justly claimed the title of either a German or a Spanish scholar. Macaulay, in fact, was a man of great practical perspicacity, and we do not believe that he would have willingly carried one ounce more weight than was necessary to his purpose. We find him, for example, contented to remain with but slender mathematical acquirements; and nowhere is there the slightest evidence that he ever troubled his head about Egypt's place in universal history, the Hindoo Vedas, the origin of society in Central Asia, the migration of the tribes, or the philological relations of Turan and Iran. The preference of Italian and French to German and Spanish, then, is in complete harmony with our general Humian theory; and we can easily believe that any study of these latter languages resulted fully as much from the set of the times as from expectation of help towards his peculiar object.

But, besides these literary and academic stores, even in 1825, Macaulay had already made great progress in the study of English history and politics, especially during those reigns that were characterized by the growth and evolution of what are named constitutional principles. Indeed, so engrossed is he in this study, that in his very first article of any note (Milton, Ed. Rev., 1825), he cannot resist the temptation to intercalate an historical summary. Analogous but more extended historical summaries followed in the Hallam, the Hampden, the Burleigh, and others. So very similar, indeed, are these summaries, and so frequently do they recur, that one gets to feel a little surprise at the favour that allowed even a Macaulay to insert and re-insert, and yet again

insert, what was mainly nothing more than the rifaccimento of an old material.

The 'history' would lead us to suppose, as we have already shown, that a certain reaction really had taken place in Macaulay against the Calvinism of his friends. There is no evidence of this, however, in the early essays. It is possible, indeed, that the studies and experiences of the university may have taught him to regard the system of religious thought under his father's roof as biassed and narrow; but nowhere can we find any evidence of a youthful, a poetic, or aristocratic revolt against it. His clear, sound judgment sees well where he is placed, and what his friends are worth to him; he remains on the best terms with them, he supports their views, he makes speeches for them, but still he takes up his own position calmly in the centre, as that constitutional Whig which his historical studies recommend to him. The same clear, practical judgment that has decided his choice leads him again to perceive that it is wisest for him, once having chosen, to declare himself. Accordingly, he is quite open in his avowal that he 'would be first an Englishman and then a Whig,' and he takes his side in the most public and unhesitating fashion.

The young man, who has such friends and connections, who has distinguished himself so much at college, who has spoken so well at Abolition meetings, who has written such capital articles in the 'Edinburgh,' who is so manifestly a true Whig that he knows more about Whig history and can give better expression to Whig principles than the very best Whig among them, is not long left without public employment. He is made a Commissioner of Bankruptcy, and so early as 1830 a seat in Parliament is found for him. He enters Parliament at a most important crisis too. The great Reform Bill is in the agonies of gestation, and the Whigs are troubled with the most natural solicitudes. The young man of thirty is too sagacious not to discern all the possibilities of the position. He is possessed, withal, of such vigour of will as enables him to convert his perceptions into deeds. He throws himself, though new to the house, completely into the situation. He becomes one of the leading supporters of Government. Indeed, his services are soon such that, in less than four years, a most lucrative appointment is found for him—an appointment so lucrative that in three years he is able to return from India, where he held it, the recipient of an opulent and lordly income.

Macaulay is not yet thirty-eight, then, and we already see how well the aim he set himself has thriven with him. His practical experience of Parliament and of India is an incalculable gain to him in his vocation of historian. All this time, too, his studies on the one concentrated subject have never slackened. We can trace their progress in the series of essays already more than once referred

referred to. Indeed, these studies seem thoroughly ripe now, and even the execution of his design largely accomplished. What a happy prospect gilds all the west for him at the early age of thirty-eight!—he has wealth, he has position, he has honour, he has even in a goodly state of forwardness the one work which was to be 'the business and the pleasure of his life.' Nought remains for him but, in the midst of leisure, in the midst of all the *agrémens* of the most choice society in the world, a member of Parliament even, for he may make the duties light, that he finish his work, that he build the temple, and transform to enclosed chapels those gorgeous Clives and magnificent Hastingses. Accordingly such is the position that we see him assume for the remainder of his days. And in such position he is able to do such services to the Whigs, and gain such honour in the eyes of his fellow-countrymen, that in 1857 a patent of nobility is conferred on him. But, alas! the labours, that wore now the look of pastime and recreation rather than drudgery and penance, and to the termination of which he might, so far as his age was concerned, look not too presumptuously forward, were destined to be snapped asunder in the midst, and remain for ever a fragment merely. On the 28th day of December, 1859 (just fifty-nine years of age), Lord Macaulay died, and the continuation of Hume remains itself to be continued.

Some of his too ardent admirers have not scrupled to claim for Lord Macaulay the *first* place as orator, poet, essayist, and historian. This claim, so put, we think insupportable. These admirers themselves describe the speeches of Lord Macaulay as but spoken essays; and they give, besides, such an account of the deficiency of his voice and the stiffness of his action as demonstrates the nullity of their own claim, so far as the orator is concerned. For our part we find the speeches to read exceedingly well, and we cannot admit that they have only the character of spoken essays. On the contrary, we find in them not the mere fluent continuousness of writing, but the energetic interruptedness, and, as it were, the successive hammer-strokes of actual speech. On this head it will suffice to say, however, that they are well-worded pieces of excellent generalization and clear judgment. The Whigs, though probably sometimes quivering with misgivings that he was going too far, must, on the whole, have been much enlightened and very much gratified by those admirable expositions of their own principles.

In regard to the 'Lays of Ancient Rome,' the 'Times' writes thus:—'As a poet, at a time when it was supposed that nothing new could be invented, he struck out a style, the enchantment of which is felt by all ages and all conditions alike, which has no prototype in ancient, no parallel in modern times;

the simplicity of our ancient ballads with the rich images and stirring dialogue of the epic, often sweetly descending to an idyllic character, reminding us of the happier passages of Theocritus.' The authority is unimpeachable and the testimony clear, nevertheless we cannot help thinking that both the 'Times' and Lord Macaulay have made a sad mistake here. It is our deliberate belief, in short, that the 'Lays of Ancient Rome' are not poetry, but, so far as we understand the word, doggrel. Macaulay, in talking of his Mulgraves, Rochesters, Montagues, Dorsets, &c., laments that their poetry should have been preserved to mislead us only in forming a judgment of their characters and talents otherwise. We think it very possible that some future historian may repeat Macaulay's remark and of Macaulay's own case. Again: it is of Addison's poetry that our essayist himself remarks: 'Ever since the time of Pope there has been a glut of lines of this sort, and we are now as little disposed to admire a man for being able to write them as for being able to write his name.' Even so; and *à fortiori* (since the Percy Ballads) in regard to the 'Lays of Ancient Rome.' O up

> Got brave Dick Turpin,
> And he swore by the mass
> That he would ride to York city,
> All on his steed Black Bess!

Positively such stuff as this may, in certain circumstances, be bearable. But, O the brave Me-zen-ti-us! and O the brave Ho-ra-ti-us! are worse than the bagpipes as described by Shakspeare. We hear at once the true Whitechapel *skirl*, and in such barbarous union with the sacred names of another world, and of other associations, that we involuntarily stop our ears, fain to exclude a positive pain. For it is to be recollected that the hearing of some ballads bawled in Whitechapel is said to have suggested these extraordinary hermaphrodites. This origin, whether feigned or true, is certainly most apposite.

The truth is, in an age that regarded poetry so high as ours does, the self-complacence of a successful author, who could do almost everything well, and who had written prize poems in his youth, could not resist a clutch at the bays of the bard; but he signally missed, and we only wish that he himself had had the opportunity, in the case of somebody else, to point the moral. For us, to be sure, there is some consolation in the inimitable sentence of the 'Times;' we should be sorry to forget that sweet descent to Theocritus and the idyllic. We must do ourselves the justice, however, to say one word on 'Ivry.' This is a piece of true merit, full of spirit and energy. Had Macaulay preserved no other poem but this, though it could never have sufficed to entitle him to the name of poet, it would have been there, a proof of versatility,

satility, and it would always have been taken into account in every estimate of the essayist and historian.

These words bring us to the true functions of Macaulay, and to the true scenes of his triumphs.

The essays, as we have seen, are often written, so to speak, in aid of the history, and assume, for the most part, the character of preliminary draughts, or of collateral complements. Some among them display, as reviews, a rare excellence of a technical kind. An admirable sample of such excellence is the 'Southey' (1830); indeed, a more perfect *business* article we do not recollect ever to have read. Reviewing, in Macaulay's own words, is certainly 'to a critic an easy and habitual act' in this case. The 'Robert Montgomery' is, to be sure, quite as business-like; but the game there comes too thick on us; it is a battue we assist at; sport becomes slaughter, and we cease to have interest in it. But in the 'Southey,' the *coups d'adresse* and the *tours de force* are captivating beyond comparison. How the poor laureate must have writhed under the dexterous touches of this finest and supplest of whips! Macaulay has here a subject entirely within his range; his style is now full-fledged too, and his manner perfect. There is, perhaps, a little fine malice towards the Tory poet lurking in the heart of the Whig reviewer; at all events he feels that the Tory poetry of politics, as expounded by Southey, is powerless against his own Whig prose, and he marches to battle with the gayest confidence. Not one word is ever wasted, not a single sentence falls in vain. Points and edges glitter everywhere; incisions gape to every stroke, and punctures follow to every thrust. Verily this is elastic writing, vigorous, rapid, true. What irony, what sarcasm, what fine derision perfectly cut into words! 'Mr. Southey,' he says, 'brings to the task two faculties which were never, we believe, vouchsafed in measure so copious to any human being—the faculty of believing without a reason, and the faculty of hating without a provocation.' Then, withal, he is so true and discriminating, truer, perhaps, and more discriminating in his praise than in his blame: when he applauds, he approves himself such a critic as even Southey himself must accept with entire satisfaction. How finely he says: 'Government is to Mr. Southey one of the fine arts: he judges of a theory, of a public measure, of a religion or a political party, of a peace or a war, as men judge of a picture or a statue, by the effect produced on his imagination: a chain of association is to him what a chain of reasoning is to other men, and what he calls his opinions are, in fact, merely his tastes.' Expression here is surely in perfect adequacy with the thought; and all these exquisite little turns are weighty as bullets and precious as gold.

Speaking of Mr. Southey's poems he says: 'The short pieces are worse than Pye's and as bad as Cibber's.' The longer pieces, he

continues, 'though full of faults are nevertheless very extraordinary productions.' He doubts 'greatly whether they will be read fifty years hence;' but has no doubt that, if read, 'they will be admired.' How admirably true, telling, and trenchant every one who knows anything of the subject must feel this criticism! In this most felicitous paper panegyric itself has the effect of the most cutting satire, as where the reviewer says of the 'Life of Nelson:' 'It would not in all literary history be easy to find a more exact hit between wind and water.' Then how relentlessly the Whig constitutionalist insists on holding up to the theoretic dreams of the Tory poet his bundles of statistical tables and his rolls of mortality bills! Southey has not the ghost of a chance with him; the facts are so strong that they need advance only in the lightest badinage, the easiest persiflage. Mr. Southey, the reviewer says, resembles Milton's Satan, who contrived to travel round the world 'always in the dark:' and he adds—and in the addition we see the rapier *home*—'it is not everybody who could have so dexterously avoided blundering on the daylight in the course of a journey to the antipodes.' The whole essay abounds in the most exquisite expressions, the most vivid and effective figures. There is wit, allusion, illustration; no element fails. All the arts of this species of composition are present in profusion, and Macaulay approves himself a finished craftsman.

Macaulay's longest essay, and perhaps the most elaborate, is the 'Bacon.' The power of writing has now come to full maturity with him; nay, we are not sure but that the fulness is excessive and runs over; we are not sure but that the art has run away with the artist. Has anybody not on business ever read this essay without more than one of those intercalatory relaxations familiarly known as *skips?* The facts in Bacon's life are few, and Macaulay tells us nothing new in regard to them. Still the river of words flows on copiously, endlessly. *This* is discussed and *that* is discussed, and not a stitch is dropped, and the whole subject must be *exhaustively* treated. And sure enough it is exhaustively treated; the teeth of wolf never stripped a bone more exhaustively clean. Let the reader in search of proof turn only to the discussion of the question of philosophy that terminates the essay, and which really a page or two might have contained, and he will find it takes up about twice the space of the article he is now reading. This excessive copiousness is decidedly a blot, then. Still, the living, leafy, wide-stretching boughs into which the writer's art transforms the mere dead and fragmentary fallen twigs of truth are wonderful, and we are kept in continual admiration of the constant unexceptionable writing, the constant interesting pictures, the constant luminous good sense, and the constant appearance of research.

The

The 'Samuel Johnson' (1831) is one of Macaulay's most celebrated and characteristic essays: and certainly perhaps there is no more vivid, no more graphic, no more racy piece of writing in the language. The style is terse, clear, keen, while there are a fulness and a rapid continuousness of utterance that hurry us triumphantly along with the stream of expression. Still we cannot help seeing that it is a tale dressed up, that effect is aimed at, and that effect alone is aimed at. The truth of the matter is evidently not by any means of vital importance to the writer; not that he despises, or at all wishes to neglect truth, but just because his object has no present relation with truth. In fact, the aim here is not instruction at all; there is no thought of a lesson; the wish is amusement, entertainment, interest only. The desire, too, is accomplished, for the essay is as successful as any series of dissolving views. It is bright, glittering, brilliant, but—we must say it—it is shallow. It deals with the outside only—with the hull, the husk, the poor scrofula-scarred body, and not with the soul of Johnson. How different the Johnson of Carlyle! There it is not the squalid, unsweet giant in dirty linen, gobbling and slobbering, with straining eyeballs, over his victuals, that we see. No; there it is the humble pious heart, the strong sense, the understanding solid, weighty as granite; or again, it is the great doubt-riven soul that would have peace in God and a world of far other interests than the pettinesses of time.

Macaulay, in fact, has no business with such a soul as this of Johnson. Instead of seeing it, understanding it, loving it, he maunders about Johnson's credulity in matters spiritual, and his incredulity in matters temporal, and enjoys his own enlightened subrision over 'superstition.' We have here, indeed, an excellent specimen of what is one of Macaulay's main recommendations to the general reader—a delight in gathering and a power of painting personal peculiarities. Macaulay is never more at home than in such scandal: the eating, drinking, and clothing of men, their mistresses, their warts, their bandy legs, or their red noses—Macaulay has, in such curiosities, absolutely the furore of a collector. Now such things were so abundant in poor Johnson that Macaulay saw nothing else. As Johnson was a Tory indeed, Macaulay did not care to see anything else. For that Macaulay yielded to the bias of party is as certain as that Johnson himself so yielded. He (Macaulay) talks of the Tories at times as if they were wolves. 'The howl,' he says, 'which the whole pack set up for prey and for blood appalled even him who had aroused and unchained them.' It is this same party influence that leads him to write with such partiality of Addison and such hatred of Pope. He labours under a jaundice of this sort so deep, indeed, that even the poor dwarfed, deformed, diseased body of Pope seems to excite feelings of detestation in him; and he speaks of it as

legitimate game for Addison, had Addison chosen to revenge himself for the lines on Atticus. Macaulay is, if possible, more unjust to Johnson than to Pope, however: he sneers at his works, talks of them passing into oblivion, and seems quite to ignore all the great qualities of that true Englishman. If he could see nothing in Johnson's criticisms, or in his biographies—if the melancholy wisdom of a lifetime, which is the burthen of 'Rasselas,' had no worth for him—if he had no gratitude for the Dictionary even, surely he might have recollected that this was the man that wrote the letter to Chesterfield, a piece of manliness and of unsurpassed felicity of expression that will be alive, we doubt not, when even Clive and Warren Hastings have ceased to interest.

We would not have the reader suppose, however, that we undervalue the two celebrated essays just mentioned. The history has absorbed and superseded some of the very best of the others; but these still remain in their own entire and undiminished proportions, the most prominent, the most attractive, and, probably without exception, the most universally read of all Macaulay's writings.

Beyond all doubt there are no themes in the history of the world better adapted for the peculiar pen of Macaulay than the characters and deeds of these, the two most famous, or infamous, of all our Indian proconsuls. It is to the imagination that Macaulay prefers to address himself; and here certainly, if anywhere, there were materials enough to aid him in such a purpose. In the background we have the vague splendour of the East; the snows of mightier hills ascend; the beams of a mightier sun pour forth; strange cupolas loom through the haze of heat, and minarets of other creeds glance; palaces of marble rise with chambers where the air is heavy with the pomp of hangings, and opulent with the lustre of jewellery and gold. In the foreground, heroes, single-handed, scatter armies, or burst into the secret treasure-houses of Arabian story. Nor is the thrill wanting that these are Englishmen, and that the name of England has been made a name of terror and fascination by them in every town and hamlet of these enchanted regions.

In these gorgeous essays, the style corresponds admirably with the material on which it is employed, and with the startling events which it relates. It is dyed in a thousand colours; it glitters with a thousand points; and the swiftness of its speed is as the rush of the eager victor through the broken wreck of the terrified foe that flees. Still this is the highest praise that can be awarded these essays: it is not for any quality of thought that they are valuable: they are scenic merely. Indeed, we fear the lesson they teach is of no good tendency: the imagination is kindled up into admiration of material riches and material power, while actions black with perfidy or red with blood are allowed, in all this earthly and earthy splendour, almost to hide themselves.

We

We fear that such men as Clive and Hastings have been too often taken as exemplars by our countrymen in the East; that hatred to our name, the deeper for suppression, results; and that for all this the essayist, who preferred an audience of the imagination to one of reason, is very seriously to blame.

But *the* book of Macaulay is undoubtedly his history. Its foundations had been laid as far back as the very first stirrings of literary ambition—a lifetime of study, a lifetime of experience had collected the materials, and a lifetime of labour had been employed on the work. It is a national loss that it remains unfinished, for never perhaps were theme and historian so well adapted to each other; and never perhaps had historian manifested a similar amount, as well of concentration of design as of continuousness of preparation. The theme was the constitutional history of England; and Hallam himself had no superiority over Macaulay in clear recognition of the true constitutional principles. There was here a certain groundwork of reason and philosophy, then, to impart unity and coherency to the whole; and to this groundwork of philosophy the workman was thoroughly equal. But, in addition, there were a hundred elements, for the elaboration of which it was precisely this workman that possessed the necessary skill. There were marches, and progresses, and processions, and the fierce tides of battle. There were parliaments and the fights of parties, the reasons *pro* and the reasons *con*, and the triumphant tellings of the ayes and noes. Manners there were to paint and characters to draw, containing both of them an inexhaustible store of those salient peculiarities that constitute the quaint, the odd, the curious, the original. In short, here was a theme that required precisely such an historian; and here was an historian that required precisely such a theme. We really believe that there does not exist in any language reading more captivating than this history. The interest of Carlyle's 'French Revolution' is certainly at times infinitely more intense, but one cannot get rid of a feeling of a certain interruptedness, a certain inequality in that work, while the march of Macaulay is never either accelerated or retarded.

We should name the style in Macaulay's earlier writings, a transparent but flushed rapidity. But as regards the style of the history, while the transparency has been allowed to remain, and in greater perfection than before, the rapidity has been mitigated and the flush removed. What was transparent but flushed rapidity is now transparent complacent fluency. The river has reached the plain, and gently subsides into a wide smilingness of flow, as if grateful for the broad ease it feels.

If such was the style, the mental attributes of Macaulay, now mellow in maturity, were equally well adapted to the task. There was a judgment tamed into the measure of success by its very

circumscription, its very ascription to the general philosophy of the eighteenth century—a judgment which, within this range, was luminously clear and sharply precise. There was a memory eminently retentive, ready, and suggestive, stored, too, with material, teeming with illustration, prompt with allusion. There was a fancy exceedingly vivid, quick, and fertile. It was a source of facility and success, too, that so much had been already done, that it was a more than thrice-told tale that was in question, that nothing goaded to overspeed, that all conduced to the adoption of the calm, the leisurely, the placid. Accordingly a result so splendid has been produced that its incompletion will remain the lament of our latest literature. 'In lenocinio commendationis dolor est manûs, cùm id ageret, extinctæ.'

It is not to be supposed, however, that Macaulay has no faults; such a consummation is not for humanity. Faults he has, and great ones, up from mere qualities of style to attributes of intellect. In style, for example, despite his many true merits, Macaulay cannot be regarded as the very highest master. A nature so remarkably facile, adroit, and quick as his found no difficulty in appropriating the lesson, taught by so many contemporaries, of a more living picturesqueness and of a more natural reality in writing. That this is an age of photography holds as true of the domain of the pen as of that of the pencil; and Macaulay yielded, like others, to the fascination of the new trick. His deepest sympathies, nevertheless, are with the writers of the eighteenth century, and theirs was the style which his judgment, at bottom, really approved. That style he might quicken with measures, or freshen with colours, borrowed from the new; but it was that style that, in the main, should still be his. Accordingly he abounds in the stock metaphor, the stock transition, the stock equipoise, the stock rhetoric, the stock expedients generally of Addison, Robertson, Goldsmith, Smollett, but especially David Hume. Phrases analogous to 'sinks into insignificance' are common with him; he constantly tells us, of men of 'parts,' that so and so had 'parts;' and he speaks of 'the nerves of the mind.' We can have, by oversight, even such a sentence as this from him: 'Though his wasted and suffering body could hardly move without support—he *flew* to London.' On the whole, the style of Macaulay is one rather of culture than creation. Rarely do we find in it any of those peculiarly delicate, almost evanescent turns by which the new thought of an original writer announces itself.

Another fault of Macaulay, begun probably under the influence of Hume, and increased by parliamentary experience, is the tediousness with which he expatiates on the *pros* and *cons* of party. He is never better pleased than when he gets the two parties on 'the floor of the House,' and has an opportunity of conjecturally cataloguing all the motives and opinions, probable or possible, on the

the one side and the other. This is a trick of Hume's, too, but Macaulay feels absolutely in his element here, and cannot persuade himself to quit but with the flush of triumph over the majority of the ayes and the minority of the noes.

Macaulay seems, and is generally reckoned, a great master of portrait-painting. So far as striking epithets and sharp, well-defined predication are concerned, Macaulay certainly deserves the praise. The words applied do indeed seem so trenchant, that the man, we are tempted to believe, must be cut out by them; and very often the *person*, at all events, is cut out by them. Johnson, Horace Walpole, James I., James II., William III., and some others, are certainly actually *seen* by the reader. William III., indeed, is not only seen, but even, perhaps, understood. But this is not the case with the characters generally. Those Sunderlands, Arlingtons, Cliffords, Ashleys, Montagues, Russells, Hamiltons, &c., &c., have all of them been successively and individually introduced to us, and with the most brilliantly specific language; still we find that they all retreat, as we leave them, into a vague distance, where they become more and more shadowy, and finally disappear. We have not, after all, seen what manner of men they were; these sharp and telling predicates gave us them in pieces only, and it is in vain we seek to find them coherent in a whole. How different Carlyle! One word, and we have Robespierre, or Mirabeau, or Danton, or Calonne, or Vergniaud, and we never lose them. They are men and realities to us for ever, and not mere bundles of qualities artfully stuffed out by brilliant predication. This is the difference of art. Carlyle seeks to seize his man in the very centre of his nature, in that one quality that harmonizes all the varieties and diversities of his actions. Macaulay, by collecting all these varieties and diversities *ab extra* seeks to put together a figure which, unprovided with this central and uniting knot, falls all abroad in pieces again. The stupid phrase, 'such is the inconsistency of human nature,' which occurs so frequently in Macaulay, is, in reality, only a consolation addressed to himself on a dimly-felt failure in construing of the kind alluded to. 'The character of Harley,' says Macaulay, 'is to be collected from innumerable panegyrics and lampoons; from the works and the private correspondence of Swift, Pope, Arbuthnot, Prior, and Bolingbroke, and from multitudes of such works as "Ox and Bull," "The High German Doctor," and the "History of Robert Powell, the Puppet Showman."' This we believe to be evidence crucially decisive of the truth of our judgment here. It is perfectly plain from these words, that Macaulay sought to construct Harley out of a thousand piecemeal materials gathered from without. In this way, indeed, a figure (but in perpetual danger of instant dissolution) may be pieced together, but never an actual human

character

character realized to thought. Such human character, instantly found in what it says itself, is seldom or never found in what is said of it. And this is the secret of Carlyle's art: he searches for the one look, the one gesture, the one act, the one word that gives ingress to the inner whole, and never troubles himself to gather from without the scattered beams of manifestation, knowing well that no sheaf, however large, collected in that way, will ever enable him to restore the original luminary.

But if it be thus with the characters of Macaulay, an analogous inexactitude frequently accompanies his statements of fact. And here it is the celebrated descriptive chapter which will best illustrate our views. The subject of that chapter is eminently suited to Macaulay, both as regards his outward execution and his inward habit of thought. As regards the former, he had to describe contrasts (in reference to our own times) adapted to interest and pleasingly surprise the very shallowest faculties, while, as regards the latter, the burthen of the story was progress, moral and intellectual progress. But what a remarkable easiness and indifference of temper he manifests in the collecting and selecting of his materials! The most of them are collected from writers fifty or sixty years later than the period described; and the most of these writers are *novelists*. His one great authority for a very large portion of the contents of that chapter is unquestionably 'Roderick Random.' The incidents of travelling, the state of the roads, the highwaymen, the tricks of London, the squire, the curate, are all to be found there. And certainly it is quite true that in the novels of Smollett and Fielding there is, as Thackeray observes, a very great amount of historical truth 'in solution.' Still, Macaulay has taken this observation a great deal too much *au pied de la lettre*, and it is simply ridiculous to put up Orson Topehall, a prey to all the rascality of London, as the normal English squire of the day. Still more ridiculous is it to represent the curate Shuffle, whom Roderick Random finds drinking, smoking, and fiddling in the alehouse, as the true type of the priest of that time. Would we be historically accurate, should we assume Sir Pitt Crawley to represent the baronetage, and Lord Verisopht the peerage of our own days? Out of the smells of the Thames and the Serpentine, out of the painted harlots who, morning and evening, infest Regent Street, and out of the skittle-sharpers, and hundreds the like, of whom we hear daily in the newspapers, would it not be easy to furbish up a picture of these days as piquant and racy, but at the same time quite as fallacious as Macaulay's representation of the times of our ancestors?

The reader, we dare say, recollects the description of the English traveller in the Highlands rising in the morning from the bare

bare earth, blind with smoke, mad with itch, &c.: Macaulay tells us himself the source from which he derives all these and other extraordinary particulars. In a note he says: 'Almost all these circumstances are taken from Burt's letters; for the tar I am indebted to Cleland's poetry.' His manner of working is here evident, then: the statements of a single writer are conclusive to him.

In conclusion, we may say of Macaulay that be his shortcomings what they may, he has completely realized his own ideal. He says himself: 'The diligence, the accuracy, and the judgment of Hallam, united to the vivacity and the colouring of Southey—a history of England written throughout in this manner would be the most fascinating book in the language: it would be more in request at the circulating libraries than the last novel.' This was written in 1835, and accurately foretold the fortune of his own history twenty years later. Yes; Macaulay eminently possessed—and again we use his own words—'the art of writing what people will like to read:' he rejects all but the attractive parts of his subject; he keeps only what is in itself amusing, or what can be made so by the artifice of his diction.' He cannot originate, he cannot create, but he disposes admirably, and has a marvellous power of what the French call the *mise en scène*. In subtlety, depth, fertility, in spontaneity of thought, he is infinitely behind his own great prototype Hume. To the solidity, the comprehensiveness, the completeness, the immensity of range of Gibbon, he can have no pretension. To the earnestness, the intensity, the *vision* of Carlyle, he is equally a stranger. With men like these he is simply incommensurable. His place is not among the kings; he holds no throne; he sits not by the sides of Thucydides and Tacitus. In the annals of the world we know but one mate for him—a mate that he would disdain, perhaps, but a mate that if here inferior is there superior—this mate is Sallust.

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ART. III.—1. *Works of Dr. F. R. Lees.* 4 Volumes. London: Horsell and Co. 1853-1857.

2. *The Politics of Temperance.* Alliance Depôt, 335 Strand. 1860.

SYSTEMATIC inquiries into the extent, causes, and results of intemperance, prosecuted during a period of half a century, and certain tentative experiments for the repression of this serious evil, have apparently brought the bulk of temperance reformers to a number of definite conclusions. It is these, with some of the facts and reasons from whence they are deduced, which we desire to lay very briefly before our readers for their consideration, not merely to excite to thought and elicit opinion, but, so far as is possible

sible, to evoke sympathy towards practical measures for the material diminution of an evil which is a reproach to the intelligence and civilization of which Englishmen are so apt to boast.

To dwell on the frightful extent of drunkenness, public and private, would be worse than to repeat 'a thrice-told tale.' It is universally conceded that we are, in this respect, in a very unsatisfactory condition. In Liverpool, for example, the Police Report records, under the head of 'Drunk and Disorderly,' that 7,000 males and nearly 5,000 females are annually taken up in the streets! The daily and weekly papers teem with the most shocking illustrations of this vice and its effects, iterated to the point of disgust. 'Every day proves,' says a recent number of 'The Press,' 'that drunkenness is the monster evil of the age in England. Its effects make themselves felt in all departments of social life. The colonel of a crack regiment wages ineffectual war against the drunkenness which so often deprives him of the services of his best men. The master of the household strives in vain against the potations of the servants' hall, or the still more dangerous attractions of the neighbouring "public," which have proved the ruin of so many a good servant. Men who appear a concentrated epitome of all other virtues, who for honesty, steadiness, and willingness to oblige are alike irreproachable, cannot bear the application of the test of sobriety.'

The causes of this wide-spread and deeply-seated national vice are what should first be ascertained by a true social science, since the knowledge of the cause is the only correct indicator of the effectual remedy.

Physiology has distinctly proclaimed the nature of that habitual craving for strong liquors which, being gratified, ends in drunkenness. It is an abnormal state of the nerves and brain, engendered by the persistent use of the stimulant of alcohol, under the operation of a law which finds its analogue in the instances of opium, hashish, tobacco, and other narcotics. All such drugs, without exception, it is alleged, operate through the subtle machinery of the nervous structure, and tend by necessary law to the creation of an appetite which 'grows by what it feeds on.'* While the

* Huc, the intelligent traveller in China, declares that, save with some exceptional organizations, opium smoking in moderation leads with fearful certainty and speed to excess; and excess to crime and a frightful mortality.

Mr. De Quincey, nearly forty years ago (1821), in his celebrated 'Confessions of an Opium Eater,' noticed the gradual increase in the consumption of that perilous narcotic, and traces it to a law which we have seen since illustrated in the augmented frequency of tobacco-smoking in England, with its 8,000,000*l.* of profligate waste. 'I do not believe that any man, having once tasted the divine luxuries of opium, will afterwards descend to the gross and mortal enjoyment of alcohol. I take it for granted,

'That those eat now who never ate before;
And those who always ate, now eat the more.'

original

original quantity, by repetition, loses its power to reproduce its first pleasing effect, it is found to leave a craving void behind. Thus the sensual nature demands an increase of the stimulant, both in time and measure, and at the same time the moral-resisting power is either partially weakened or absolutely annulled. Such is the theory of the history and genesis of all the actual excess which temperance reformers deprecate and deplore. The love of pleasure on the one hand, ever mounting to a transient crisis, and on the other, an aversion to pain, are the twin forces whereby the fetters of an insatiable lust are imperceptibly but surely riveted upon the intemperate man.* In this state of vassalage, and in the midst of his misery, the drinker exclaims, 'I will seek it yet again!'

Universal history, it is affirmed, attests and verifies this dictum of physiological science. It records no single example, amidst the multifarious conditions of social life, where these seductive intoxicants, once introduced, have not been widely abused; or where their use has remained stationary at some fixed point of desiderated 'moderation.' The old Egyptian, the pagan Arab, the favoured Jew, the refined and cultured Greek, the strong Roman, the wild Scythian, and the ancient German, all in turn passed through the experience which has been repeated amongst the civilized Celts and the Christianized Anglo-Saxons of modern times. No matter what other social conditions prevail, of poverty or plenty, of knowledge or ignorance, of barbarism or refinement, of religion or irreligion, the use of intoxicants always spreads and increases. The passion for narcotics, once engendered, never dies out, never ceases; nay, it is for ever enlarging itself with the supply. Not only has the extent of surface over which the use reigned become greater by time, but wherever special efforts, including abstinence and prohibition, have been neglected for the repression of the evil, the vice has grown more intense in its power, and has most surely augmented in the number of its votaries and victims. Where special abstinence is inculcated, as amongst the ancient Jews, the later Mohammedans, and the modern Teetotalers, we have an

* Mr. De Quincey long since pointed out the fact, that, in this respect, wine was more of a deceiver even than opium. Mr. Thackeray, too, in his 'Virginians,' has declared the truth 'in the face of all the pumps,' and he is an excellent authority on such a point.

'There is a moment in a bout of good wine, at which, if a man could but remain, wit, wisdom, courage, generosity, eloquence, happiness, were his; but the moment passes, and that other glass somehow spoils the state of beatitude.'

Mr. De Quincey has a similar observation:—'The pleasure given by wine is always rapidly mounting, and tending to a crisis, after which it as rapidly declines. . . . . There is a crowning point in the movement upwards, which, once attained, cannot be renewed; and it is the blind, unconscious, but always unsuccessful effort of the obstinate drinker to restore this supreme altitude of enjoyment which tempts him into excesses that become dangerous.'

example

example of an 'empire within an empire,' governed by special laws. This is a case where individuals have, so to speak, withdrawn themselves from the operation of the law in question. Hence, in estimating the prevalence of intemperance amongst a general population, we should first of all exclude the members of temperance societies, as not fairly coming within the circle of the influence which we are investigating. Weak beverages and mild narcotics, amongst those who use them, become stepping-stones to stronger and more potent agents of inebriation. Tobacco prepares for opium, beer for gin, and light wines for French brandy. Thus has human nature, in its infatuated search after false and forbidden pleasure, passed through the discordant gamut of a bad and bitter experience, until in the nineteenth century of the Christian era, to adopt the language of the great historian Michelet, we have reached 'an age in which the progressive invasion of spirits and narcotics is an invincible fact, bringing with it results varying according to the populations; here obscuring the mind and barbarising beyond recovery; there fatally penetrating the foundations of the physical life, and attainting the race itself.' Dr. Morel, in his great work 'On the Causes of Physical Degeneracy,' founded on an extensive survey of the social condition of the people of Germany and France, places the universal use of alcoholics and narcotics amongst the chief causes of that decay in the physical existence of the people, which is unerringly indicated by their diminution of stature and weight, by the abridged duration of adult life, and, above all, by an increased proclivity to mental disorder.

Having, from the nature and quality of the drink proximately explained the phenomena of drunkenness, as a subjective state, the temperance philosopher goes back a step to account for the drinking itself. Ignoring the few reckless debauchees who resort of set purpose to the use of alcoholics as a means of exciting sensuous pleasure, and who must be placed on the same moral level with the Hindoo or Chinese smoker of opium, he asks why people in general first begin the use of strong liquor? Two chief grounds may be indicated.

First, men drink because they have faith in the traditional virtues of the beverage consumed, be it home-brewed, pale ale, or crusted port. Opinion always governs practice to a certain extent, but especially in pleasant things. Appetite is credulous of all assertions which jump with it—'The wish is *patron* to the thought.' While the popular opinion of the excellency of alcoholics prevails, men at large may be expected to continue drinking, whence will follow the old sad sequences as before. This belief, therefore, must be weakened or dissipated by the diffusion of sound physiological knowledge, which is the business of the educator and the temperance

temperance reformer. The experience of teetotalers everywhere shows that, as compared with drinkers, they possess a singular immunity from sickness. Extensive statistics (given in the volumes named at the head of this article) demonstrate the fact, that a body of abstainers will, placed under even less favourable circumstances than careful drinkers, only be subject to one-half the disease, and for less than half the time; whilst the highest teachers of physiological science, as Lehmann, Moleschott, Liebig, and Carpenter, coincide in casting alcoholics from their usurped place in the rank of food, and in remitting them, for exceptional use, to the category of medical stimulants.

That 'alcohol is a very dangerous and tricksy spirit,' needing the (supernatural) power of a Prospero to make it obedient,* is the admission of its ablest and subtlest champion. The introduction and common use of such an article within our family circle can hardly be recommended on any sound principle of ethical philosophy. It is, in fact, a brain-poison.

A second cause of drinking, which is perhaps still more potent with the multitude, is custom. It is in vain that men inculcate moral theories, so long as the practical atmosphere of social life antagonizes them. Ideas are powerless against institutions, interests, and temptations. People may proclaim the uselessness or the harmfulness of liquor, the danger of drinking, the evil example set to the young, the unwary, or the weak, and eulogize the excellence of abstinence—no matter, if Fashion, the true 'queen of the world,' decrees to drink, and Interest, its strongest king, commands to create and tempt, men will continue to do so. It may be a practice 'more honoured in the breach than the observance,' but what is that to

> 'Monster custom, that all sense
> Doth eat, of habits—Devil?'

All that we teach, dietetically or ethically, will come to naught, unless our social institutions, our daily customs and environments, are in harmony with it. As Lord Bacon declares, 'The bravery of words must be corroborate by custom.' This is the philosophy of temperance pledges and organizations, which furnish needful aids to the isolated virtue of individual example, giving a collective sanction to a novel or neglected protest, which shall neutralize the ignorant despotism of custom, since that which is impossible to be done alone is very easily achieved in association. As it is not to be expected that a people will rise above their 'circumstances' by any sudden impulse, it therefore becomes the duty and business of the social philosopher, with whom the idea is an actual potency, to inaugurate new conditions of a more harmonious and genial kind,

* G. H. Lewes in 'Westminster Review,' and 'Physiology of Common Life.'

out

out of which the germ of an improved social life may spring up into fruitful development.

This is emphatically true of a third cause of drinking, the social temptations presented by the gin-palace, the beer-shop, and the tavern. The author does not select any section of the traffic for special reprobation, and assuredly we do not believe that the 40,000 beer-shops inflict more injury than the 60,000 public-houses. It is quite desirable, indeed, that the laws on this subject should be assimilated and codified into one system, and referred to one executive authority; but it is contrary to history and experience to suppose that an authority which has never yet controlled the old public-houses effectually, will be able to repress the abuses of a system which will be extended by the assignment of so many beer-shops to their jurisdiction. It is also a delusion to suppose that more crime springs from the beer-shop—the public-house of the poor man—than from the tavern. Taking an average of many towns, it will be found that 10 per cent. of robberies from the person take place in the magisterially-licensed house, against less than 3 per cent. in the excise-licensed beer-shop. At the origin of beer-shops, absurd and exaggerated expectations were formed of their benefits (in utter ignorance of the physical law which determines that drunkenness increases in exact ratio with the consumption of strong drink); we ought not now to fall into the opposite blunder of painting these shops in darker colours than the truth warrants, and thus indirectly turn away the attention of the public mind from the cognate and more chronic evils of public-houses. It will be a great gain to destroy the beer-shops, but the suppression of the dram-shops and taverns would be a greater. The whole system must, socially and logically, stand or fall together. The traffic is sustained morally, and protected legally, by the authority of the law. As a political institution, raised into power and privilege by Parliament, it can only be suppressed, directly or indirectly, by the same power, whether by positive decree or delegated permission matters not. This is a question which it behoves every citizen to consider, and to decide according to the evidence. What, then, are the results of this system? Drunkenness and disorder, beggary, madness, suicide, and murder. Crime is so completely traceable to the perversion of drinking, and the temptations and accessories of the public-house and beer-shop, that the presiding judge at the Worcester summer assizes for 1859, declared, from a survey of the calendar, that had there been no drinking-houses, there would apparently have been no crime in that county. Since drunkenness, disease, depravity, and crime—evils, the reduction of which to a minimum is amongst the first and last objects of the social union—are the continual fruitage of the three classes of drinking-houses, it would seem but a principle of common

common justice, that the authority of deciding for or against their existence in any neighbourhood, should be remitted to the judgment of the inhabitants for the supply of whose wants, as it is alleged, these houses are allowed to carry on their business. Who more likely to judge aright, than those who constantly live around such houses, and who are to be affected, in person, property, and purse, by the 'curse' or the 'convenience' of this peculiar trade?

Statistics bring out the old truth that drinking is the exciting cause of at least three-fourths of serious crime; they also furnish a conjoint measure of the drunkenness and crime, by revealing 'the cause of the cause.' In fine, the measure of the public traffic is the general measure of the drunkenness and the disorder. Public-houses are the great factor in the causation of crime, at once neutralizing good agencies, and adding virulence to evil ones. As the traffic expands or collapses, other things remaining the same, so do drunkenness and violence. The public-house is the tangible cause, the *fons et origo* of our social mischief. Appealing to a preformed desire for intoxicants, it spreads the temptation and the snare; it suggests by signs and associations the forbidden and dangerous pleasure; it supplies the facilities; it hides the beginning, and profits by the excess of the evil, and, to crown and complete the whole, it carries on the process of seduction and ruin under the sanction and blazonry of law. Can we wonder, when such practical colleges of crime and nurseries of sensualism are thickly planted in the midst of the homes and workshops of the labouring classes, that mechanics' institutes languish in debt and difficulty; or that temperance societies themselves are but a series of spasmodic efforts, composed of alternate successes and relapses? It is the rankness of public-houses in the centres of industry, not the denseness of population—for that is a mere abstraction—which accounts for the prevalence of crime. So it is the number of temptations in any district, and not the fact of education or ignorance, that measures the drunkenness and violence. Comte d'Angeville has shown that six of the best-educated provinces of France are amongst the most criminal, while seven of the worst educated are the least criminal.* The solution is easy, for in the six we find the most, and in the seven the fewest, drinking facilities. Ireland supplies a similar illustration. Ignorant, dirty, and neglected Connaught is far less criminal than educated Leinster and Munster. Why? Because there are forty-two drinking-houses fewer to every 100,000 of the population than in any other province, and the per-centage of drunkenness is less than one-half the average. As observed by Mr. Moncrieff Wilson, 'the sale of intoxicating

* Vide 'Meliora,' vol. ii., p. 176. Art. Educational Fallacy.

liquor

liquor has perhaps as powerful an effect upon crime in increasing it, as education and occupation combined have in lessening it.' In Sweden and many parts of Scotland, again, we find an excess of religious and secular instruction coexisting with great drunkenness, much crime, and an amount of illegitimacy which equals the worst cities of Europe. In other words, drinking facilities counteract the tendencies of instruction, both secular and religious.

In Baden, Würtemburg, and other states of educated Germany, as attested by the inquiries of Mr. Recorder Hill, criminals are brought to prison, not by the negation ignorance, but because they have become, there as here, the victims of beer and wine drinking. M. Quetelet, referring to the fact that 'of 2,297 murders committed in France during four years, 446 were in consequence of quarrels and contentions in taverns,' observes that 'Man is not driven to crime because he is poor, but more generally because of an inadequacy to supply the artificial wants he has created.'

The statistics of English counties enforce the same conclusions. The unvarying correspondent of the crime is the public-house. If public-houses are beneath or above the average, so is crime. Crime, in short, dogs the steps of the traffic. Take six counties having fewest, and six having most, drinking-shops, the following result appears:—

With 1 public-house to 235 persons, we have 1 criminal to 762.
„ 1 „ 109 „ „ 591.

Cornwall and Monmouth have nearly the same average of worship, yet Cornwall is the least, and Monmouth the most, criminal of our counties.* In the first we have 1 drink-shop to 304 persons; in the second, 1 to every 118.

Save one, all remedies for intemperance in modern times, either from inadequacy or defect, have failed satisfactorily to abate the evil. Improved sanatory conditions and social privileges have not prevented its ravages. Full employment and high wages have been perverted to profligate uses. Liberty has run into intemperate license, and shamed our political suffrages. Recreations, at home and abroad, unless dissociated from drink, have degenerated into riot. National education and normal schools, pale cider and light wines, have coexisted with a continued increase of drunkenness both in America and in Germany. The approach to free trade in cheap beer, and the Beer Bill at home, have failed worst of all; and the proposal to extend this principle a little further can be regarded simply as the despair of philanthropy. Even temperance societies, while accomplishing a necessary work, and achieving an

* Difference of employment and of race will not affect the argument, since formerly Cornwall was much more criminal; while the people of Monmouth and South Wales, when the proprietors remove the drink-shops out of the way, as they have recently done in several localities, become as sober and law-observing as any other.

unquestioned

unquestioned good, are quite inadequate to cope with that 'throne of iniquity,' which, under the license of law, is perpetually laying waste the fields of social beauty which moral suasion had reclaimed.

The suppression of public-houses, however, has always succeeded to the extent to which it has been tried. The removal of the cause cannot fail to abate the effect. Actual facts confirm and illustrate the axiom. There are districts on the continent (Kornthall is one) where, the traffic suppressed, the entire social and moral condition of the people has undergone a surprising change for the better. There are villages and parishes in England and Wales (as Scorton,* Dinorwic, and some Devon parishes), in which, over a series of years, the removal of the public-house has been followed by the almost utter absence of drunkenness and pauperism, and the extinction of crime. In Scotland, there are about thirty parishes without a public-house, and in many of these no serious crime has been committed for years, poor-rates have become unnecessary, and drunkenness is 'a strange thing.' If prohibition at the mere will of proprietors or magistrates works so beneficially, we need hardly anticipate the failure of the same principle when sanctioned by the popular vote. After the first novelty has passed, the law will resolve itself gradually into the fixed habits of the people, and the amazing benefits of its operation must surely guarantee its permanence. If we have, then, any clear and true perception of the nature and causes of intemperance; if we apprehend the fact aright, that it is not only a vice and crime in itself, but one which is concatenated with evils which are rifest and most ruinous in our midst, and which stand in the path of a juster civilization; if we regard it as an effect of our own social habits, having its causes in false opinions and mistaken laws; if we believe that we can make powerful at home, a remedy which is potent in Massachusetts and

* In the village of SCORTON, near Lancaster, there are but about two families who do not regularly attend the Wesleyan Chapel. The late George Fishwick, Esq. (a man of great wealth and influence, a perfect gentleman and Christian), had a great abhorrence of liquor-shops, and conducted his own house on strictly temperance principles. He encouraged the working people to abstain from spending their 'money for that which is not bread;' allowing many of them to keep each a milch cow on his farm, on easy terms, so that each family had a good supply of milk and butter. As the village was not wholly in his hands, *two attempts were made to establish a public-house; but the people would neither go nor send to it;* so it was soon closed, and the village is free from the nuisance to this day. Now, what is the state of this village? Pauperism is almost unknown. There has been only one case before the magistrates for twenty years, and then the whole village felt itself disgraced, though the breaker of the law was a *stranger* among them. If a policeman happens to pass through the village, the children run out to look at him as a curiosity. There is a Wesleyan day-school, of which the people make good use, and a large and well-conducted Sunday-school. The chapel is filled with devout and attentive hearers, their easy circumstances being plainly manifest in their clothing and general appearance. What Scorton is without a public-house, thousands of villages will soon become when we get the Permissive Bill.

Maine,

Maine, where it has become the settled policy of the people, winning year by year increasing majorities by the unerring logic of its marvellous consequences; if we sincerely desire to behold the unimpeded triumph of our educational agencies of various kinds,—is it too much to hope that our country will at no distant day rise to the dignity of a patriotic surrender of those habits and institutions which weigh down her divinest energies, that tarnish the character of her people, that introduce elements of disturbance into every sphere of social life, and which frustrate the chief ends and highest aims of Government itself?

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ART IV.—1. *Report from the Select Committee on Lunatics; together with the Proceedings of the Committee, and Minutes of Evidence.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 5th August, 1859.

2. *Thirteenth Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy to the Lord Chancellor.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 12th August, 1859.

3. *Description of the Retreat, an Institution near York, for Insane Persons of the Society of Friends.* By Samuel Tuke. York. 1813.

CIVILIZATION has both its gloomy and cheering aspect; and each supplies a vast realm of thought to the mind in accordance with its tone, tendencies, and surroundings. Humanity delights to go back to the first faint dawnings of empires and epochs, to hang in silent rapture over the unfolding of new life and power. All men are in this respect enthusiastic naturalists, standing on the shore of the present, and peering down into the deep dark waters, enchanted with a creation as beautiful as that of a Victoria Regia. A yellow prickly mass rises slowly from the mud up to the light, the broad green leaves lap serenely upon the surface of the water, the large bud trembles in its emerald ark, and then the grand flower opens leaf by leaf, like a disrobing nymph, pale and radiant with a sweet consciousness of beauty. All are alike interested up to this point, when an empire or race has reared itself into beauty and symmetry; but when once a certain point is reached, of efflorescence, expansion, or decay, the minds of men begin to diverge into separate paths; the two aspects of civilization begin to develop themselves. Some minds are reaching forward to a period of greater promise, and others are scrutinizing and dissecting all the evils that are manifest, or are insinuating themselves at every forward movement. The ardent and philosophic launch into dreams of grand possibilities: Plato conceives a Republic, More a Utopia, Coleridge a Pantisocracy. The

The saturnine and moody see only the corrupted aftergrowths, or prevailing evils, in all their aggravated and ghastly nakedness; Swift scornfully creates his 'Gulliver's Travels,' Gibbon is fascinated with the wild waning of the empire of Rome, and Byron raves at the sad hollowness of life with the passion of a fallen angel. Both classes have our sympathy, while neither is wholly right. It is exalting to dream of ideal conditions, and upbuild ethereal fabrics and golden Arcadias; it may be even pardonable to find great interest in human depravity, and in the revulsion of strong feeling to despair. But it is more manly to do neither, if we are supinely content with our wild fancies or wilder caricatures. Faith in God, in humanity, in truth, ought to inspire us with a sublimer heroism than dreaming, a grander passion than despair. Shaking off all fancies and fears, the man who calmly confronts the miseries around with a brave duty before him, is the truest man; and that progress which shows itself in patient endeavours to ameliorate all the viciousness and misery it contracts in its onward sweep, is the purest and grandest civilization. It is unmanly to weep, sublime to create, divine to restore.

Humanity and tenderness are the only true marks of a heroic progression. Tried by this standard, our admiration of the vast systems of antiquity is certainly somewhat lessened. In fact, until Christianity assumed a living form and power, the civilization of all the nations was incomplete; it wanted its redeeming virtues. When our Saviour began the mission of evangelization, man had done his best and come short of the purer spirit. Much help, pity, and succour had been extended to suffering humanity; here and there some lofty soul had caught gleams of the coming dispensation; but few earnest, organized efforts had been exerted upon any extensive scale. Mercy and compassion had never thoroughly permeated the human heart, until the example and eloquence of the Galilean and his band of apostles had stirred it to its very depths, and placed before mankind the highest form of aspiration, 'Peace on earth, and good will towards man.'

It is not for us to trace the fluctuations of this new element in human life and history, to note its silent invisible progress; it is enough that we have endeavoured to enunciate a solemn and neglected truth. Whatever reverses this divinely-evoked principle of pity and compassion may have undergone, we may rejoice that in our day it has put forth new strength, and started forwards in newer fields of enterprise and conquest. We have not space to enumerate a tenth part of its exertions and influences: we would merely whisper a well-known name, bringing with it visions of sick soldiers and gentle spirits, and pass on.

To a healthy, intelligent man, there can be no more humiliating and saddening spectacle than that of a fellow-creature bereft of

what makes him Godlike and divine—a blank and melancholy semblance of humanity, a disfigured and distorted image of our All-wise Progenitor. Hence in early times a madman was deemed stricken of God, or the Nemesis, and poor feeble minds were reverenced as having something in them superhuman and saintly. It would have been well if such ideas had taken deeper root, and then our task had been a brighter and more pleasing one; for, whatever enlightenment did for the poor and needy, it does not seem to have done much for the miserable lunatic. A marked and hideous thing, a forlorn, mocked, and despised being, he was left to ramble abroad uncared for, alike amid summer's heat and winter's cold, cut off for ever from all sympathy and social relations. Amongst the Hebrews even, with all their preshadowings of purer things, the man bereft of reason was little better treated. When David simulated madness at Gath, and 'scrabbled on the doors of the gate, and let his spittle fall down upon his beard,' Achish, the king, said, 'Have I need of madmen, that ye have brought this fellow to play the madman in my presence? Shall this fellow come into my house?' And we may regard the terrible visitation upon Nebuchadnezzar as that of insanity, with all its violent human and social estrangements. In Greece, the insane seem to have been rare, owing, probably, to the great attention ever paid to physical health and robustness. When in good circumstances, as later in Rome, they were retained under the supervision of their friends, but when poor they must have depended for subsistence upon the state, coming yearly for their pittance before the senate, with their olive branch wreathed with wool, along with the aged and otherwise infirm. In neither Greece nor Rome can we find any attempts to mitigate their condition or reclaim them; and the luxurious patron of Horace and Virgil, soothing his sleepless brain by the murmur of fountains and cascades, is our only evidence of any palliative means whatever. The only receptacle for the poorer sort of Roman lunatics was the common prison, in which the law enacted that they should be confined in chains; and only the compassion of the officer in charge came between the law and its unhesitating fulfilment. Even in more Christian times, amongst ourselves, the poor madman was deemed little better than a brute; and men shrugged their shoulders pharisaically as they passed him, quieting their consciences by imagining he had forfeited all claims upon their charity or fellow-feeling. If he chanced to be wealthy, his relatives took care of him, but were rather tetchy if their prerogative was interfered with or questioned. Horace Walpole writes so late as 1777: 'In April, my nephew, Lord Orford, went mad again, and was under my care; but as he had employed a lawyer of whom I had a bad opinion in his affairs, I refused to take care of them.'

them.' Nominally, however, his nephew was still under his charge, for he adds, the next year: 'My Lord Orford recovering in March, I gave up the care of him.' For the poor there was hardly any other refuge than the gloomiest cells of a common prison. Here all curative treatment resolved itself into two courses. When violent, or goaded into being so by cruel gaolers, he was buffeted, whipped, and starved, that he might gently come back to reason. If he was mild and harmless, or had come to some degree of soberness, we learn from Aubrey, who is confirmed by allusions in Shakspeare, that when licensed to go out 'an armilla of tin, printed, of about three inches breadth,' was soldered upon the left arm, and he was sent forth to beg a miserable subsistence as best he might. In 'King Lear' we have a description of this class, who formed the centre of many a terrible ballad and weird village legend.

> 'The country gives me proof and precedent
> Of Bedlam beggars, who, with roaring voices,
> Strike in their numb'd and mortified bare arms,
> Pins, wooden pricks, nails, sprigs of rosemary;
> And with this horrible object, from low farms,
> Poor pelting villages, sheepcotes, and mills,
> Sometimes with lunatic bans, sometimes with prayers,
> Enforce their charity.'

These unfortunates were even persecuted for their erratic fancies, as many an old crone had been by swimming and torture because she chanced to suffer from indigestion, and plucked her rue leaves or dug up her gentian root to relieve it. A poor madman in the reign of James I., who called himself the Holy Ghost, was burned at the stake because, forsooth, he knew no better.

But at length there came a mighty upheaving in the religious and social life, bringing with it many important general reforms. It only partially affected the insane by providing them one place in the whole of our country for their resort and restoration. A citizen of London, Simon Fitz-Mary, had founded, in 1247, a convent called the House of Bethlehem, from its yearly payment of one mark to the bishop of that name; and in the course of a century from its foundation it had gradually assumed the character of a hospital. An inquisition taken in 1403 reports that there were in the house six lunatics and three other sick persons. In 1546 the hospital was presented to the City by Henry VIII., and was subsequently placed under the control of the governors of Bridewell, and entirely set apart for the insane. In 1664 there were forty-four inmates; and the building falling into a ruinous condition, the corporation set apart 17,000*l.* for a new one, on the model of the Tuileries in Paris. It was rebuilt again in 1815. But in 1751 Bethlem was relieved of its overplus of patients by the opening of St. Luke's, with accommodation for something like

three hundred patients. We can say nothing as to the kind treatseent of the inmates during these periods, for Bethlem Hospital mems to have inaugurated the almost hellish system of heavily-locked manacles, hobbles, muzzles, stocks, and other instruments of torture, that make our blood curdle as we read of them. A very few years after its appropriation for lunatics, a committee reported that it was too loathsome to be visited, and down even to 1814 a most cruel confinement and coercion prevailed. The patients were mostly chained to the walls, either by one arm or leg, so as just to be able to stand upright and sit down, and a miserable blanket covering the body was all that could keep them warm or render them human. The men are described as looking like so many wretched dogs in some huge filthy kennel. Squalor and misery reigned supreme and omnipotent, and the walls of the hospital enclosed quite a mimic Pandemonium. In fact, it was not until the fame of this hospital had extended itself that we find the expressive word 'Bedlam' introduced into our language. Shakspeare is the first who uses it, in the Second Part of Henry VI., where the king speaks of York's 'bedlam and ambitious humour;' so little as yet had humanity done, with all the new impulses flowing from a renovated religion, to soften and commiserate the condition of her degraded and unfortunate outcasts.

If the English and the Dutch claim to be first in establishing special retreats for the insane, to the French are due the first attempts to restore them by gentler and more humane efforts. St. Vincente de Paul, a poor parish priest at Clichy, who, assisted by a pious and benevolent lady, founded the order of missions, afterwards called the Lazarites, from the house of St. Lazarus, in Paris, where their chief strength lay, was unceasing in his endeavours to ameliorate the condition of the insane. He recommended their admittance into the hospitals in place of the common prisons, and by various exercises of benevolence began a better state of things. Ténon, a French physician, and La Rochefoucauld also helped in the great movement; the former by an essay upon their state and treatment, the latter by an able memoir based upon it brought before the Constituent Assembly. Pinel, the humane physician of the Bicêtre, contributed a real and tangible result in favour of lighter restraints and an entirely new system of treatment by his liberations during the Reign of Terror. Twelve of the most violent cases were released at starting as the first part of the experiment, and the effect was magical. Their bonds removed, and entire confidence established between the patients and the physician, nature herself struggled up to the light of reason like flowers towards the sun. The strangest case of all was the first one. The man was an English captain, a wild and terrible

terrible fellow, who had once felled a keeper, as an ox, with one swing of his manacled arm. He had been confined so long that neither his name nor his crime—if he were guilty of any—could be remembered. The physician approached him alone, and told him his errand, and that he would merely substitute a waistcoat for his fetters. The man seemed full of wonder and amazement. His chains were removed, and the door of his cell left open. And when at length, after several ineffectual attempts, his feeble limbs, cramped and fettered for forty long and terrible years, were able to sustain him, he tottered to the door, and like a spent and broken-winged bird, gushing forth a song, half joy half pain, at recovered liberty, he seemed to grow wild and ecstatic at the sight of the bright blue heavens. From that hour he was a sane man, and assisted in quietly managing the house for the two years prior to his final liberation. Many other cases—some fifty in number—where reason returned upon the removal of the inmates from their damp cells and fiendish tortures, fully justified the most sanguine hopes of Pinel. His philanthropic example was followed in various provincial prisons with the same striking success.

The British nation, ever slow to be fully aroused, was still slumbering on, imagining herself to be the perfect embodiment of charity and loving-kindness because she tortured the crazy to prevent them injuring other people, and now and then bestirred herself to erect a few asylums in different parts of the country. Had she not her Bethlem and St. Luke's, her private houses here and there for the better class of patients? were not her taxes devoted to keep these men and their keepers, to pay for iron collars, fetters, and gags innumerable? why should she be moved by a multitude of crack-brained Bedlam Toms? And so the nation nodded in self-complaisant after-dinner philanthropy, with one hand on her money-bags and the other on her digestive centre, until private individuals by their schemes and acts brought shame and reproach upon the dreaminess of patriotic parliaments. As a solitary wakeful exception, we know of no stranger one than that of the irascible and moody Dean Swift, at heart somewhat miserly, and flaring upon us from his writings like a portentous meteor, bequeathing, ere he himself became imbecile and blank, half his large fortune to erect and endow a hospital for lunatics. The two more prominent manifestations of private enterprise both began in the fine old city of York, the conglomerate representation of so many distinct civilizations. In the first movement of 1772, its ostensible object was the erection of a public edifice for those deplorable lunatics 'who had no other support than a needy parent could bestow, or a thrifty parish officer provide.' Archbishop Drummond headed the scheme; inquiries brought to light a considerable number of this

this class in the three ridings, and the result was the York Asylum, constructed to hold fifty patients, with one matron, one head keeper, and three servants of each sex. The number of attendants was amusingly small, but had not been enlarged when some years later the asylum contained two hundred inmates. Things ran on well for a time; but with the introduction of a better class of patients to make it pay, came feeing of physicians, neglect of the poorer sort, irregular, or rather no visitation at all, and the most flagrant internal abuse and disorder. The second organized movement was destined to revolutionize the whole system of asylum provisions and treatment. Springing from an apparently trivial incident, it serves to add another to the many curious instances of great things arising out of merest trifles; the digestion of a king affecting the destiny of an empire, and the overturning of a coach developing into new relations some ordinary human life. The falling of an apple produces the theory of gravitation, the marvellous memories of ox-eyed youths begets phrenology, and the refusal of acquaintances to visit a female of the Society of Friends, confined in a private house near York, and her subsequent death, were sufficient to create from pre-existing sympathies the salutary plan of dealing with the insane as human beings and human brethren. This event took place in 1791. The soul and impetus of this change seems to have had no great notions of any national good or honour to himself accruing from it; like many another brave man, he merely saw it to be necessary as far as it regarded his particular section of the community, and quietly and orderly set to work. There had been many conversations, many 'thees' and 'thous' on the subject, until a definite suggestion was made to William Tuke, who, ably assisted by Lindley Murray, shaped his ideas into form, and brought them before a Quarterly Meeting at York in March 1792. There was something very natural in these grave and kindly men, who had made their lives and dress so noble a protestation of principle and spirit, combining with such unostentatious benevolence to frame an indirect protest, and an actual remedy for so unchristian a state of things. It would be well if we could always remember such instances of heroic generosity in place of the drab coats and broad-brimmed hats by which, until lately, the elements of Quakerism were supposed to be defined and manifest.

Preliminaries arranged, and something like a thousand pounds in hand, land was purchased, a design was selected, and May 1796 saw the Retreat finished, opened, and succeeding so admirably, that two additional wings were soon required. A more rational treatment of the insane was commenced under Dr. Fowler, and continued by his successors, Drs. Capp and Belcombe, displaying so much sound commonsense that we are inclined to find amuse-

ment

ment in the contrasts brought out between the old and the new systems. Taking as their groundwork what Locke had said concerning the education of children, that 'the great secret lies in finding the way to keep the child's spirit easy, active, and free, and yet at the same time to restrain him from many things he has a mind to, and to draw him to things which are uneasy to him,' they adapted themselves to individual moods and cases. For the purposes of control they employed few mechanical means, relying upon the confidence which kindness invariably induces, striving to evoke in the blunted and wayward mind that desire of esteem which is rarely altogether absent, and clinging in all their operations to those remnants of affection that will often survive the wreck of every right mental perception. Indolence, that consuming vice of the mind, they sedulously banished, encouraging sprightly games, reading, writing, drawing, and useful occupations. Active physical exercise was not forgotten, but was judiciously adapted to particular cases, especially hypochondriacal ones. One unfortunate individual who declared 'I have no soul; I have neither heart, liver, nor lungs; nor anything at all in my body, nor a drop of blood in my veins; my bones are sometimes burnt to a cinder; I have no brain; and my head is sometimes as hard as iron, and sometimes as soft as pudding,' marked out his own line of cure by walking two hundred miles in company with a friend, and arriving at the Retreat much the better for his tramp. The attendants were amiable and thoughtful persons, anxious to carry out in their integrity the principles of their superiors, and so skilled in the arts of conciliation and making comfortable as to need no stronger provocative than fear to accomplish their wishes. The medical part was equally rational and sensible. The warm bath was found to be much more efficacious in mania than the cold one; and the idea of their insensibility to atmospheric changes was entirely dissipated, their experience of its injurious and often fatal effects being confirmed by the famous physician of L'Hôpital de Bicêtre, in Paris, already mentioned. In cases where heretofore sleep had been obtained by narcotics, these sensible observers found that a full and generous meal had the same effect upon man as animals. Topical blood-letting was occasionally employed, but there were none of those extravagant proceedings so common elsewhere. The whole organization was so complete and humane in comparison with others, that foreign physicians of celebrity were attracted thither by its fame, took back with them enlarged and exalted views of the greatness of their work, and have left us eloquent testimonials of its simplicity, order, and efficiency.

In 1813, Mr. Samuel Tuke, a grandson of the founder of the York Retreat, published an account of that institution, with some general

general reflections upon the care and cure of the insane, and a tabular statement of cases. Dr. Best, the physician to the York Asylum, imagined he discovered throughout the book a concealed attack upon the institution under his care, and rushed into print with an affected quixotism. His valour, and the controversy generally, attracted public attention, when unfortunately for him some not very creditable cases came to the knowledge of Mr. Godfrey Higgins, a magistrate of the West Riding, who succeeded in getting an investigation, and disclosing an amount of gross cruelty and corrupt dealing within the asylum that at last fairly aroused a phlegmatic people and an abstracted parliament. A select committee sat and heard evidence that made all the horrors of Radcliffe romances and Black Holes tame and delightful. The wretched state of Bethlem and St. Luke's was fully exposed, with details of chains and tortures, nakedness and starvation that we humanely refrain from inflicting upon our readers. So widely had the management of these places deviated from the ordinary course that even their therapeutics had become crazy and empirical. Twice every year all the curable patients were commonly bled, and dosed with cathartics and emetics, while the physician himself was oftener insanely intoxicated than otherwise. Public opinion was at last fairly awakened: parliament bestirred itself in a series of enactments on the subject which are in themselves a history. Medical men began to examine, theorize, and write books. Asylums crowned healthy eminences in almost every county, and recognized visitations kept the authorities on the alert and prevented all serious mismanagement. The poorer class of lunatics had ample provision made for them. Commissioners in lunacy were appointed, boards established, and in the estimation of all poor Tom of Bedlam became a virtual man, whom it behoved his fellow-men to restore, and charity at least to pity, console, and treat kindly. From being harmless saints and dangerous sinners, modern maniacs became simple childish creatures and educatable beings.

Collateral with this humane progress in England, a similar movement, as regards the science of mind generally, sane and insane, was shaping itself amongst the dreamy thinkers of Germany. The one with her sober practical inclinations busily rectifying past evils, and improving the condition of a large unfortunate class; the other, unconsciously following out her mission of thinking upon everything and for everybody, was regarding madness in newer and more startling aspects. Her active minds ran swiftly where we had been content to creep on all fours. Insanity with them was the reverse of pure wisdom—folly; and putting together their knowledge of the different organs of mind as revealed in the demarcations of lunacy, the various stages of development possible and

and impossible, and the wild freaks of nature in her distorted life, they proceeded to frame an extended system of science, physical and psychological. Madness to them was, as it were, a geologic upheaving of the different mental strata whereby they might recur to inceptive processes, general laws, and exceptive instances. They began by assuming the existence of folly, and thereupon penetrating in various directions after what they dimly recognized as wisdom in the concrete. They were like so many Champollions, Layards, and Rawlinsons groping among the wrecks of the mind, deciphering its weird characters and mutilated pictures, and sending reason and fancy far and wide with wild untiring wing. We cannot find that practically or beneficially they applied the strange secrets they had wrung from an exhausted and powerless nature. Its only influence seems to have been upon their literature and general studies, pervading all their university teaching, and affecting even less transcendental English students with somewhat of its mysticism. They were in possession of new keys to history, biography, and all the imaginative literature, both prose and poetical, that a past or present fecundity opened around them, and they soared at once into higher regions of critical and philosophical speculation. Not content with mere representations, even though they were marionettes, they carefully analyzed all the hidden mechanism of strings and wires. How far their ideas of literary conception and execution were affected by their anthropology, will be seen in the following definition of a tragedy by an English friend of Barry Cornwall's, studying at Göttingen. He is speaking of the connection between the studies of the physician and the dramatist, and adds: 'It still remains for some one to exhibit the sum of his experience in mental pathology and therapeutics, not in a cold, technical, dead description, but a living, semiotical display, a series of anthropological experiments, developed for the purpose of ascertaining some important psychical principle—*i.e.*, a tragedy.*

But Teutonic restlessness was not content to stop here. Another science, starting from an apparently different point, had come alongside, and, more materialistic and empirical, was tending to quite as singular a result. While Kant and Schubert were reasoning from within outwards, Gall and Spurzheim were fingering the 'indentations of skulls, and from an exterior status as shadowy as the fulcrum upon which the lever of Archimedes ideally moved the world, were focussing their little gleams of knowledge, and mapping out the organic brain. In this the new science was but following in the wake of older ones. The latter had dealt with the general laws of mind; the former created from individuals

* 'Poems, Posthumous and Collected, of Thomas Lovell Beddoes,' vol. i. p. 51.

a system

a system which she again applied to individuals, reaching its acme in the leaden cap proposed to accommodate itself to the good and evil bumps of a young child's cranium, and its imus in the physiognomy of Carus and Lavater. Anthropology and phrenology might have done great things for insanity if the vigorous common-sense of our own nation had directed them. They were floating volumes of heavenly fire that wanted wire and needle to guide and control their wild flashes. Unfortunately we cannot discern much that is pre-eminently human about either. From the former our medical science and literature have received a new and healthier impetus; but we regard it as the signal failure of the latter that, with all its anatomical disclosures, and its professions of educating men and nations to something higher and completer than our nature has yet known, it has fallen dumb and prostrate before images its own vehemence had doomed, and proved so empty and delusive in a science where by directness and volume it would seem to have promised a thorough and catholic revolution.

Fully comprehending all this, and the complex character of the natural history of insanity, we are confronted by the stern, cold fact of a Sphynx problem as yet unread and unsolved. In this there is something sadly humiliating to our proud natures. Falconlike we have wheeled aloft to the very stars, and quarried upon all the kingdoms and treasures of the earth, but here, even in our own minds, in their estrangements and hallucinations we are trashed, mewed, and hooded. We can discern the inner life of plants, animals, and seas, and wring from the stony pages of the great earth-volume answers to our everlasting inquiries, and secrets that seemed bound up as firmly in its rocky leaves as the great book of spells in the death-grasp of Michael Scott. But with all our morbid self-examination and subjective philosophizing, wherein even our literature has not escaped some slight tincturing, we stand abashed and confounded before the phenomena of our own minds. We have come to know something of our bodies, but we know little as yet respecting our minds either in health or disease. In purely physical pathology there have been a few feeble movements towards systematization. The chief of these is of German origin, and had its preshadowings in the period already referred to—we mean homœopathy. But we cannot find that any like ambitious attempt has been made in psychology. The absence of this coherence is shown alike by scientific and unscientific books. One or two authorities, however, stand out conspicuously, and the future may see from them all that can be hoped for or desired in this respect. At present we meet with curious remnants of the old methods, dovetailed into more modern and enlightened economies. We are yet apt to cherish the idea, that on the disarrangement or obliteration of the mental faculties all that makes the man is gone, and

and guided by that idea we adapt our treatment. There is little feeling, even with the tremulous fingers of a blind man, after what portions of the mind and heart remain intact, and may help to supply and work out the entirety of the whole. A man is wild and raving, and ten to one but he gets violently used by some keeper, whose only recommendation for the office is a large amount of muscular strength and rude courage. The sane side of an insane mind, so to speak, rarely troubles either a physician or attendant to discover, at least in the majority of cases. Personal freedom, even for the gratification of harmless freaks, is not always allowed, but a sullen gloom engendered by fierce opposition and strict seclusion. We still half believe that doctoring, after divers and sundry fashions, is all the education desirable, and in many of our asylums there preponderates the gloomy, prison-like appearance that oppresses even a healthy man. More light, cheerfulness, colour, diversity, and airiness are required in such places; and we are pleased to find in the present report reiterated recommendations to this effect, and kindly notices of the additions of pictures and flowers to the rooms and galleries, and greater attractions to the gardens and pleasure-grounds generally. We all know that anything bright is cheerful and attractive, or we should not turn out so for constitutionals in the sunshine, or crowd the cosy fire at eventide; and many a poor lunatic has wasted a fund of affection upon a polished candlestick or a bit of coloured glass. Warmth and personal comfort, too, are not sufficiently thought of, and the old belief of the madman's insensibility to cold clings to us yet.

In such matters as these we have not hitherto been able entirely to put from us the influence of the elder system; but as all defects and mismanagement are sure either to attract the notice of the commissioners, or the Alleged Lunatics' Friend Society, and come before the public in some form or other, we are in a fair way for doing so most effectually.

But setting aside the want of a broad and liberal philosophy of insanity, there are yet many points in the social and general condition of the insane, revealed in these official papers, that demand our attention. There exist several singular anomalies in the laws for the admission and discharge of patients upon which considerable stress is laid in the parliamentary evidence. The law requires that the admission order shall be signed by two medical men, and although it expressly states that the admittance of a patient upon an informal or inadequate certificate is a misdemeanour, it omits to specify the really responsible person. In case of its rejection by the commissioners, the paper is [redacted] for amendation; but this not being [redacted] the relieving officer, if it is a [redacted]

do with it, and the medical men the same. The commissioners have no power to order a second trial, and the sane or insane subject of it all may be either mercilessly retained or unceremoniously discharged. Even in case of an inquisition, the liberty of the subject is seriously impaired. A notice is served upon the person, but he or she has no *right* to be present, except by attorney, and there are no regulations either for cross-examination or tendering contrary evidence. The case of a lady, at least partially sane, who was promised a solicitor, but could not obtain one for this purpose, is tendered in evidence in this report. In these matters there is ample room for improvement, especially when we consider how much we are behind our neighbours in this respect. The Dutch seem to be the only persons who exclude from the insane all knowledge of the charge preferred against him. In Russia and Prussia a thorough investigation takes place, and the chance of improper admittance is very small indeed. In France and Belgium the laws are very cautious and discriminating. A Frenchman's case is examined before a *conseil de famille*, at which evidence *pro* and *con* may be offered, and even then the magistrate employs a special medical man, and the *procureur de roi* a second, ere his insanity is considered proven. The *conseil de famille* exists in Belgium, but a like confinement to ours by certificate is practised, with the machinery of local committees and general boards. In this local judicature Belgium resembles America, where almost every town has its court of trial and appeal in such cases. The Channel Islands afford a similar examination, no person being confined except upon the jurats, who are the judges, immediately summoning a court of five or six persons, with two physicians to aid in their consultation. Growing out of this disparity in our law, which leaves such a margin for possible duplicity and fraud, is an admirable proposition to the effect that a sanatorium, or probationary asylum, be established near London, under the auspices of the commissioners, erected by government, but self-sustaining, for all cases of doubtful insanity where the patient had previously been placed in an asylum. This would obviate many of those cases of not unfrequent occurrence, where persons having been found lunatic by inquisition, however falsely, have neither hope nor means of further help left them. The greater proportion of cures take place within the first six months; but the chancery lunatic seems so well secured for a longer term when he once gets within an asylum, that he rarely gets cured at all. This is a startling fact, and even when due allowance is made for severe and hereditary cases, we cannot but marvel that only eleven persons have been cured in ten years out of nine hundred cases, whereas during the same period the proportion in other patients has been infinitely greater.

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With regard to the discharge of patients the law is little less hampering and absurd. Two separate commissioners have power, after two distinct visits, with an interval of seventy days, to decide as to fitness for discharge, but medical testimony in addition is required, and a considerable period may intervene. And in order also to procure a *supersedeas*, if the lunatic is under commission, no matter how long he may have been confined, or how long he may have been, or whether he was ever insane at all, it is necessary for him to acknowledge a previous insanity. The case of a debtor in York gaol is mentioned who was also under a commission of lunacy, and reported to several successive chancellors to be sane, but was still detained because he was silly enough not to comply with a sillier law. A criminal, too, whose lunacy may have supervened during his term of imprisonment, has no means of becoming, after the expiry of that term, an ordinary patient, but is confined as long as his madness continues, it may be even, as in a recent case at Colney Hatch, for full eight years.

The next point for attention is the inadequacy in the number of attendants and their too indiscriminate selection. The average to every hundred patients is little more than four, and in refractory cases under twenty. Nor when we consider how much depends upon their management in both curable and incurable cases, can we elevate too much the standard of qualification and intelligence. They are either helps or hindrances in the measures of their superiors, and the number of those discharged for brutal behaviour between 1847 and 1853, of male attendants no less than forty-nine, the charges recorded against them in the statutory returns, and the continued references, even in the present report, to the black eyes and bruises of the inmates, some of which are doubtless self-made, though not all—all these strongly indicate the necessity of a superior class of men. In one case of severe ill-usage, mentioned in both the blue books, the attendant was a sailor and had but recently come ashore. Nor does it appear that any but a very shadowy authority has power to exercise prompt command over a regular attendant; he can only be dismissed by a board. In all large establishments, therefore, the appointment of a suggested superintendent of attendants, invested with higher powers, is eminently desirable. The commissioners have particularly recommended an increase of night attendants, as calculated to soothe the noisy and restless by removing sources of irritation, and attending to their wants and personal comfort. This is as much a matter of preventive humanity, in all violent and epileptic cases, as of cleanliness and economy.

Seclusion is still practised to a very considerable extent, and the commissioners are full of warning on this head. The great number of cases of solitary confinement resulting in insanity in

both

both home and foreign penitentiaries, is assuredly sufficient to carry weight and force with their cautions. Although many eminent authorities agree as to its beneficial employment in some cases, we ought to insist upon each one being recorded in the books as such, never allowing its adoption, as shame to tell has been the case, from economical motives, and as a substitute for the watchfulness and supervision of proper attendants. The general and proper tendency is to abolish both seclusion and refractory wards. But undue mechanical restraints are often unnecessarily employed. At Haverfordwest, where for many years a sort of refined Bedlam has been upheld, four heavy restraint chairs are noticed as still existing, in spite of repeated recommendations to the contrary. We read that a patient found there in September, 1857, 'in a restraint chair in a dark cell, with her hands and feet cold, her arms confined in iron sleeves, and with bruises on her legs and on her eye, died shortly afterwards,' and that her death was returned as 'natural decay!' The case of Dewsbury workhouse in June, 1847, was even worse. One man was found fastened by a chain and wristlock to the bench; a second was chained by the leg; and a third was hobbled with a short chain attached to rings. Several women, too, were chained, and the commissioner says: 'I found most of these patients' (elsewhere described as 'in a quiet state') 'were also chained to their beds at night.' He adds: 'The attendants in the lunatic wards, who are not responsible paid officers, but pauper inmates of the house, are intrusted with all the instruments of restraint, which are very numerous and in great variety; and as far as I could ascertain there is no check whatever to their employing them when they think fit.'

The same practice resulting from inferior attendants is confirmed by the report for the following year, and cases, of the workhouse of St. George the Martyr, Southwark. Improper restraints, it would seem, are more common in workhouse wards and in private houses than in county asylums. The case of Acomb House, near York, in which a lady patient had been violently and indecently used by the medical proprietor, will be fresh in the memories of our readers. A bench warrant, we are happy to add, still remains in force against the self-exiled man.

To remove all these remnants of the elder system nothing can prove so efficient as a better system of visiting. In this the Lunatics' Friend Society has unquestionably effected much. When one of its members visited poor Feargus O'Connor, the proprietor of the asylum bluntly observed: 'I assure you I would rather see the devil in my asylum than you.' And, in truth, to an uneasy man it is impossible to conceive anything more annoying

ing and disturbing. On the question of visiting by the authorities, and the various modifications of existing rules so desirable, there is ample room for enlargement.

Let it not be supposed that we have given undue prominence to this subject in any of its bearings. The treatment of the insane, physically, morally, and socially, is one of the great problems of our day; and while in foreign countries, and partially amongst ourselves, the cretin, the idiot, the deaf, the mute, and the blind are being gradually reclaimed and placed upon something like ordinary human levels, we have an ample field for all our philanthropy and generosity. Yon weak and wandering man now crooning to himself like a child, anon raving in wild storms of passion, or skipping and gambolling like Puck himself, has all the claims of human relationship upon us. He may have forfeited some of his highest gifts, and wrenched himself away from the love and compassion of his friends, but in the estimation of society he ought never to lose his human birthright, or lack the tendernesses of some good Samaritan. When Sophocles was charged with insanity by his sons, he read to the judges his 'Œdipus Coloneus;' and many a poor lunatic nowadays might point to his simple love for nature, and all her sweet sights and sounds, and even his erratic friendships, to prove that he is not wholly destitute of a man's nature and heart. To civilization with its excessive brain-work and over-culture, its continued strain upon the nervous centres, its intermarriages, its poverty, and its inefficient and adulterated food, most of our insanity is owing; and surely it is our duty to be prompt and open-handed in all remedial measures, penetrated by impulses of pure beneficence and Christian love. The old blind bard of Greece, weary and wayworn, but glad at heart, and busy with pictures of fancied repose, enters the gates of Cumæ, where cradled in the lap of a tender mother he drew in his young life. At first honoured, he is at length refused the city's hospitality, and full of tears and bitter thoughts he turns his back upon the ungrateful place. The poor crazed man is the product of our civilization and its concomitant evils, and he lifts up to us his dim eyes and beseeching hands like this aged beggar. And may all the curses he vented against the Cumæans fall upon us if we shut our hands against help, and close our ears to the divine voices of muses more beautiful and winning than ever couched amid the clouds of Parnassus, or tripped amid the dewy glens of Cithæron!

ART. V.—1. *Life and Liberty in America.* By Charles Mackay, LL.D. 1859.
2. *Glimpses of Affairs in America.* By W. Chambers. 1857.
3. *Letters from the Slave States.* By James Stirling. 1857.
4. *File of the New York 'Tribune.'* 1858-60.

THE atmosphere of the domestic politics of the United States has never been of the mildest nature. The union fought itself into being, and its subsequent existence has been one of continual strife. But latterly the aspect of affairs has yearly been assuming a more and more gloomy appearance, until at the present time a crisis of great magnitude seems to be impending over the country, threatening the dismemberment of the confederation, and the introduction of the numerous calamitous events which would 'tread on the heel' of such an unfortunate occurrence. But virtually, or at all events, morally speaking, the union of the States ceased to exist when the independence of the colonies was recognized by the mother country. During the revolutionary war the entire population, white and black, were bound together in the prosecution of a common cause, for the attainment of a common object—the individual as well as national liberty of the whole people, without distinction of colour or circumstance; but no sooner had the war terminated, than discord appeared in the camp of the republic: for whilst some of the States, in the most honourable manner, proceeded either to liberate their slaves, or provide for their gradual emancipation, as a meet reward for their patriotism, others of them, to their eternal disgrace, sought rather to consolidate and intensify the sufferings of the unfortunate negroes, who, though they had fought and bled for the liberation of the commonwealth, were deprived of all share in the glorious results of the successful issue. The consequence of this was an actual division of the States into two sections—the one north, and free, the other south, and slave—between whom there has since been an unintermitting contest for supremacy. The late disgraceful proceedings at Washington in the matter of the election of Speaker were a fair sample of the kind of warfare which has been going on for the last eighty years or more. The question of slavery has been the foundation of all the troubles of the Union: a retrospective glance at the history of that subject will not, therefore, be uninteresting.

The declaration of independence was made on the 4th July, 1776, but there was no regular federal constitution framed until 1787, and that did not come into execution until 1789. During the interval the country was governed by a 'Congress of Confederation,' which sat sometimes at New York and sometimes at Philadelphia.

Down

Down to 1789, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and Rhode Island had made provision for the emancipation of their slaves.

In 1783 the old Congress met for the purpose of considering the subject of 'ways and means,' and to apportion between the several States the liabilities incurred during the war just then brought to a close. The basis adopted was that of population. The first question that presented itself was the manner in which the slaves should be counted, or whether they should be counted at all. The slave States maintained that the blacks ought not to be counted, on the ground that they were 'property' and not persons; but the free States held the reverse: the slaves, they said, were persons and not 'property,' and ought, therefore, to be counted. After considerable discussion, however, a compromise was adopted, the matter being settled by reckoning three-fifths only of the slaves as a basis of population.

In 1784, Virginia and some other States ceded to government a large tract of territory to the west of the Ohio, to be appropriated for the benefit of the national treasury. No sooner had the Congress met to consider the organization and settlement of these territories, than the question arose as to whether they should be occupied by slave or free labour. Here, again, the north and south were at issue, and the struggle continued for three years without any conclusive result. On the 1st March 1784, a committee was appointed to report on the matter. Mr. Jefferson was the leading member, and the originator of the main article of the report, which was to the effect that slavery should be excluded from all the territories of the Union, which might be admitted into the confederation of States in future. On the 19th April this proposition was rejected by Congress. The friends of liberty made one more effort in March 1785, but were again defeated. During the debates some of the representatives of the slaveholding States were most violent in their denunciations; and not a few of them threatened withdrawal from the Union if their views were not adopted. Indeed, things were brought to such a pitch, that it was found impossible to carry on the business of the country.

As a last resort a convention was called in order to form a firmer government, and reconsider the subject of the territories. The first thing to do was to organize a system of representation. It was settled that population should be the basis. Then reappeared the vexed question as to how the slaves were to be counted. The matter had been settled in respect of taxation by counting five negroes as three persons. The South was willing to adopt the same plan as a basis of representation; but the North objected, on the same grounds that the South had previously demurred when the subject of taxation was under consideration.

Finally, another special committee was formed. The result was the birth of a new compromise, which obtained the concurrence of both the contending parties. The South, on its part, conceded that the territories north and west of the Ohio should be free, provided that every facility should be given to slaveholders in pursuit of 'fugitives from labour' from out the slave States, and who might have secreted themselves in the free States; and the North, on its part, accepted the three-fifths calculation of the slaves as a basis of representation, and also subscribed to the article which guaranteed to the Slave-traders the integrity of their inhuman traffic until the 1st January 1808. By this arrangement the pro-slavery party was for the time appeased, and the abolitionists satisfied. The latter considered that they had obtained more advantageous terms than their opponents, consoling themselves with the idea that slavery would cease to exist upon the prohibition of the external trade. Their hopes were strengthened by the progress already made in the direction of emancipation by many of the States, and by the partial measures introduced by some of the remaining States, which seemed to indicate that they would ere long follow the example of their more liberal confederates; for several of the southern States had already passed laws for the prohibition or restriction of negro imports. Even North Carolina, which had been so strenuous in its opposition to Jefferson's territorial motion, had prohibited the trade for twelve months, an experiment which she afterwards repeated annually until 1804; but in that year the demand for labour began to increase, and from thence to January 1808 there had been 33,775 slaves imported into the port of Charleston. The act of Congress, however, as previously agreed upon, put an end to the infamous traffic, and the planters had thenceforward to rely upon their own resources.

To keep up the narrative of the conflict between the two parties, we must now go back to the year 1803, the period of the celebrated Louisiana debates. In that year the Congress had to take into consideration the appropriation and government of a large extent of territory obtained by purchase from the Emperor Napoleon. The best friends of the Union objected to the purchase of the territory at all; but their opposition was useless, for in addition to a united South, which had an eye to the extension of its favourite 'institution,' certain ambitious representatives of the North voted for incorporation: the district to be parcelled out into states, and admitted into the confederation as soon as they attained the population, &c., required by law; but there was no provision made as to whether the constitutions of such states were to be slave or free! Such was the state of utter indifference into which the anti-slavery party had fallen, and the false security into which the measures of 1787 had thrown them. The slave-states were now

now all-powerful, for notwithstanding their inferiority in population, they were, by the three-fifths calculation of their slaves, entitled to a representation equal, if not superior, to that of the free States. Besides which the politicians of the country had become completely demoralized; self-interest, in its lowest forms, had taken the place of the patriotism which had animated the great lights of the revolution. Josiah Quincy, in speaking of the Louisiana Bill, thus describes the means employed in securing its passage through Congress:—

'The passage of the Louisiana Admission Bill was effected by acts which slaveholders well knew how to select and apply. Sops were given to the congressional watch-dogs of the free States. To some, promises were made by way of opiates; and those whom they could neither pay nor drug were publicly treated with insolence and scorn. Threats, duels, and violence were at that day, as now, modes approved by them to deter men from awakening the free States to a sense of danger. From the moment the act was passed, they saw that the free States were shorn of their strength; that they had obtained space to multiply their slaves at their will; and Mr. Jefferson had confidently told them that, from that moment, the 'constitution of the United States was blank paper;' but more correctly there was no longer any constitution. The slaveholders from that day saw they had the free States in their power; and that they were masters, and the free States slaves; and have acted accordingly. From the passage of the Louisiana Bill until this day, their policy has been directed to a single object, with almost uninterrupted success. That object was to exclude the free States from any share of power, except in subserviency to their views; and they have undeniably, during the subsequent period of our history (the administration of John Quincy Adams only excepted), placed in the chair of state, either slaveholders or men from the free States who, for the sake of power, consented to be their tools—"northern men with southern principles"—in other words, men who, for the sake of power or pay, were willing to do what they would set them upon.'*

We have already remarked that it was the general opinion that the existence of slavery depended upon the importation of negroes from Africa, and that so soon as such importation ceased the institution would gradually die out; for it was supposed that such a scarcity of the 'article' would follow upon prohibition as would so enhance its price as to compel planters to resort to free labour as the cheaper method of cultivating their crops; subsequent events have proved (what might have been demonstrated *à priori*) the fallacy of the supposition. In 1790 the number of slaves in the States was 697,897; in 1820, 1,538,064; and at the present time, 4,165,000.

Down to the period of the convention of 1789 the planters of the southern States had been engaged principally in the cultivation of rice and indigo, then the best-paying growths; but the profits of the trade were lessening yearly in consequence of the competition of India, then beginning to be felt. The cotton plant, now the great staple of southern agriculture, was then only cultivated to a limited extent; the process of cleaning the fibre being so slow and

* Address illustrative of the Nature and Power of the Slave States, and t[illegible] Duties of the Free States. Delivered at Lurney, Massachusetts, June 5th, 1[illegible]

expensive as to render the production of the plant, on a large scale, impossible; for notwithstanding the increased demand for cotton from England, consequent upon the then recent great improvements in the machinery for spinning, the exports from the United States in 1793 only amounted to 187,000 lbs.; whilst the imports into England from the West Indies, Turkey, India, &c., during the previous year, reached upwards of 30,000,000 lbs. The invention of the saw-gin by Eli Whitney, however, in the year named, introduced a new order of things. By the primitive rollers, one hand could clean only a few pounds of wool daily; but by means of the new gin three to four hundred pounds could be turned out in the same space of time. The effect of Whitney's ingenuity was instantaneous: the exports of cotton during 1794—that is, one year after the invention—being 1,601,760 lbs. against only 187,000 lbs. in 1793! In 1800 the shipments were 17,789,800 lbs., and in 1806 nearly one-half of the cotton imported into Great Britain was the produce of the United States! No wonder, therefore, that the slave trade increased in activity, and that the slaveholders grew more unmanageable, and sought with such vigour to augment the extent of their territory, and thereby increase the weight of their influence on the Congress and Senate of the Union. These facts will enable the reader the better to understand the course which events took subsequently to the passage of the Louisiana Bill.

In 1812 the first portion of the newly-acquired territory was admitted into the confederation as a State, with the name of Louisiana. The inhabitants were guaranteed all the privileges which they had enjoyed under the dominion of the French, among which privileges the institution of slavery was numbered. The State being the most southern portion of the territory, and thus a sufficient distance from the free States, the northern representatives offered no opposition to the passage of the bill of incorporation.

In 1818 the inhabitants of Missouri (another portion of the Louisiana estates) presented their petition to Congress for admission into the Union on equal terms with citizens of Louisiana. The abolitionists now began to be alarmed at the great and rapid strides which slavery was making, and resolved, if possible, to prevent its further extension. Pity that the discovery had not been made sooner! The admission of Missouri with a slave constitution was therefore strongly opposed by the representatives of the free States. After a considerable amount of time had been spent in debating the terms of the constitution, the anti-slavery party moved the following amendment thereon in March 1819:

'And provided that the introduction of slavery, or involuntary servitude, be prohibited, except for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party has been duly convicted: and that all children born within the said State, after the admission thereof into the Union, shall be declared free at the age of twenty-five years.'

This

This movement drew down the fiercest denunciations from the South. All manner of things were threatened, from the personal castigation of particular representatives, to the dissolution of the Union. 'Twice the House of Representatives voted the exclusion of slaves from the new State. Thrice the Senate, which assumes to be the conservative portion of the American legislature, and, like its brethren in Europe, is patron of every old prejudice and abuse, voted their admission.' The war of words was at last brought to a close by the acceptation of a compromise, which a few of the members had concocted. The proposition was made by Mr. Thomas, but Henry Clay is said to have been the originator of it. The following is the famed provision, since known as the 'Missouri compromise:'—

'And be it further enacted, That in all that territory ceded by France to the United States under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of 36° 30' north latitude, excepting only such part thereof as is included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall be, and is hereby for ever prohibited.'

By this compromise it was supposed that the question of slavery would have been settled at once and for ever.

It has already been noticed that the extraordinary increase in the consumption of cotton in England had considerably enhanced the value of the field hands of the South. In 1820 the total exports of the staple from the United States reached 127,800,000 lbs., and was valued at 22,309,000 dollars, one-half, if not two-thirds of which was clear profit to the planters. Hence the firm stand which the slaveholders made during the Missouri troubles; indeed, it may be said that the compromise was no compromise as far as they were concerned, since the cotton plant cannot be cultivated with success above the line 36° 30'.

The territory of Arkansas, intermediate between Louisiana and Missouri, was received without any particular demonstration into the Union as a State in 1836. The admission of Florida, acquired from Spain in 1821, took place likewise without provoking any great interest.

The South was thus gradually becoming more and more powerful, and the institution of slavery more widely spread; but notwithstanding the progress already made, the slaveholders were far from being satisfied. The continued increasing demand for cotton stimulated their appetites for more territory, not only to prevent the too rapid concentration of the slave population, but to acquire fresh lands to replace the plantations which had been so impoverished by excessive cultivation that they were scarcely half as productive as formerly.

Having by the annexation of Florida absorbed the whole of the country on the Atlantic coast, the attention of the southerners was

now turned towards the west. Indeed, during the negotiations with Spain respecting Florida, the American government had advanced a claim to the Mexican State of Texas, but abandoned it as one of the conditions of the cession of Florida. When the people of Mexico, however, had succeeded in throwing off the yoke of Spanish rule, the aggrandizing propensities of the Americans raised once more the spirit of covetousness. The usual preliminaries of spoliation were at once commenced: crowds of unscrupulous adventurers flocked into the unoffending country, and by their overbearing conduct soon so irritated the native government as to bring about the war which finally resulted in the triumph of the 'filibusters,' and the expulsion of the Mexican authorities.

Before Texas had fallen into the hands of the United States slavery had been expelled the country. The new masters, however, though boasting a superior civilization, and a purer religion, speedily reintroduced the barbaric institution. Great opposition was made to the admission of the State into the confederation. The advocates of freedom deluged the Congress with adverse petitions; Daniel Webster and others denounced the whole proceeding as a crime of such magnitude as to be without precedent in modern history; every one saw that the acquisition of a district large enough for half a dozen States would give to the slaveholders a dangerous preponderance in the council of the nation. But southern interests prevailed, and Texas was duly received into the Union in 1845.

Subsequently to this date a difference of opinion arose between the American and Mexican governments as to the precise geographical boundaries of the new State. The dispute brought on another war. The Mexicans, as might be expected, were defeated, and the Americans, in addition to gaining their point in respect of the boundaries of Texas, became masters by purchase of the whole country through to the Pacific.

At the close of the war the government introduced a Bill in Congress applying for powers to raise funds wherewith to clear off the obligations to Mexico. This brought on a discussion on the question, whether the new acquisitions—denominated California, New Mexico, and Utah—were to be governed by slave or free constitutions. The anti-slavery party endeavoured to procure the passage of a motion excluding the 'institution' from the territories, but were unsuccessful.

In 1847 the district of Oregon was organized as a free territory, but not without opposition: for though, by its geographical position, it had been guaranteed to freedom by the ordinance of 1787, the slaveholders had the audacity to endeavour to introduce their odious institution into its constitution; and, failing this, attempted

attempted to extend the Missouri line of 36° 30′ to the Pacific. Had they succeeded in the latter matter it would have profited them little, since the State of California in 1850 made choice of free institutions.

In the year just named the discussions on the organization of the territories of New Mexico and Utah were renewed. Things assumed a very awkward aspect: North and South were pretty nearly equal in strength of forces, and were both determined not to give way. The issue would doubtless have been serious had not the ingenuity of Clay bolstered matters up by a new compromise. In this measure there were several old disputes settled, besides the matter under discussion. Clay's proposition was, that the new territories should be organized on the basis of what was facetiously called 'squatter sovereignty,' that is, that the settlers or 'squatters' be allowed to choose their own constitutions. This was the concession of the South. The free States, on their part, accepted the fugitive slave cause, by which they bound themselves under heavy penalties to deliver up all runaways from the slave States.

The passage of this bill, obtained as it was by the assistance of the votes of northern representatives, who had cast their influence into the scale of slavery in violation of their previously professed principles, roused the ire of the anti-slavery party, who, in defiance of the law, expressed their indignation in mass-meetings convened throughout the free States. But without doubt, the individual, who, more than any other, contributed to render the fugitive slave-law what it now is—a dead letter—was Mrs. Stowe, by means of her admirable novel 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.' The friends of freedom saw clearly that the slave-party had gained a complete victory, for, by the recognition of 'squatter sovereignty' the Congress had practically repealed the Missouri compromise. This was made painfully apparent by the occurrences which followed the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill for organizing those territories on the same basis as those of New Mexico and Utah. This event took place in 1854.

For several years previously the tide of emigration had been turned towards Kansas, and it seemed very probable that the district, in process of time, would be incorporated as a free State of the Union. But this the southerners were determined, if possible, to prevent, for which purpose they employed the most disgraceful and unconstitutional means. Had the free settlers been allowed to choose their own delegate to Congress, a man of anti-slavery principles would have been fixed upon; but as soon as the day of election had been appointed, a pro-slavery candidate was put into nomination by the slaveholders of the neighbouring State of Missouri, and his return was secured by the votes of a band of

paid ruffians from out the said State. This brought the two parties into mortal conflict. The only way of retrieving their position now left to the settlers was the securing of an anti-slavery legislature. To give the reader an idea of the kind of individuals employed by the southerners to do their unholy work, we will quote a description of them given by Mr. Phillips:—

'Most of them have been over the plains several times; if they have not been over the plains the probability is, they have served through the war in Mexico, or seen "a deal of trouble in Texas," or at least run up and down the Missouri river often enough to catch imitative inspiration from the cat-fish aristocracy. I have often wondered where all the hard customers on the Missouri frontier came from. They seem to have congregated here by some law of gravity unexplainable. Perhaps the *easy* exercise of judicial authority in frontier States may explain their fancy for them. Amongst these worthies, a man is estimated by the amount of whisky he can drink; and if he is so indiscreet as to admit he "drinks no liquor," he is put down as a dangerous character, and shunned accordingly. Imagine a fellow, tall, slim, but athletic, with yellow complexion, hairy-faced, with a dirty flannel shirt, red, or blue, or green, a pair of commonplace, but dark-coloured pants, tucked into an uncertain altitude by a leather belt, in which a dirty-handled bowie knife is stuck rather ostentatiously, an eye slightly whisky red, and teeth the colour of a walnut. Such is your border ruffian of the lowest type. His body might be a compound of gutta-percha, Johnny-cake, and badly-smoked bacon; his spirit, the *refined* part, old Bourbon "double rectified;" but there is every shade of border ruffian. Your judicial ruffian, for instance, is a gentleman; that is, as much of a gentleman as he can be without transgressing on his more purely legitimate character of border ruffian. As "occasional imbibing" is not a sin, his character at home is irreproachable; and when he goes abroad into the territory, for instance, he does not *commit* any act of outrage, or vote himself, but after "aiding and comforting" those who do, returns, feeling every inch a *gentleman*. Then there are your less conservative border ruffian *gentlemen*. They are not so nice in distinctions, and, so far from objecting, rather like to take a hand themselves; but they dress like gentlemen, and are so after a fashion. Between these and the first-mentioned large class, there is every shade and variety; but it takes the whole of them to make an effective brigade; and *then* it is not perfect without a barrel of whisky. The two *gentlemanly* classes of ruffians are so for political effect, or because they fancy it is their interest. The lower class are pro-slavery ruffians, merely because it is the prevalent kind of rascality; the inference is that they would engage in any other affair in which an equal amount of whisky might be drunk, or as great an aggregate of rascality be perpetrated.'*

Such is a sketch of the scoundrels against whom the peaceful citizens of Kansas had now to do battle for their liberty.

The 30th March, 1855, was the day appointed by the territorial government on which the settlers were to choose a legislature. By a census which was taken, the number of inhabitants was ascertained to be 8,501 souls, out of which 2,905 were entitled to vote.

'As the great day approached, parties of Missourians entered the territory, and planted themselves at every polling-place, with the avowed design of voting for candidates who would make Kansas a slave State. As many as 5,000 of these desperadoes, equipped with arms, and bringing tents and provisions, thus took their ground, resolved to commit a grossly illegal act, by representing themselves as actual inhabitants of the territory.'†

After the election was over it was found that 6,218 votes had been

* 'The Conquest of Kansas by Missouri and her Allies.' By W. Phillips. Boston, 1856. † Chambers.

polled!

polled! out of which 4,908 were illegal! Out of the total number of representatives elected, eleven were refused certificates by the provisional governor. A new election took place two months later than the above date, to fill up the vacancies; but the actual result did not alter the position of affairs, for the pro-slavery ruffians had still the advantage, and the upshot was the formation of a constitution in accordance with their views. This precious cabal was nicknamed the 'Bogus Legislature,' and had not long been in existence before it came into collision with the territorial governor. Its proceedings were entirely repudiated by the legitimate settlers of the territory, who set to work and formed a rival government, afterwards known as the 'Topeke Legislature:' the proceeding, however, was not tolerated by Congress, and an end was put to its existence, by force, in 1856. Things were still in a disorganized state when a new convention held at Lecompton in Nov. 1857, framed what has been since known as the 'Lecompton Constitution.' This constitution was a sort of compromise between the 'Bogus' and 'Topeke' Legislatures: but was disliked by the Kansans, because of its pro-slavery character. After considerable debating, the Congress, in April 1858, decided that the State should be admitted into the Union, and be at liberty either to accept or reject the 'Lecompton Constitution.' The constitution *was* rejected, and one in conformity with the will of the people is now under consideration at Washington. Three months ago the Territorial Legislature passed the Bill abolishing slavery, but the measure was vetoed by the Governor. The act, however, was repassed in February last by a vote of 30 to 7. It is pretty certain, therefore, that Kansas will be admitted into the Union as a free State—probably this year; and there seems every likelihood of Nebraska following its example, notwithstanding that the governor in January last vetoed a bill passed by the legislature for the abolition of slavery in the territory. Missouri will then be enclosed on three sides by the free States of Illinois, Iowa, and Kansas, and must soon succumb to the surrounding influences.

The foregoing review shows the career of slavery, so far, to have been a most successful one; but the friends of freedom have latterly been somewhat more united, and it is possible that the South may soon find itself overmatched. The loss of Kansas was a severe blow to the supremacy of the slaveholders, and the defeat of their candidate for the speakership in February last was an event that showed the growing strength of the Republican party and the probability of an anti-slavery president being elected this year.

People on this side of the Atlantic are astonished that the slave States should have so long held the reins of power, seeing that they compose only *one-third* of the free population of the

Union, and possess only 90 representatives in Congress against 143 members sent by the North. But the ascendency of slavedom is not difficult of explanation.

One element of the political power of the south is found in the peculiar social organism of the slave States. Nominally, the whole Union is democratic, really, the southern portion of it is aristocratic. In the North the citizens are the rulers; in the South the people are the servants. In the North the government is led by the masses; in the South the masses are led by the government. In the North there is no division of classes, properly so called; in the South society is dual—patrician and plebeian (irrespective of the slaves).

'The South,' says Mr. Stirling, 'is to all intents and purposes an Aristocracy, nay, an Oligarchy; for, in addition to aristocratic feeling, there is also an anti-democratic inequality of fortune. This is best seen by the holdings of slaves, the chief form of southern property. The whole slaveholders in the States, in 1850, amounted only to 347,525, and of this number only 92,257 own ten slaves and upwards. Here, then, we have the essence of an Oligarchy; a fraction of the population monopolizing the principal property of the community. The politics of the country are quite in keeping with this state of matters. The South is ruled by its leaders; the poor of the community, the "white trash," go with their lords.'

Another source of southern success is the clever party manœuvring of its politicians. The number of political factions in the Union is legion; but for all practical purposes, and leaving out the aristocracy of the south, they may be reduced to two—Democratic and Republican. The democratic party has adherents in both the free and slave States. Its leading doctrine is the sovereignty of the separate States, and its great object the limiting of the federal power. According to democratic principles, each state or territory has the right to form its own constitution and social usages irrespective of the effect such constitution or social usages may have upon the general welfare of the Union. Hence the doctrine of 'squatter sovereignty,' as applied to all new territories, is a part of the political creed of all true Democrats. The federal government, they say, has no right to interfere in the management of the internal affairs of the territories, which, in plain English, means that Congress has no constitutional power to prevent the introduction of slavery into the common property of the Union. The Republicans, on the other hand, assert the reverse of the Democrats, and maintain the right of Congress to legislate for the government of the territories, and to determine, independently of the choice of the settlers, whether such territories shall be cultivated by free or slave labour. For obvious reasons, therefore, the whole of the southern States, though aristocratic at home, are ultra-democratic at Washington, and by every means strive to prevent the progress of Republican ideas. For should the Republican party obtain the ascendency the further extension of slave territory would be impossible. The last great struggle of the two sections took place at the election of president in 1856. The slave

slave Oligarchy was conscious of its own inability of electing a president after its own heart, and therefore allied itself to the democratic mobs of the North, and by that means defeated the Republican candidate. Here, then, we have northern democrats and southern aristocrats joined together each for the accomplishment of selfish ends. The slaveholders have no sympathy for democracy proper, for they do not tolerate it in their own States. The plebeians of the north have no love for slavery, and would not permit its existence in their own States, but they dread the existence of a strong central government, and consequently seek to deprive it of everything but the name.

'The aristocrats of the South,' says Mr. Stirling, 'have been for some time aware that it is only through the agency of the ignorant democracy of both sections of the empire that they can carry out their objects with regard to slavery. Hence they adhere steadfastly to this party, some of them conscientiously, in accordance with their State-rights prepossessions, and others, I believe, simply from interested views with regard to slavery. It must be humbling, we should think, for the educated and refined patricians of the South to let themselves be dragged through the dirt of democratic politics for a shabby pecuniary purpose; but what will not men do when they consider their interests to be at stake?'

The same author describes the Democrats of the north as being composed chiefly of the *canaille* of the large cities.

'Irish Repealers are the natural enemies of all governments; they will always be found, therefore, on that side which is said to be the most hostile to law and lawgivers; and such they account the Democratic party.' 'Interest determines the Southern Democracy, Ignorance leads the Democracy of the North.'

In addition to the assistance derived from this mobocracy, the South receives a large share of support from the protectionist party of the North: the South in return, though against its real and professed interests, voting for protection.

'Northern men,' says Mr. Chambers, 'seek to conciliate the South for the sake of selfish interests. The doctrine that high protective duties are an essential element of national prosperity, though long since exploded by political economists, is still current in the northern States of the Union. Doubtless it is only through the efficacy of such protective duties as 30 per cent. that certain northern manufacturers can keep open their establishments; and we may assume that if these restrictions were removed, much misdirected capital would flow into more natural channels, and produce results more advantageous to all parties. Northern manufacturers, however, being the immediate gainers by so preposterous a system of protection, cling as closely to the privilege of taxing the community as ever did the landowners of Great Britain by their restrictions on the free import of food. Such prepossessions could meet with no response in the south, but for the necessity of buying party support. All the clothing, shoes, hats, and other articles required on southern plantations are imported coastwise from northern manufacturers; so that, in reality, the south taxes itself in an enormous sum annually, in purchasing dear northern goods.' 'The case then stands thus: the South pretends to be democratic, to gain northern votes, and the North itself for southern money. Or, to come to the subject in hand—the South votes for protection, and the North, in return, votes for slavery.' 'Free America,' says Dr. Mackay, 'is ultra-protectionist, and slave America is strongly in favour of the widest freedom of trade. The free States are alarmed at the increase of British manufactures, whilst the slave States are not only not alarmed but gratified, and desire to profit by British industry to the furthest possible extent, in the cheapening of clothes for themselves and their slaves, and of all articles of domestic use and luxury, which Great Britain can supply better and more cheaply than the manufacturer of the North.'

Again,

Again, the southern party is indebted to some extent for its present influential position to the Doughfaces of the free States (the peace-at-any-price party), who barter their birthright and vote for slave measures for the sake of quietness, and to whom the threat of disunion is something so terrible as to deprive them of all faith in the principles of truth and equity.

And last, though not least, the three-fifths calculation of the slaves, entitles the south to no less than to thirty congressional representatives! Four millions of slaves send up to Washington thirty men to secure the passage of laws concocted by their enemies to rivet their chains and increase their sufferings!

Such, then, are the means by which the Oligarchy of slavedom has been enabled to appropriate to itself the lion's share of federal power and patronage. The opinion, however, is gaining ground that the South has arrived at the summit of its ascendency; henceforward, it is said, its influence will be gradually curtailed. Already there are symptoms of decadence. The great republican party of the North is yearly growing in strength and numbers. At the last presidential election, though only a new organization and minus the prestige of the old political parties, it succeeded in polling thirty-eight per cent. of the federal vote. But since then it has assumed a decided character, and is in great favour with the people of the free States. It is possible, therefore, that the result of the presidential election of the present year may be the defeat of the Democratic candidate. So general is this opinion, that the slaveholders themselves have imbibed it; and in order to secure their safety in power, and the integrity of their peculiar institution, have adopted the most extreme measures for the accomplishment of their object. They are fully aware that the success of Republican notions would raise the hopes of the negroes, and perhaps precipitate a revolt. To prevent this latter eventuality, they, not content with prohibiting individual or general emancipation, have passed laws for the expulsion of all *free* negroes, and for the exclusion of all free opinions from their dominions.

In March 1859 the Arkansas legislature passed a bill for the expatriation of free coloured persons from that State. The following is a summary of the measure from the 'Little Rock Gazette' newspaper—

'They have until January 1860 to dispose of their property, and make other arrangements for leaving. If they do not go then, it is made the duty of sheriffs to seize them and hire them out to the highest bidder for one year, giving them the net proceeds of their labour to enable them to leave the State. The bill provides that such free negroes as desire to remain may choose masters—the County Court having them appraised, and the master or mistress they have chosen paying half their value into the common school fund of the county.'

The government have taken care that the measure should not become

become a dead letter, as will be seen from the following quotation from the 'Times' of 21st of January last:—

'Forty free negroes, who have been expelled from Arkansas under the terms of the recent legislative enactment, which prescribed that in the event of their non-departure they should be sold into slavery, arrived at Cincinnati on the 3rd inst., in a destitute condition. They were met by a committee appointed for the purpose by the coloured population of Cincinnati. It was reported that the upward-bound boats on the Mississippi river were crowded with these fugitives, flying from their homes. A meeting had been held in Cincinnati to devise means of aiding the twelve families expelled from Kentucky in consequence of anti-slavery views.'

A similar measure passed the legislature of Missouri on the 11th January this year. The following summary of its provisions is from the 'New York Tribune:'—

'The 1st Section prohibits the emancipation of a slave, unless the master gives bond, with sureties, to remove the slave out of the State within ninety days.

'Sec. 3. dooms to slavery every free negro who shall be a resident of the State after September, 1860, and over eighteen years of age.

'Sec. 4. requires the sheriff to bring every such negro before a magistrate, who, on proof of his freedom, gives the sheriff a certificate, who thereupon must proceed to sell the free negro at auction.

'Sec. 5. The purchaser to have the same rights to the negro as if he had always been a slave.

'Sec. 7. The proceeds to be paid into the county treasury.

'Sec. 8. The sheriff to notify free negroes before September, 1860, of the act.

'Sec. 9. Free negroes under eighteen, after September, 1860, to be bound out as apprentices until twenty-one, by the county court, and allowed twelve months after that time to leave the State.

'Sec. 11. Should such free negro be found in the State after that time, he shall be sold as provided in Section 4.

'Sec. 15. punishes the officer who neglects his duty.

'Sec. 17. Any free negro who comes into the State, and remains in it twelve hours, is subject to be sold as a slave.'

The slave party in Maryland have petitioned their legislature to pass a similar law. The following is extracted from their memorial, a reprint of which appeared in the 'Times' of January 19th:—

'It is useless to disguise the fact that slavery and free negroism cannot much longer exist side by side in this State. One or the other must give way. Many slaveholders in this State are anxiously awaiting the action of your body, and if nothing is done to secure their property they will take it further south, and leave Maryland a free negro State. The abolition of free negroism is essential to the security of slave property, as well as the rights of our labouring white population.

'No more parleying, no more timid and compromising legislation will meet the issue of this question. If the State would preserve her integrity as a loyal ally of the South—if she would remove the horrors of house-burnings, poisoning, and servile strife in her own bosom—she will abolish free negroism throughout her borders at the earliest possible period.

'We therefore pray your honourable body to pass laws enslaving our free negroes for life to our own citizens, to be accompanied by an exemption from sale under execution for debt.

'We also pray that a strong military police for each election district in the State may be appointed to execute and enforce all laws upon this subject and the slave laws of this State; also that a universal pass system may be adopted. Various other essential provisions germain to this subject will [redacted] themselves to the wisdom of your body.

'For all of which your petitioners, as in duty [redacted]

In South Carolina the government has not yet taken up the cause, but the following presentment was made by the grand jury of one of the districts, in the spring term of last year—

'*Presentment of the grand jury, at Spring term*, 1859.—We further present the free negroes of the district as a nuisance, and recommend that the legislature pass some law that will have the effect of relieving the community of this troublesome population.'

The 'Cherau Gazette,' in commenting upon the foregoing, remarked—

'We are pleased at this act of the grand jury, and hope other grand juries will follow the example, and thus impress the matter upon our law-makers until they shall be forced to abate the nuisance.'

The Louisiana legislature has recently refused to pass the extreme measure, but the following law came into force in September last—

'All free persons of colour, arriving in port from abroad, must immediately be lodged in gaol, and remain there until the departure of the boat or vessel on which they came; masters of steamboats and ships must report to the chief of police all such persons belonging to their crews, or passengers, or incur severe penalties. It will be well for all masters of vessels and steamboats trading with this State to bear in mind the provisions of this law, as it will save them from much trouble, and perhaps pecuniary loss. The evils attending the increase of a free negro population, and more particularly the intercourse of free persons of colour from abroad with our slaves, caused the passage of this stringent law.'

The proceedings of the rest of the slave States do not vary greatly from the above. But independently of the high-handed conduct manifested towards the free negroes, the white inhabitants, and all travellers from the North, are subjected to a system of espionage which has no parallel in the most despotic countries on the continent of Europe. All discussion is interdicted, and the man who dares to express his antipathy of slavery, is soon in receipt of a castigation from the mobs of 'white trash' in the pay of the planters. In the higher classes of society, the question of freedom if introduced by some visiting friend, is quietly got rid of by changing the topic of conversation. The following extract from the democratic 'New York Herald,' of January 4th, this year, will give the reader an idea of the state of things in the slave States.

'We are daily receiving information, from public and private sources, which shows that a reign of terror is approaching in this country pregnant with the most disastrous results to both North and South. Travellers from the northern sections of the Union are not only looked upon with suspicion in the southern States, but in many sections of that region they are stopped in their travels and obliged to give a satisfactory account of themselves and their business. If they have not some local acquaintance who can vouch for them, they are followed through all their in-goings and out-comings, and not unfrequently find themselves face to face with a vigilance committee, charged with the preservation of public order and the expurgation of the community from northern Abolitionists. This is particularly the case with the travelling agents of northern manufacturers and merchants, who, in consequence of the prevailing excitement, are looked upon with great suspicion. There are numerous concerns in this portion of the country which have sent out agents, and made great preparations to meet their orders from the South for goods, who already find themselves in pecuniary embarrassment, from the fact that their agents, instead of sending home orders for goods, write the most doleful letters in regard to their business prospects. Thus, the commercial

commercial connections between the north and the south are being gradually severed, under the growing influence of the terror that northern agents of the abolitionized black republican party are busily fomenting a servile war in the south, and every southern man feels that it is not slavery alone, but the lives of himself and his loved wife and children, that are involved. Our black republican contemporaries have been raising a lamentable hue and cry over the recent lynching of one James Power, at Columbia, South Carolina. Power is a native of Ireland, a stonecutter, and, with a number of other men of his trade, of different nationalities, was employed in the construction of the new State House at Columbia, when the pro-slavery committee of vigilance of the said town got wind of some remarks of Power of an abolition character. The results were, an unsuccessful attempt of Power to escape, his capture, the infliction of twenty-nine lashes upon his bare back, after which he was served with a coat of tar and feather, and in this condition was sent down by railroad to Charleston, where he was conducted to prison, and thence, after a confinement of several days, shipped to New York. Twelve families have been obliged to fly from Madison County.

We have not space to spare for further extracts, but the following paragraph from the 'Star' of January 28th tells of a system of surveillance which puts the proceedings of the post-office officials at Paris into the shade.

'*Slavery Question and Interception of Letters and Papers.*—Newspapers from this country to the United States, being, we understand, under post-office surveillance in that country, in consequence of the slavery excitement at present existing there, it would be well that parties in transmitting letters to their friends, of marked name in the anti-slavery movement, should take precaution that their letters be received.'

Now in all this the slaveholders are undoubtedly doing themselves and their cause infinite mischief. Their conduct towards the white population will increase the number of their enemies, and decrease the number of their friends; and the severity exhibited towards the slaves and free negroes will have but one effect, viz., resistance. Though old Brown's Harper's Ferry expedition failed, the attempt will be renewed next time, on a larger scale. The negroes are only waiting for an opportunity to rise *en masse*. Would it not, therefore, be better for the slaveholders to make for themselves some way of escape? and instead of adding fuel to the combustible pile, seek for some means whereby a general conflagration may be prevented? That something must be done, and that before long, is certain. The number of slaves in the Union in 1850 was 3,200,000; for the previous twenty years the ratio of increase was about three per cent. per annum: at the same rate of progress the slaves now number 4,165,000, and for the following periods will be, in round numbers, as follows; 1870, 5,410,000; 1880, 7,040,000; 1890, 9,150,000; 1900, 12,000,000! Of these three-fourths will be concentrated in seven out of the fourteen slave States. If with 4,165,000 in 1860 it be found so difficult to keep down rebellion, what will be the state of affairs in twenty years from this, when there will be 7,040,000 (to say nothingof the 12,000,000 in twenty years later), and when intelligence, spite of all precaution, will be more widely diffused amongst the negroes than is the case now.

ART. VI.—1. *Portrait Gallery.* June 1849. Dublin.
2. *MS. Notes of Recollections of Father Mathew*, by Dowden Richard, Esq. Cork.
3. *The Newspaper Press*, 1839 to 1857.

IN a poor and neglected neighbourhood, where poverty and wretchedness abound, called Blackamoor Lane, in the city of Cork, there is a small Capuchin friary: a plain building, though fitted up with some taste, and known, after the name of its builder, as 'O'Leary's Chapel.' More than forty years since, a young Capuchin of handsome person, courteous manners, and earnest zeal joined the mission attached to this chapel. He speedily became popular. His natural refinement rendered him acceptable to the wealthy and educated, while his sympathetic kindness and judicious firmness endeared him to the humbler portion of his fellow-citizens. His influence rapidly increased, and no priest of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland was more sought after for religious assistance or consolation. The characteristic of his mind was devotion rather than superstition; and the individuality and original force of his character enabled him to acquire a moral ascendency over those who sought his aid or advice, as remarkable as it was useful. He was a sincere Catholic, but without bigotry; he was a true Christian—a Catholic of the school of Fénelon rather than of Bossuet.

The movement which originated in Preston in 1833 in favour of entire abstinence from *all* intoxicating liquors as the only cure for drunkenness soon spread to Ireland, and the pledge of 'total abstinence' was taken by a few members of the Society of Friends in Cork. There, as elsewhere, the 'anti-whisky,' anti-spirits,' and 'moderation' pledges had been tried and had failed. Amid sneers and derision, Mr. William Martin, Mr. Dowden Richard, and a few others held weekly meetings in Cork, with but indifferent success, until, by means of deputations and personal solicitation, they enlisted the interest of the popular Capuchin friar.

We may suppose ourselves, on the 10th April 1838, at a small meeting of friends in the city of Cork. A respected priest rises, and, addressing those present, says: 'Gentlemen, I hope you will aid and give me such information as may be necessary for the formation of a new Total Abstinence Society;' and then, taking the pen in hand, pausing, and saying these remarkable words, 'If only one poor soul can be rescued from intemperance and destruction it will be doing a noble act and adding to the glory of God: here goes in the name of the Lord,' he signs his name, 'The Very Rev. Theobald Mathew, C.C., Cove Street, No. 1.' On the same evening he is elected president of the new society, and we hear him

him commence the advocacy of temperance in an old schoolroom in Blackamoor Lane. We think him well meaning, but a little fanatical, and we smile at the notion that his ascetic doctrine can ever become powerful or popular.

* * * We are in the city of Limerick. It is the 2nd of Dec. 1839. As we entered the city we were astonished at the dense crowds extending for two miles along the road, and now we find the streets absolutely impassable from the masses which throng them. We are told that accommodation for the night cannot be obtained at any cost, that the public buildings have all been thrown open, and that with every effort more than 5,000 persons must lie in the street. We endeavour to obtain refreshment, and find that a penny loaf has risen in price to threepence, and that we cannot purchase a quart of milk for less than sixpence. At last, weary and foot-sore, we are compelled to be content to pay two shillings each for liberty to stand in a crowded cellar so as to escape the inclemency of the December night. Our amazement is redoubled when, in answer to our inquiries, we learn that this ingathering of all the tribes arises simply from the fact that Father Mathew is expected to visit Limerick on the morrow, for the purpose of administering the temperance pledge to the people. We remember the little room in Cork, and we stand abashed at the recognition of the fact that the despised fanaticism has become a national regeneration. The grain of mustard seed has grown into a mighty tree.

It is the 7th December, and we cannot leave the city. The crowds pouring in prevent egress. We are carried with the pressure along one of the streets; and over the heads of the people we are able to distinguish on the steps of a house, a simple priest, the cause of all this excitement. After four days' incessant exertion his voice is gone, but he is administering the pledge to the enthusiastic multitude. What a sight! Twenty thousand persons simultaneously kneel, and with tears and sobs declare themselves resolved to abandon the tempting drink and lead amended lives.

We are lifted from our feet, and as we are helplessly borne along, we see mounted soldiers in attendance to preserve order, in like manner carried away: at last, having succeeded in extricating ourselves, we hear that the pressure has been so great as to break down the iron railings and precipitate the crowd into the Shannon, happily without serious results; and we further ascertain that while we have been in Limerick at least 150,000 persons have taken the pledge.

* * * There is no limit to the power of the imagination, and we may now, therefore, fancy ourselves seated, in the year 1845, quietly in our study, with a pile of papers before us consisting of parliamentary returns and copies of the public journals. We have heard, during the past six years, that the scene at which we were

accidentally present in Limerick was repeated in various parts of the country, but until now we have not cared to inquire further of the matter. Now, however, our eye is caught by a statement in a Waterford newspaper of 1839, which informs us that only five prisoners were on the assize calendar for that year, although in the previous year's list there had been 159. Turning over the newspapers still further, we gather that in 1839, 3,202 persons were confined in Richmond Bridewell, Dublin, while in 1840 they numbered 2,108, and in 1841 only 1,604. The same source, after a little troublesome search, affords the information that in 1838 the Dublin Savings Bank numbered 7,264 depositors, but increased to 9,585 in 1841.

Turning to the criminal and assize reports which form so large a proportion of the news of the journals, we read words spoken by Justice Burton at Down Assizes in 1842, and corroborated by Baron Pennefather at Meath, congratulating the grand jury on the absence of crime, 'evidently the effect of temperance.' And we are not surprised that the judges should congratulate the magistracy, when we learn that at Cork, during the eight months intervening between the Autumn assizes of 1844 and the Spring of 1845 only one prisoner had been committed for trial.

Unable, even yet, to comprehend the vast change in national habit and character, we turn to our parliamentary blue books, and the only explanation we can find, is contained in returns moved for by Sir R. Ferguson, which tell us that in 1838 the consumption of whisky in Ireland was twelve and a quarter millions of gallons, while in 1841 it was only six and a half millions; and that within two years there had been a decrease in the revenue from spirits of at least half a million pounds sterling.

* * * And now, in 1860, we seek for traces of the mighty influence wielded by Father Mathew and we find but few. Enthusiasm has cooled, temptation has proved stronger than principle, and with the exception of some few spots which the untiring efforts of a few earnest and devoted men have saved, the whole country is again flooded by intemperance. Father Mathew is dead, without a memorial, without a memoir.

It is certainly strange that none of the able and sympathetic men who were associated with Father Mathew in his great enterprise have preserved, or have collected and given to the public a sufficient biography of the great Irish patriot. No man's life was better worth writing; no man had friends more capable for the task. It may be that the self-abandonment of the man during his life has fixed public attention less on himself than on his work. The individuality of the hero of social and moral conquests, even more than of him who has struggled for liberty in the field or the senate, sinks in his public triumphs. What he has produced, is his

his living history; what he individually was, is of less general concern. Nevertheless, when a man without patronage, power, or remarkable position can seize on the public mind, hold it, and control it, in spite of hostile habits, prejudices, and appetites, he must be something and somebody. Father Mathew did this, though nothing but an unpretending, unobtrusive, quiet priest.

Theobald Mathew was born at Thomastown, near Cashel, in the county of Tipperary, on the 10th Oct. 1790. His father, when a child, had been taken under the patronage of the well-known Major-General Montagu Mathew, brother of the Earl of Llandaff. Theobald was the only one of his family destined for the church—he, at the death of his parents, being adopted by the Lady Elizabeth Mathew, and placed under the tuition of the Rev. Denis O'Donnel, parish priest of Tullagh, Waterford. His brothers followed commerce, two, singularly enough, becoming distillers at Cashel, and a third, Charles (still, we believe, living), acquiring a handsome fortune by mercantile operations in Cork.

Theobald's education was completed at the lay academy of Kilkenny and the clerical establishment of Maynooth. He was ordained in Dublin in 1814, having previously become a Capuchin friar, and was shortly appointed to Cork.

Theobald Mathew at once entered on his sacred duties with an energy and devotion which were remarkable. He won the respect and affection of Protestants as well as Catholics. 'The Press,' an English Protestant journal, describes him as possessing a rare amount of virtue. Frank, courteous, benevolent, he was in the highest sense a gentleman; and his birth and education rendered him the welcome companion of a class, generally indisposed to familiarity with their spiritual teacher. His humble chapel became too small; he converted large storehouses into schools, and ultimately suceeded in erecting a large church, one of the ornaments of Cork.

But although very possibly this period of his life may present many features of interest to a biographer, its current was too little disturbed by unusual events for extended notice in our hurried sketch. To one only need we allude. In 1832, the cholera was in Cork, and the peculiar benevolence which actuated Father Mathew shone in a most conspicuous light. Night and morning might he be seen abandoning the charms and ease of the refined and educated society to which he might have had access,—penetrating the miserable lanes of the most miserable parish in Cork—that of St. Nicholas—seeking out subjects for the shelter of the hospital, and administering to them physical relief as well as spiritual consolation. His residence was besieged by claimants on his bounty. No one was left unaided; everything he could co[illegible] being cheerfully distributed. 'Sir,' said his secretary to

one occasion, 'this is the last shilling we have.' The reply was characteristic, 'Give it, and let us trust to God.'

Arising out of these labours was the organization of a lay society, composed of young men of the middle class, for the purpose of visitation among the sick and indigent. As in societies now known as 'societies of St. Vincent de Paul,' no vows bound the members; but so successful was the organization, that it received special attention at the hands of the Assistant Commissioners of Poor-Law Inquiry who visited Cork in 1834. Unaided, Father Mathew also provided public interment for the poor during the ravages of the epidemic, and his plan has since expanded into a beautiful and convenient cemetery.

Before Father Mathew had been heard of beyond the city of his labours, several priests had endeavoured to bring to bear the influence of their office in favour of temperance. But they had neither adopted nor enforced the doctrine of '*total* abstinence' which subsequently formed the basis of Father Mathew's operations. He himself long hesitated before he accepted that necessity. The 'moderation' pledge, and the pledge to abstain from ardent spirits, which had found great favour and high patronage in England, were tried by him without success; and experience gradually convinced him of the truth of the assertions made by the men of Preston, and which were reiterated by a small body of converts in Cork. From 1830, some Protestant ministers, Presbyterian and others, and some members of the Society of Friends, maintained an unsuccessful agitation on behalf of total abstinence in that city. They were either without influence or more probably were repulsed by the people as being antagonistic to the popular faith. It speaks well for the absence of polemical bitterness among them, that the introduction of Father Mathew to the temperance movement was under Protestant auspices. 'Mr. Mathew,' said one of them named Olden, 'you have the mission; do not reject it.' That call was responded to.

The influence he exerted was immediately felt. Amid evil prophecy and some obloquy, meetings were held twice a week in the horse bazaar at Cork, the schoolroom in Blackamoor Lane having rapidly been found too small to accommodate the growing audiences. Some of the most obdurate drunkards enrolled themselves as members of the Cork Total Abstinence Society, and especially after divine service on the sabbath, vast numbers attended to take the pledge. Among the staff of advocates from whom Father Mathew derived valuable assistance were two members of the Irish bar, Mr. Walsh and Mr. J. F. Maguire, both Roman Catholics and of popular politics. The latter gentleman is the owner of an important Catholic journal, the 'Cork Examiner.' His support to temperance added much to his popular influence, enabling him to contest

contest Dungarvan in 1847 against a Whig secretary of state. He has sat in Parliament for that borough since 1852.

Between the 10th April, 1838, and the end of the year, 156,000 persons took the pledge in Cork. By this time, however, the fame of these doings had begun to travel along the banks of the Shannon. The rustic population of the south spread abroad the rumour that 'there was virtue in Father Mathew.' First the men of Kilrush came in; then some hundreds from Kerry, and others even from Galway, Clare, and Waterford.

But the great event which first gave to the advance of temperance in Ireland the character of a national movement, occurred on Father Mathew's visit to Limerick, of which we have given a hasty picture at the commencement of this article. It was supposed that most of those desirous of taking the pledge had visited Cork, but it was found to be far otherwise. Scenes such as we have described at Limerick took place in rapid succession at Waterford, Lismore, Ennis, Clonmel, Thurles, Cashel, Templemore, Castlecomer, Borrisokane, Galway, and other places. One only need be further described as an example of many. We take our information from an eye-witness of Father Mathew's visit to Parsonstown. As his coming had been generally announced by the pastor of the parish, there was an immense influx from the surrounding counties. A troop of the 17th Lancers from Athlone, a detachment of the 60th Rifles from Birr, and a large police force were in attendance. On entering the area on which stands the chaste and beautiful chapel, a scene presented itself highly calculated to arouse interest and inspire awe. In front of the chapel was stationed a large body of police, a fine and well-disciplined force; outside these were the Rifles on bended knee, with bayonets fixed and pointed, forming a barrier to oppose the rushing multitudes; whilst within and without this barrier to keep the passages clear, the cavalry, 'in all the pomp and circumstance of glorious war,' moved up and down with slow and measured pace. Beyond, and as far along the streets as the eye could reach, were the congregated masses swaying to and fro with every new impulse, and by their united voices producing a deep indistinct sound like the murmur of the sea.

It could not be expected that so remarkable an enthusiasm would be allowed to exhibit itself without opposition. The press exaggerated its extravagances; and even in some instances (as in the case of an alleged riot at Ennis, which was declared to have occurred in consequence of a fictitious announcement of a meeting) did not hesitate to circulate false reports. But even discarding all hostile criticism, it is impossible, with the advantage of calmness derived from lapse of time, to refuse to acknowledge serious drawbacks to this success. Much of it was mere excitement; more was tainted

tainted with superstition. Numbers believed that the administration of the pledge by Father Mathew possessed a secret charm, and 'miracle' was very early the attraction to the horse bazaar at Cork.

'The prestige in favour of Father Mathew,' says a writer in the 'Dublin Review,' 'arose from the fact of its being observed that those who took the pledge from him were in better health than they had previously been. The ameliorated health was the result of the temperance, but the natural cause was overlooked as is often the case; and as the human mind when undisciplined is prone to superstition, the belief in miraculous operation by the great temperance leader does undoubtedly appear to have spread very widely amongst the lower classes of the Irish community.'

The blind, the halt, the paralytic were brought to Father Mathew, if that they might but touch the hem of his garment.

Any claim to miraculous power was of course repeatedly and publicly disavowed both by Father Mathew and his colleagues; but although the most formidable charge turned against them, it certainly appears to us that it was met with just so much feebleness as to indicate a desire, unacknowledged, and unknown perhaps to themselves, to use even credulity as a means of advancing their benevolent object.

'Mr. Mathew,' said one of his most elaborate defenders at the time, 'is not severe or repulsive. It would not suit the purposes of his extraordinary mission that he should be such. He believes it wiser, and he knows it to be more charitable, to have regard to the humility of the humble, and to abstain from ridiculing the weakness or simplicity of the illiterate. He encourages not their misconceptions, he wishes to dispel them; but in combating a deeply-rooted national evil, he cannot see what irremediable mischief will follow if the people will arm against it those prejudices which arise from credulity rather than malice. * * * The outward forms of past error become the vehicle through which new and vital truths are conveyed. What immense harm, then, can it be if an excessive belief of the people in the power of the priesthood be permitted to operate in extinguishing the besetting sin of our country? * * * It is only, after all, believing *too much* to suppose that any one man does on ordinary occasions perform miracles; and what is there in this that Mr. Mathew is bound fiercely to denounce, especially when the superabundance of the people's faith may tend and does tend to the destruction of a foul and abandoned vice?'

In this early taint of the movement, we conceive may be traced one of the sources of subsequent decay.

But although slightly tainted, the enthusiasm in favour of Father Mathew's mission was not unsound. Many concurring circumstances afford abundant and satisfactory explanation of this assertion. The movement was opportune, new, and decisive. The evil of drunkenness had become absolutely appalling: its misery was felt in every family. The ordinary and old remedies of exhortation and denunciation had been found useless; while the certain and instant cure experienced wherever 'the pledge' had been maintained, carrying with it the immediate blessings of health, and increased material prosperity, may well have appeared all but miraculous. The encouragement of association, and the general tendency

tendency of a people so impulsive as the Irish to allow feeling to govern their actions, would render much of the enthusiasm not only natural but even praiseworthy. Numbers will always attract numbers. Ignorant and excitable men are gregarious.

To the usually large influence possessed by the Roman Catholic priesthood, Father Mathew united a high reputation for devotion to the interests of the people, and the power, in a remarkable way, of attracting the affections of all with whom he came in contact. No other man in Ireland could have been selected so eminently qualified for his work. His mode of conducting the agitation was distinguished by a genial frankness which won all hearts. 'Clear the way for Paddy Hayes,' cried he at Borrisokane, when a noted drunkard was quietly pointed out to him in the crowd; and as the poor fellow staggered forward, with a benign smile he took his hand, saying, 'Come forward, my poor fellow, you were worth waiting for.' Who can doubt that Paddy Hayes' 'God bless you, Father Mathew!' as he fell on his knees, burst into tears, and took the pledge, was re-echoed in thousands of hearts to which a kind word had gone straight as a dart?

But the great secret of Father Mathew's success was his ardent faith in the truth of his cause. The equable and quiet efforts of William Martin and others in Cork had not moved the people. Father Mathew struck a spark from his own heart, and it lighted a flame in every village. No sacrifice was too great for his zeal. His private resources were all cheerfully expended. A distillery was bequeathed to him in Tipperary, worth a considerable sum. He broke it up, and refused a large rent for it. His family were largely engaged in the whisky trade; no such consideration moved him. By self-sacrifice he accomplished results marvellous in themselves, but such as may always be expected by a sincere and faithful worker for the truth. 'May God bless you,' said Father Mathew to all who pledged themselves with him, 'and enable you to keep your promise!' A simple formula, covering much of his success and suggestive of the real source of his power.

In rapid succession Father Mathew travelled into every county in Ireland. At Wexford, New Ross, Cashel, Castle Connell, Meath, and numerous other places, he carried on his work with uninterrupted triumph. In 1840 he visited Maynooth, and pledged seven professors and two hundred priests and students. At Dublin in the same year his labours were so successful, that on the 19th November the 'Freeman's Journal' announced that the Smithfield Penitentiary was closed; the citizens of Dublin being thus relieved from the entire expense of one prison.

Until 1843 Father Mathew remained in Ireland, prosecuting his mission with the general result we have sketched at the commencement of this article. The number he enrolled is almost incredible.

incredible. We have before us, on our desk, while we write, a pledge-card adorned with the really elegant autograph of Theobald Mathew. On the left of the card is represented the horrors of intemperance, on the right the blessings of sobriety. In the centre Father Mathew himself administers the pledge to a group of kneeling recipients. The pledge is as follows: 'I promise, with the Divine assistance, to abstain from all intoxicating liquors, and to prevent as much as possible by advice and example intemperance in others.' The number on this card, in Mr. Mathew's handwriting, is 5,682,623. In his own pithy and congratulatory words, 'he had been enabled by a good Providence to convert an evil boast and glory into a shame and public scandal, and to change what had once been deemed pusillanimity and parsimony into its true figure—a glory, a virtue, an honour.'

Father Mathew's reputation was not confined to his native soil. In 1843, in answer to pressing invitations, he visited England and Scotland, and although, as might have been expected, the demonstrations which followed him were not of the Irish character, he was received with genuine enthusiasm; and especially among his own countrymen and those of his own Church he effected great results. The respect with which his character and motives had inspired all classes, completely overshadowed any prejudice against his profession as a Catholic priest; and while influencing, and even enrolling among his converts members of the Roman Catholic aristocracy, he was treated with marked consideration and kindness by the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, and other Protestant statesmen. The acknowledgment of the nation was fitly though inadequately paid, when subsequently, Father Mathew's resources having become so thoroughly exhausted as to subject him to arrest for debt, a pension of 300*l.* per annum was granted to him by the Queen on Sir Robert Peel's recommendation. It may here be remarked, that probably more has been said of the ingratitude of the temperance public, and of his countrymen in particular, in allowing the pecuniary embarrassments of Father Mathew, than the truth of the case justifies. Efforts *were* made (but abandoned in consequence of impediments thrown in the way by Father Mathew himself), to which the Duke of Leinster, Lord Cloncurry, Mr. Haughton of Dublin, and others, lent the influence of their names, wealth, and station. A considerable sum was actually subscribed, and remitted to Father Mathew in 1844 and 1845, and as Father Mathew, by the regulations of the order to which he belonged, could not hold property in his own right, a difficulty was experienced at the outset which, irrespective of any personal obstacles, was never surmounted.

After this period there can be little doubt that the traces of Father Mathew's labours gradually became obliterated. The stormy

stormy atmosphere of Irish politics, in which O'Connell could rear his head and echo back the thunder, was unfavourable to the tender plant of social and domestic self-denial. The repeal agitation swallowed up all other; and monster meetings for the 'Liberator' buried in forgetfulness the exciting scenes of Limerick and Parsonstown. But Father Mathew never flinched from his work, but steadily pursued his career of benevolence. Once only the immediate necessity of the day overpowered, with him, as with the whole civilized world, all other considerations. The horrors of the Irish famine caused Europe to shudder. Disease, starvation, death, stalked abroad in the daylight, and the roadsides were scattered with the corpses of the perishing people. In Cork, a city of the plague, Father Mathew was found at his old post, distributing alms, organizing committees of relief, and bringing the whole force of his experience to the business of charity. To do this, he did not shrink from self-renunciation. He had received an invitation of a most flattering character to visit Rome—an invitation specially welcome to a priest of his enthusiastic piety. But he declared his place to be among his stricken countrymen; and neither the charms of the Eternal City, nor the interests of his darling object, the Temperance Movement, could draw him from his post of duty. Faithfully he devoted himself to the alleviation of the distress and sufferings of his poor flock. His name was largely instrumental in procuring some of the timely relief which all Christian nations hastened to afford to his unhappy country.

Under the pressure of advancing life, and as the natural result of his long and arduous labours, the health of Mr. Mathew, originally robust, began to give way; but he responded to the solicitation sent to him from America, and in 1849 crossed the Atlantic to visit the United States. His mission was principally directed to the emigrants who had gone from his own land; but he obtained and gratefully acknowledged the friendship of Henry Clay, William Corcoran, Henry Grunnill, E. K. Collins, and other noted Americans. He remained abroad for two years, continuing his work, notwithstanding occasional attacks of paralysis. On the 8th November, 1851, his farewell address to the people of the United States appeared in the New York papers. He had visited twenty-five States of the Union and administered the pledge to 300 of the principal towns and cities, travelling 37,000 miles for the purpose. 'Though,' says he, 'the renewed attacks of a painful and insidious malady have rendered it impossible that I could (without imminent danger to my life) make those public exertions which were never spared by me in the days of my health and vigour, I yet, thank Heaven! have been instrumental in adding to the ranks of temperance over 600,000 disciples in America.' 'Never

said he again to his physicians, who counselled absolute repose, 'will I willingly sink into inglorious inactivity. My life cannot be sacrificed in a better cause. If I am to die, I will die in harness.'

On Father Mathew's return to Ireland his friends observed a feebleness which too surely told that the strength of his manhood was gone. He tried in vain the milder atmosphere of Madeira; he again returned to Ireland only more disabled. For four years he continued suffering under the malady which preyed upon his vital strength, and at the close of the summer of 1856 went to reside at Queenstown. On Tuesday, 2nd December, 1856, he was seized with a sixth paralytic stroke. He lingered on, until, on Monday the 8th December, 1856, in full enjoyment of the powers of his mind, and apparently without suffering, he died, a martyr to his incessant exertions on behalf of humanity. On the 12th December, the mortal remains of Theobald Mathew were, after a religious ceremonial, deposited beneath the great stone cross in the centre of the graveyard of the cemetery of the Botanic Gardens.

The short sketch we have given necessarily has involved so much allusion to the personal character of Father Mathew, that little remains to be said in further comment. His personal habits were plain and simple to an almost ascetic extent, and his carelessness of his own individual ease or comfort constantly gave cause for the affectionate anxiety of his friends.

There is much of childishness in the Irish character, and Father Mathew united to strong good sense a cheerful and happy playfulness which was very winning. Children loved him, and he loved them. This almost national disposition enabled him to keep together the elements of his organization more successfully, perhaps, than a sterner disciplinarian could have done. A jealous or disappointed secretary, who fancied himself slighted, or his society placed too low on the 'procession' list, was laughed out of his pettishness, and swallowed a joke better than a rebuke.

'I once,' writes Mr. Dowden Richard in his 'Recollections,' 'took an English friend to visit Father Mathew. It was on one of those preparatory evenings (for the purpose of arranging processions, &c.), and on our arrival we found his parlour crowded by mechanics and labourers of all degrees, they with their hats on discussing the approaching gathering: but where was the great man? In a corner with his hat between his knees rattling in it and turning round and round a number of rolled-up tickets. We heard his cheery voice, calling out, "Come on now, boys, and as it's station you want, let every one of you draw number one, and then everybody will be first in the field." Among the drawers was a burly blacksmith, who was of opinion that on the last occasion his "room" had been displaced "somehow." In consequence of his complaint he was allowed to draw early, and after much churning of the hat he obtained number fifteen. His chagrin and disappointment were so great that Mr. Mathew begged the delegates to let him have another chance, when, alas! for blind fortune he drew number thirty. Father Mathew patted him on the head, and calling him a warning to all gamblers and lot-drawers, sent him to his seat with a laugh on his lip instead of anger and ill-will in his heart.'

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One can readily imagine that this easy familiarity won over many.

Perhaps one of the most remarkable aspects of Father Mathew's character was his unbounded charity. The rapid progress of his principles brought ruin upon the publicans and spirit dealers; and while with one hand he controlled the cause of their disasters, with the other he relieved (and in so doing expended considerable sums) the wives and starving children of the drinksellers reduced to beggary. Even those publicans who were able to hold on to their business manifested no ill-will. It was not unusual for the public-houses to be decorated during a temperance procession, or to furnish the benches and tables for an extemporaneous platform.

The causes of the decadence of Father Mathew's temperance movement are sufficiently obvious and need cause no great discouragement. It *was* Father Mathew's movement, and in its intensely personal character lay one secret of its temporary power. Throughout his labours, he was assisted by zealous and able men, and these, many of them still living, have kept together the remnants of the temperance host until now. Much of the real progress in public sentiment caused by Father Mathew's agitation has been sustained, and Ireland can never again fall back to the state in which it was in 1838. But as we have seen, a very large amount of that which appeared to be progress, proved to be hollow. Much of the influence of the temperance movement was mere excitement and enthusiasm—not conviction or real conversion. The priestly character of Father Mathew, his reported miraculous power, disavowed certainly by himself, but never discredited by the people, were powerful, but could not be permanent influences. It is even now a danger which threatens the temperance work, to mistake excitement for progress, and to rank that advocacy as the most useful which produces immediate results of enthusiasm, by amusing the public mind, or arousing the feelings by powerful appeals, while it cannot convince the judgment or inform the understanding.

Doubtless, some use might have been made of the interest and excitement originally excited, to deepen impression while access could be gained to the popular mind. Unfortunately the few years succeeding Father Mathew's triumphs were years of stormy political agitation in Ireland. Temperance societies, with their organization, their banners, their bands, were carried into the vortex of 'repeal' enthusiasm. The wand of the sorcerer evoked a phantom which appeared to the people even more beautiful than the mild and radiant features of temperance. Father Mathew struggled hard to prevent the independence of the society of which he was president from being compromised, but O'Connell and Young Ireland were too powerful for his influence.

It is of course no part of our intention to deal with Irish politics.

politics, even of the past. We may, however, point out as one of the great breaches in the reputation of the 'Liberator,' that he looked with indifference, or at least with a very cold sympathy, on the temperance movement. Father Mathew sought to liberate his fellow-countrymen from a tyranny far more paralyzing and unbearable than any associated with the Union; but between him and O'Connell there was little cordiality. In 1834, when Mr. Buckingham, then member for Sheffield, brought up the report of his committee upon the causes and remedies for intemperance, the man to rise, and with all the power of his irony and ridicule to endeavour to laugh the subject out of the legislature, was Daniel O'Connell. When Father Mathew was at the zenith of his power and influence O'Connell quietly passed him by, or contented himself with so much of lip honour as the state of popular feeling absolutely demanded. 'You are making far too much of Mathew,' said he to the editor of one of the repeal organs. It may be that the great agitator was clearsighted enough to detect the partial unsoundness of much of Father Mathew's popularity—it may be that, in the regard of the Irish people, he could bear no rival near his throne; however, the fact is undoubted, the repeal agitation worked great injury to the temperance movement in Ireland. We need not further allude to the dreadful visitation of famine, or to the entire absorption of every feeling, national and individual, in the sufferings of that time. There was in this, however, a cause for the withdrawal of public attention from temperance, and the concentration of sympathy and effort upon necessities, even greater and more immediate than those associated with vicious indulgence.

But the all-sufficient explanation of the decline of personal abstinence in Ireland will be found in the fascinating power of the drink, and in the continued existence of the temptation of the whisky shops. Vast as was the influence exerted by Father Mathew, in it, as in all other moral agencies, impression faded after lapse of time. As years rolled on, Father Mathew's image grew fainter and fainter in the recollection of his disciples. The publican was *always* at their elbow, offering the temptation to relapse. The appetite for drink is not an appetite founded on natural want, or indulged in from motives of reason or conviction. It is a physical desire generated by indulgence in the article itself. A strong mental or moral effort may, at once, crush down that appetite, and, in some, even in many cases, manhood may *maintain* its supremacy over the animal; but it can easily be anticipated that as the pressure becomes feebler, and resistance weaker, the appetite, in the majority of instances, will rear its head again. The presence of the temptation, not merely a moral temptation, but an excitement to physical desire, will always overcome a large number of the best intentioned, and this is specially the case

case where excitement has been the motive power in the first instance. No one recognized this truth more fully than Father Mathew himself. He was among the earliest adherents of the United Kingdom Alliance, an association aiming at the legislative extinction of the trade in strong drink. 'With rapture,' said he, 'I hail the formation of the United Kingdom Alliance. I laboured for the suppression of intemperance, until I sacrificed my health and little property in the glorious cause. The efforts of individuals, however zealous, were not equal to the mighty task. The United Kingdom Alliance strikes at the very root of the evil. I trust in God that the associated efforts of many good and benevolent men will effectually crush a monster gorged with human gore.' His experience has long been confirmed by that of every temperance society in the United Kingdom. The pledge-books of the societies show that the *convictions* of the vast majority of the people of the country have long since been reached, but their *practice* has not been correspondingly affected. Relapses, broken pledges, an endless struggle with the powers of social temptation constitute the staple of the experience of the most successful organizations. Moral suasion, as it is called, has done, and can do a a vast work; in moral reform simply it is *all* powerful; even in the temperance reform, which is not simply *moral* as we have seen, but involves questions of physical appetite and control, it has produced and can produce marvellous *immediate* results; but those results to be *permanent* must be consolidated into *law*. It is with this view that the United Kingdom Alliance has suggested a measure by which a majority of two-thirds of the inhabitants of a district would be empowered to prohibit within their district the common sale of strong drinks. Such a measure would enable temperance reformers to hold their own. The public sentiment they might create would 'crystallize' into a law, which, encircling the moral conquests they had made, would protect its development and allow it to form itself into the maturity of settled habit. Had such a power existed during Father Mathew's agitation, the trade in drink would have been extinguished throughout the greater part of Ireland; the temptation would have been removed, and the reform would, to a very great extent, have been permanent and satisfactory. The lesson should not be lost.

# ART. VII.—OUR FRIENDS IN COUNCIL.

*** *This space in the Review is open to our Friends in Council. Brief papers on questions of Social Science and Reform will be inserted. We do not endorse the opinions of our Correspondents.*—ED.

## To the Editors of 'Meliora.'

GENTLEMEN,

I BEG a portion of your valuable space in order to make some personal reply to the misrepresentations of the 'National' reviewer. Mr. Dawson Burns's forcible exposure of his ignorance, blind animosity, and self-conceit make it needless for me to enter on the general question.

I must first distinctly repudiate the compliment which this writer pays me at the expense of men whom I think far wiser, and engaged in a wiser enterprise, than he is; more especially since his unmeasured and ill-directed blame deprives his praise of all value.

I have now to complain that *everything* which he says or implies concerning my position or my arguments is inaccurate and delusive.

(1.) In p. 123 ('National Review,' Jan. 1860), he says that I am '*with* the Alliance, but not *of* it.' Every reader will suppose him to mean that I am not a member of the Alliance; yet the reviewer knows that I am a member, and in fact I am on the General Council. What the reviewer probably *means*, is, that I am not a teetotaler; and he is pleased to confound teetotalism with the Alliance. I wrote a letter to the 'Reasoner' expressly to separate these things. He has read that letter, pretends to elicit my opinion from it, yet reproduces the very same confusion, and does not give his readers a chance of understanding me. The Alliance is a practical body, pledged to a special work. I am *with* it in that work, and am as much *of* it as if I were a teetotaler in theory.

(2.) In p. 123, he says, I 'have not made the subject my especial study.' This is delusive disparagement. I have made 'the subject' of legal restrictions on the sale of intoxicating drink *an* especial study as truly as the reviewer has, and probably for more years. Perhaps what he means is (though no reader can find it out), that I do not profess to have examined for myself 'the statistics' of drunkenness. This is true. I receive the results from the committees of Parliament, from the judges, from physicians, from chaplains of gaols, from philanthropic inquirers; and it would have been wiser in him to do the same.

(3.) He then refers to my letters to the 'Reasoner,' and says that my position 'differs *toto cœlo* from the professed apologists of the Alliance.' What reader will fail to infer that I am *not* a professed apologist of the Alliance? whereas my letters were written avowedly in that character.

(4.) He treats me as propounding my own private scheme, when I am only expounding the suggestions of the Alliance for a Permissive Bill. His words are: 'We would prohibit, says he [that is, says Mr. Newman], *not the sale, but the traffic;* and he expresses his opinion [N.B. *my* opinion!] that a salaried agent should be appointed to sell alcoholic liquors to all who might demand them, but should be prohibited from gaining a penny by the traffic.' To find the reviewer mistake this for my private opinion is the more astounding, when my very words which he quotes, '*We* would prohibit,' show that I am speaking of the Alliance, and not of any scheme of my own; and indeed I have distinctly renounced, as folly and treachery to a great cause, the splitting of the public movement by individualism. It will be full early for that when the measure comes on for debate in Parliament. Yet the reviewer goes on to say: 'The Alliance propose something very different from this; and it is as an advocate of the principles of the Alliance, *rather than* as an independent adviser, that we have to deal with Mr. Newman.' This is admirably adapted to puzzle a reader, who is left in doubt whether I am or am not advocating the principles of the Alliance. He proceeds: 'They [the Alliance] propose to appoint such an agent as Mr. Newman describes [then why say above that I gave it as *my opinion?*]; with instructions, left in blank in their draft of the Bill, but filled up sufficiently by their speakers.' But the reviewer knows that the speakers have no more authority to fill it up for the Alliance than I have.

(5.) He goes on to say: 'They [the teetotal speakers] would allow him [the

[the agent] to sell only for scientific, manufacturing, or medical purposes.' But I find this in the first draft of the Bill itself. I did interpose my private opinion that no useful legal interpretation can be given of the phrase 'medical purposes.' In so far I spoke for myself, not for the Alliance; and so sharply did I mark this off that I seem to have given no excuse for mistaking as to the rest.

(6.) He says: 'Treating the authority of the State over its subjects avowedly on the same footing as that of a general over his army, he [Mr. Newman] maintained — in answer to an assertion in the "Reasoner" that the Maine Law was "a crime"—the right of the State to prohibit the *use* of intoxicating liquors. He evidently conceives of the State and its functions in the true classical spirit, which ascribes to it a jurisdiction little less than universal and absolute over thought and action.' I cannot too strongly protest against this most gratuitous, sinister, unjust passage, contrary to everything that I have written for twenty-five years, and contrary to all that I have urged in the particular matter before us. The writer's mistake simply proves that he does not understand the first elements of the subject on which he writes with such offensive dogmatism and denunciation.

The temporary editor of the 'Reasoner' was guilty of the juvenile extravagance of calling the *Maine Law* 'a crime.' I did not think I was bound to write a lengthened refutation; but I briefly replied that if he held such doctrine he would find it very hard to establish any moral theory which should justify *martial* law; and on this the 'National' reviewer grounds his hardy assertion that I '*avowedly*' treat the authority of the State on the same footing as that of a general over his soldiers! It is not my fault if he does not understand that *all* human law—civil, municipal, royal, martial, international—has a moral centre and common moral principles; and that one of these common principles is the right of sometimes coercing individual action. I expressed the opinion that he who calls the milder coercion used in the Maine Law 'a crime' may find it hard to justify the severer coercion of martial law. I may be wrong in that opinion; but that is no reason why the writer should take on himself to propagate a flat falsehood concerning my political theory; and this with the phrase 'avowedly;' lest any reader, seeing how headlong is the reviewer, might suspect it was only his inference, and *not* my avowal. Yet, not satisfied with this, he adds that I 'conceive of the State and its functions in the true *classical* spirit, which ascribes to it *a jurisdiction little less than absolute over thought* and action.' This would be a very extravagant statement if made concerning Aristotle. As to me, the reviewer is aware that in my letters to the 'Reasoner' I have based the argument of restriction on the *historical* civil law of ENGLAND. It is he, and his 'high authority' Mr. J. S. Mill, who are struggling to throw off the historical principle always and everywhere held by Christian and Mohammedan states; I mean, that the Public Virtue is to be cherished by the Public Law. That this is the doctrine of ancient, as well as of modern times, is no reason for abandoning or despising it.

(7.) He proceeds to quote (p. 124) a long passage from Mr. Mill, which every reader will suppose to be directed against *my* doctrines; for he opens with the words: 'His [Mr. Newman's] adversary took shelter under the authority of Mr. Mill, who has stated the contrary doctrine [to Mr. Newman] in the clearest and broadest terms.' Then follows the quotation, in which Mr. Mill is combating a definite statement of 'social rights' to which I have never expressed assent, and which (true or false) has nothing to do with any argument which I have anywhere used. Yet the reviewer follows up the quotation with the sentence: 'Without expressing absolute concurrence in *Mr. Mill's* view, we are bound to say that we consider it far preferable to that held by *Mr. Newman.*' This nails the matter. Any reader must necessarily imagine that I profess the views against which Mr. Mill is arguing. Yet this is mere invention of the reviewer; so much so, that I cannot even guess what may have misled him.

That which is here the more inexcusable is, that in page 123 he affected to turn away from the arguments of 'Dr. Lees, *Mr. Pope*, Mr. Dow, Mr. Dawson Burns, and the rest,' . . . and confine himself to those of Mr. Newman and Mr. M. D. Hill. He then seems to devote to me pp. 123, 124, and one paragraph of p. 125; whence he proceeds to Mr. Hill. Yet, in fact, p. 124 is, all but three lines, 'Mill versus Pope.'

Pope,' while he professed that he would *not* argue against Mr. Pope, but against me!

(8.) He continues: '. . . . . we are bound to say, that we consider it far preferable to that held by Mr. Newman. The notion that it is the right and duty of the State to suppress whatever it regards as dangerous *to public health and happiness*, although it may be the mere external occasion of social evil rather than its cause, is suited apparently to America, as it was suited to Rome and Sparta. . . . . But it is wholly contrary to those ideas of freedom which are essentially English,' &c. . . . But this is not my doctrine; nor do I even know who maintains it. I can only conjecture that he has taken the liberty of translating my phrase, *the Public Virtue*, into his Benthamite vocabulary of 'public *health* and *happiness*;' thus producing a doctrine which I hold to be false and foolish. The allusion to Rome and Sparta is another attempt to pelt me as a pedant. I never yet heard of a Maine Law at Rome; and a man would be truly a fool who advised us to adopt Spartan institutions. But the crudity of thought involved in this allusion to America is much below the rank of the 'National.' In all the colonies of England, those still attached to the crown as well as those independent, it is most manifest that the facilities of getting liquor, the early emancipation of children, and the movements of population, have made 'drink' still more dangerous to the community there than with us; and hence the earlier and louder outcries for restriction. In proportion as our home population becomes free from old feudality, and the children have more liberty, we too need more and more severity as to liquor laws. So very far are we from outgrowing the need of them.

(9.) In p. 126 the reviewer says that I support the Maine Law on the theory of a paternal government. This is a simple blunder, unless he means to say that the theory of English law, and that of all Christendom, is and always was 'paternal.' The reviewer knows that I have maintained the restriction of the liquor trade solely and avowedly on the principles of old English law. But he says, 'we have long since outgrown' this theory; and contrary as this is to the fact, it suffices to show that he does understand my doctrine, but libels it by an odious and untrue name. 'Paternal government' is the specious title assumed by an hereditary dynasty, like that of Austria, which pretends that the *executive* is as much wiser than *the nation* as a father than his children. The doctrine of Old England is not that the wisdom of the government is to dictate to the nation, but that the wisdom of the nation, duly elicited by debate in Parliament, shall impose law on the stupidity of the nation, and pre-eminently shall restrict public vice. But, if we are to believe the reviewer, 'we have outgrown' all this.

I have gone through all that the reviewer has said concerning me, and every single thing is a blunder. Yet he fancies that he may speak with authority concerning the looseness and inaccuracy of teetotalers, to say nothing of his more bitter imputations.

I now beg leave to pass from the reviewer to the Editor of the 'National,' a gentleman for whom I entertain a cordial respect, which I would express still more strongly did I not fear to be obtrusive. A year ago I was surprised to find myself honoured in that review by being bracketed against Mr. Mill in discussing this very point—the scope of the functions of the State; and the review expressed decided agreement with me. The Editor assures me that he has never *intended* to say otherwise as to the fundamental questions, which it is gratifying to learn, as some pledge for the future. Yet I cannot but feel that he is unduly aware how much of Mr. Mill's doctrine his contributor has infused, not only in the phrases already noticed, but in a sentence I quoted under (8), where he talks of 'a *mere* external occasion of social evil.' A gambling-table is a 'mere' external occasion. It does not compel a person to play, any more than a gin-shop compels him to drink; it does but invite—entice him. To gamble for small sums is not in itself a greater sin or vice than to drink small cups. If two dukes choose to play at loo for sixpences, what moralist or statesman will desire to legislate against it? But as soon as public demoralization is endangered, the strong must endure some restriction of their liberty for the sake of the weak, although we cannot pretend that the thing forbidden is strictly 'a cause' of the evil. If it be a temptation too strong for the public to resist, that is a sufficient ground for legal interference.

FRANCIS W. NEWMAN.

# Meliora.

ART. I.—1. *Habits and Men, with Remnants of Record touching the Makers of both.* By Dr. Doran. Third Edition. London. Bentley, 1855.
2. The '*Times*.' July, 1858, *et seq.*

THE great law of change is inscribed upon everything connected with man. The rocks which guard his dominions from the incursions of the briny deep, and the minerals which constitute his wealth, bear witness to the successive changes which have characterized past dispensations. The seasons roll round with silent grandeur, and present those delightful variations of wintry snows and spring flowerets, summer fruits and autumnal tints, which adorn the mansion of the great human family. The brightness of day gradually mellows into the deep shades of night; and the mighty hand of change is constantly recording its wonders in the heavens, and alternately clouding the blue ethereal with fleecy shadows, and bringing out its bright lights to sparkle like gems on a sable robe. The vast changes of nature have excited the admiration of the poet and the researches of the philosopher, and have furnished materials for the wonderful creations of the former, and the profound science of the latter. The poet has woven from them his finest garlands to crown those whom he delights to honour; and the philosopher has detected in their rapid transformations the great principles of order, progress, and design.

Man himself comes under the influence of the laws which regulate his dwelling-place. His entire career is composed of a vast series of changes which are determined by his nature and position in life. The historian narrates the variations in his political and social condition, and traces the development of human and divine laws; the moralist points to the changes from infancy to old age, and finds in each stage of life some peculiar virtues to be fostered and vices to be eradicated; and the preacher refers to the fading leaf, the blooming flower, or the morning mist, as emblems of the instability of human affairs, and to illustrate the great fact that 'the fashion of this world passeth away.' All these changes in nature and man are, however, deeply significant. They are the result of the operation of wise and beneficent laws, which are silently accomplishing the great design for which all things

were called into existence; and they cannot be interfered with without suffering the penalty which violated law always inflicts.

The love of change is deeply seated in the human heart. It very early manifested itself, and gave a powerful sceptre into the hands of Fashion. At first her regulations were in harmony with natural wants, and her caprices were few and simple; but in proportion as society became artificial and refined, her decrees assumed an arbitrary and extravagant character, and were published and rescinded with great rapidity. It might naturally be expected that our ancestors would readily imitate the fashions of their conquerors. Tacitus distinctly tells us that 'the sons of the British chieftains began to affect our dress;' and the women, no doubt, would have followed their example, had it not happened that their garb was very similar to that of the Romans. The Saxons taught the people to wear long hair and forked beards, which they coloured blue by means of dye or powder; and the Danes introduced to them their black garments, not as the symbol of mourning, as it is well known they never lamented the death of their nearest and dearest friends, but because they constituted the national garb, and harmonized with their national standard, the raven. The Normans brought with them many novelties in dress and habits, which the Anglo-Saxons eagerly copied; and from the time of the Conqueror to the present day, the tide of fashion has, with a few irregularities, flowed in upon our shores from the continent. Every royal lady, who has been called to share the throne with our kings, introduced some of the fashions of her own country; and the great convulsions which have shaken the church and the state have exerted no small influence on the decrees of Fashion.

Much philosophy, and not a little practical wisdom, may be gathered from considering the various freaks of Fashion. The human race has been most unfortunate in the epithets which have been applied to it; and not the least curious is that which describes man as an imitative animal. He certainly possesses great curiosity, abundant vanity, and vast powers of mimicry. He is ever striving to realize what he sees around him, and exercises his ingenuity in contriving what he thinks will adorn his body and gratify his tastes. Fashion is the natural result of his mental and moral constitution, and of the circumstances in which he is placed; and just as these have varied, its freaks have changed their character. It, however, has its own laws; and though, at first sight, its changes appear more uncertain than the wind, yet, like the breezes of heaven, they can be observed, classified, and referred to the fixed principles which regulate them. No doubt it requires extensive and accurate observation, and much philosophic skill, to detect them; still there are certain principles which regulate those who originate,

originate, and those who follow, the decrees of Fashion. The former are often actuated by caprice, vanity, or the desire of gain; and the latter by the powerful craving there is in man to imitate what appears to be beautiful, or what marks out position in society. The changes of Fashion always follow one uniform rule. They never commence in the lower classes of society, and ascend to the higher, but the reverse; for in whatever station they begin their existence, they either die out there, or descend to the lowest walks of life. Fashion thus furnishes an index to man's nature and condition. It displays his mental and moral character, and gives a clue to his social life; it calls into lively exercise his imitative powers; and it exerts a baneful or beneficial influence upon society, according to the character of the changes it inaugurates.

The craving after the Beautiful exerts a wonderful influence upon the changes of Fashion. Their contrasts are so great, chiefly because there is nothing in which men differ so much as in their ideal of beauty. The fashionable Cherokee Indian, when he smeared his body with red or yellow ochre, and hung around him his rows of teeth and scalps, thought himself, and was regarded by his compeers, surpassingly beautiful; as much so, perhaps, as the fashionable lady who, a century ago, endeavoured to heighten her charms by patches and rouge, a maccaroni head-dress, and well-hooped garments. 'What we are in fashion,' says Dr. Thomas Brown, 'is ever beautiful; but nothing is, in fashion, so ridiculous as the beauty which has been.' A fashion would not be imitated if it had no supposed charms nor advantage to recommend it: those, therefore, who follow it must perceive something in it to render it worthy of their adoption. Their taste may be vitiated, and their estimate of its value erroneous; still there must be some supposed advantage to recommend a fashion, before the old will be given up and the new received. The votaries of Fashion often have to make great sacrifices to gratify their tastes; but perhaps that circumstance even enhances its charms in their eyes.

It is amusing to notice some of the circumstances which have rapidly brought in fashions, and as speedily banished them. Sometimes a word, or a single act, of a warrior will change the fashion of a whole country. When Alexander the Great ordered his Macedonian soldiers to shave, lest their beards should become handles whereby their enemies might capture them, smooth chins became universal in Greece. Mausoleus introduced a new custom into Asia Minor, when he commanded the heads of the conquered Lycians to be shaven; for the poor fellows felt so uncomfortable and ridiculous, that they bribed the king's general to allow them to obtain wigs from Greece, and a peruke speedily became the height of Lycian fashion. Courtiers are always eager to imitate their sovereign; and sometimes majesty will even condescend to follow

the fashion it has unwittingly introduced. When Louis XIV. was a little boy, he had such long, beautiful, curly hair, that all classes tried to imitate it by wigs and false curls; but when he grew up, and became the 'grande monarque,' the king adopted the full-bottomed wigs, in defiance of the canons of councils, and the thunder of the priests. All English gentlemen then wore perukes; though Charles II. forbade the members of the university of Cambridge to wear periwigs, smoke tobacco, and read their sermons.

The enthusiasm of a moment has not unfrequently introduced a fashion for life; and even sudden fear has rapidly turned its tide. At the beginning of the twelfth century, it was customary in England to wear very long hair; and a decree was passed in the Council of Rouen against it. But example is more powerful than precept, especially in fashion. When Henry I. was in Normandy, Bishop Serlo preached so eloquently against this custom, that, it is said, the king and his courtiers were moved to tears. The prelate immediately seized his opportunity, and his scissors, and cropped the whole congregation; and a royal edict secured the fashion of 'cropping' during Henry's lifetime. In Stephen's reign, however, long hair again appeared, though, for a short time, the previous fashion was revived in consequence of the dream of a young soldier, who was noted for the length and beauty of his hair. He dreamed one night that a person came behind him, and strangled him with his own curls; and the dread of such a calamity was sufficiently powerful to cause all men throughout the nation to cut off their flowing ringlets.

Fashions which have been introduced to hide defects have frequently become exceedingly popular. The Effeminati, or dandies, of the twelfth century, wore shoes with immensely long-pointed toes; and when the Earl of Anjou twisted his like rams' horns to conceal his deformed feet, the nobles eagerly adopted the fashion. The ruff, too, was first worn by a lady to conceal a wen on her neck. We are told that the sight of a falling apple suggested to Sir Isaac Newton the great law of the universe; and the appearance of a certain lady suggested the uniform of our gallant seamen. The English navy was not distinguished from the army by any particular costume till the days of George II. In the year 1748 there arose much discussion respecting a naval uniform, and one day his majesty George II., accidentally met the Duchess of Bedford on horseback in a blue riding-habit trimmed with white. The king was so struck with the effect of these colours, that he immediately commanded them to be adopted in the uniform for the navy; and blue and white continued to adorn the heroes of the deep till his late majesty, William IV., changed the facings to scarlet. An interesting volume might be written on the trivial circumstances which have introduced some of the most striking fashions.

fashions. Dr. Doran's book records a few instances, and is full of amusing gossip and pleasant reading; and the curious reader can consult with advantage, as Dr. Doran has, J. R. Planché's 'History of British Costume.'

Fashions have often been abandoned on account of circumstances not less striking than those which introduced them. The times of Elizabeth were characterized by enormous ruffs and fardingales. As the ladies then sighed, more than they do now, for clever starchers to get up their ruffs and points, the queen brought over some Dutch women, who were quite *au fait* in their work; and one, Mistress Dingham Varden Plasse, made a large fortune by teaching the nobility, at five pounds each, how to starch ruffs; and also, for twenty shillings extra, 'how to seeth,' says Stubbs, 'the liquid matter in which the devil hath learned them to wash and dive their ruffs.' The bands and ruffs of the reign of James I. were stiffened with yellow starch, which was introduced into England by Mrs. Turner, a physician's widow; but when she was convicted of being an accessary in poisoning Sir Thomas Overbury, and went to the scaffold in a yellow ruff, the fashion of wearing them died with her who had given them their peculiar colour.

In our own days we have seen many fashions given up as soon as they have ceased to indicate the position and character of the wearer. Charles II. invented for himself a peculiar costume called the vest dress, which consisted of a long cassock of black cloth, fitting close to the body, 'pinked,' with white silk under it. His courtiers thought it exquisite, and the fashionable everywhere adopted it. Louis Quatorze, however, showed his contempt of the mode and its maker by dressing all his footmen in 'vests;' which naturally caused great indignation in England, and led Charles and his courtiers to abandon the costume, because they did not wish to look like French footmen. The footmen of the aristocracy now wear the aristocratic dress of the last century. There was nothing more pleasing to our grandfathers, during the summer months, than their nankeen; and in England and France it was the height of fashion, to the great detriment of the trade of the latter country. Louis XVI. listened to the complaints of the French manufacturers, and speedily sent the custom out of his country, by dressing the public executioners in the fashionable material. Many a recent fashion has been introduced and consigned to oblivion by the tricks of trade.

The wise man might have been reviewing the fashions of his country when he wrote, 'Is there anything whereof it may be said, "See this is new!" It hath been already of old time.' The 'last new fashion' may often be discovered adorning the figure of our ancestors, with a few modifications to suit more extravagant

tastes and pockets. Thus the present 'wide-awake' appears to have been the standard stock of an English hat. It represents the Roman *petasus*, or travelling cap, the Norman *capa*, and the shape of the first cardinal hats given at the Council of Lyons in 1245, before they were flattened and spread out to their present dimensions. The front was peaked, and the crown pointed, in the fifteenth century; and its original shape restored, and covered with feathers, in the sixteenth. In the seventeenth, the crown again gradually rose to a point, and then as gradually subsided, till it resembled the present yachting hats; and in the eighteenth, the flap was turned up, or 'cocked,' according to different fashions. There was the Monmouth cock, the Ramilie cock, the military cock, and the mercantile cock; and in the 'Spectator' No. 532, John Sly, 'haberdasher of hats and tobacconist,' states that he is preparing hats for the several kinds of heads that figure in Great Britain, with cocks significant of their powers and faculties.

The present workman's blouse was originally a Saxon garment, which was worn by the Norman knights over their armour, and was often lined with fur in the winter, and used as an overcoat. In the fourteenth century, it was made of coarse canvas, or fustian, and was worn by both men and women, and very much resembled the smock frock now worn by the rustic. The present fashion of hooping dresses, also, is no novelty. In the chivalrous days of Edward III., the Monk of Glastonbury tells us that the ladies 'wered such strait clothes that they had long fox-tails sewed within their garments to holde them forth.' The fardingales of the times of Elizabeth appear to have been introduced into England, with the ruffs, from Spain, and are the prototype of the modern hoops. Dr. Doran quotes the following curious anecdote from Bulwer's 'Pedigree of an English Gallant.'

'When Sir Peter Wych was sent ambassador to the Grand Seigneur, from James I., his lady accompanied him to Constantinople; and the Sultaness, having heard much of her, desired to see her; whereupon Lady Wych, attended by her waiting women, all of them dressed in their great fardingales, which was the court dress of the English ladies of that time, waited upon her highness. The Sultaness received her visitors with great respect; but, struck with the extraordinary extension of the hips of the whole party, seriously inquired if that shape was peculiar to the natural formation of Englishwomen; and Lady Wych was obliged to explain the whole mystery of the dress, in order to convince her that she and her companions were not really so deformed as they appeared to be.' —Pp. 43, 44.

The eighteenth century was remarkable for the extraordinary Freaks of Fashion. There was a constant rivalry between the monstrous head-dress and the expanding hoops. Addison tells us he remembers several ladies who were once very nearly seven feet high that then wanted some inches of five feet; and Rogers, in his 'Table Talk,' relates how he had to place a lady, whom he was conducting to a party, on a cushion at the bottom of his carriage,

carriage, because her enormous head-dress would not allow her to occupy the seat. They were, however, of a different description from the heart-shaped and steeple head-dresses worn by the queen of Charles VI. of France, to admit whom, when full dressed, the doors of the palace at Vincennes were obliged to be altered. As the head-dress rose, the skirts generally contracted; and when the high top-knots came down, hoops of different patterns and dimensions flourished. First came the wheel fardingale, like a huge drum; then the triangular whalebone; then hoops of graduated sizes. In 1745 they expanded at the sides, and contracted in front; ten years later they became scarcely discernible; and in 1757 they reappeared, and swelled into the enormous dimensions of the court dresses of the reign of George III. His successor, George IV., banished them from his court; and the fashion departed to reappear in these days in the expanding crinoline.

The imitation of male attire by the other sex has called forth the satire of writers from the days of the Conqueror to the present time. In the fourteenth century, the ladies had their 'cotehardies' buttoned down the front like the men, with pockets outside, their waistcoats, and their 'paletoques;' and Chaucer, in his 'Canterbury Tales,' gives some graphic descriptions of the prevailing costumes, and makes a parson lament 'the sinful costly array of clothing' of both sexes. The ladies, we are told, 'passeth the men in all manner of arraies and curious clothing.' At the close of the fifteenth century, Strutt remarks, that 'the dress of the English was so absurd that it was difficult to distinguish one sex from the other;' and he quotes part of the instructions given to the chamberlain of Henry VII. 'Warme your soverayne hys petticotte, hys doublett, and hys stomacher, and then put on hys hozen, and then hys schone or slyppers, then stryten up his hozen mannerly, and tye them up, then lace hys doublett hole by hole.' In the days of Elizabeth, Stubbs writes, in his 'Anatomy of Abuses,' 'The women have doublets and jerkins as the men have, buttoned up to the breast, and made with wings and pinions on the shoulder-points, as man's apparel in all respects; and although this be a kind of attire proper only to a man, yet they blush not to wear it.' Addison, too, in the 'Spectator,' repeatedly censures the male attire of the ladies; and he gives, in No. 104, a description of a lady whose sex can only be recognized by a very small petticoat of blue camlet. The coat, waistcoat, hat, and male periwig formed the fashionable riding dress of the ladies.

We have thus illustrated a few of the freaks of Fashion by referring rather to the customs of our ancestors than to those of the present day, with which, we presume, most of our readers are familiar. From the same source we might show that extra-

fashions have exerted a most baneful influence on social life. Frequently the national exchequer has been exhausted by the extravagant habits of the people. The Normans first ruined the Saxons, and then themselves, by their costly fashions. Kings and queens often either ignored their bills, or pawned their plate and jewels to pay for their dress; and sometimes even robbed their rich subjects to support their extravagance. We might almost imagine that Stubbs was referring to our own times rather than to those of Elizabeth, when he tells us that, sooner than go without the last new fashion, men would 'mortgage their land, or risk the loss of their lives at Tyburn with a rope.' The nation has more than once been on the verge of ruin in consequence of the extravagance of all classes; and in the days of Edward III. the following stanzas were fastened to the church doors to rebuke the growing evil:—

'Long beirds hertiless,
Peynted hoods witless,
Gay cotes graceless,
Maketh England thriftless.'

Parliament attempted to remedy the evil on many occasions by passing sumptuary laws which should regulate the costumes of the different classes of society; but the decrees were generally unheeded, and the prohibited articles were even more eagerly coveted than before the interference of Parliament. Every species of vice flourished under the shade of extravagant fashions; and the gaol and the gibbet failed to warn men of the consequences of their reckless conduct. In vain the earnest clergy denounced these fashions from the pulpit; in vain monks and friars proclaimed crusades, and satirists wrote their ponderous tomes in ancient, and their pamphlets in modern, times against them: an occasional success was all they could achieve, and Fashion continued to perform her freaks with great celerity.

The fashions of the present day are exerting a most injurious influence on domestic life and morality. There is now a strife among the different classes of society which shall be the greatest. The city merchant imitates the style of his aristocratic neighbour in the mansion he must occupy, the equipage he must drive, the company he must entertain, and the appearance his family must make in society. The prosperous tradesman imitates the merchant, the clerk his employer, and even the servant her mistress; and in the great struggle to keep up appearance, each launches out into extravagant expenditure, lives up to, even if he does not go beyond, his average income, and often becomes reckless of consequences so long as the fashionable appearance is maintained. There is a story told of an Irishman who, on returning from market one day, was observed lashing his horse most furiously and

and galloping by the side of two gentlemen. His friend, seeing fish after fish drop on the road from his panniers, cried out to him to stop, or he would lose all his fish. 'Hurrah!' cried Pat, 'bother tak ye, and what do I care so long as I keep up with the gintlemen?' It is this 'keeping up with the gintlemen,' at any cost, which is the source of much of the domestic unhappiness, commercial dishonesty, and criminal frauds to which our attention has been so recently drawn. The ladies must have their splendid silks and expensive lace, or they positively affirm they have 'nothing to wear;' the gentlemen must have their sumptuous dinners well served, and expensive wines, or they raise the piteous cry they have 'nothing to eat;' the family must possess its suburban mansion, elegantly furnished, its gay equipage, and its rounds of balls and parties, or else life becomes a mean vulgar thing, scarcely to be endured! The goddess, Fashion, must be revered; her smiles are captivating, and her frowns withering: her favour, therefore, must be propitiated at any cost; and honour, truth, social virtue, and even common honesty must be sacrificed to maintain the worship of this powerful deity!

The recent treaty between England and France is likely to give a fresh impetus to the freaks of Fashion in this country, especially in dress; and when we think of the many splendid 'houses' which have already been crushed by these freaks, and see the thousands of lovely victims who have been ruined by such catastrophes, we may well ask, with the Rev. Lord S. G. Osborne, 'Where is the present wild extravagance in "dress," to end? Is each succeeding season to record its ruinous increase? Is it possible that folly can further go—that English ladies will become more enslaved to a power which is gradually vitiating the taste of every class?' Extravagance in dress is the fostering parent of many injurious fashions, and these not only 'vitiate the taste,' but also destroy the self-respect, the happiness, and prosperity of every class that imitates them. The fashionables often resort to the meanest tricks to increase the splendour of their appearance, and grind down their different tradesmen, who, in their turn, oppress their dependents and workpeople. Nor does the injurious influence of Fashion end there. The children receive an education of a vitiated character; they grow up with false views of life, and early learn to imitate, and sometimes to surpass, the extravagance of their parents. In the recent discussions in the daily journals on marriage and the great social evil, the baneful influence of extravagant habits on young persons was painfully illustrated. They naturally hesitate to enter the connubial state till they can afford to support the expenditure of a fashionable establishment; hence the young ladies either pine away in single life, and fall victims to fashionable follies, or render the domestic hearth unhappy,

happy; and the young men perpetuate and increase that terrible social evil, which disfigures our streets, and stains our national character.

The baneful influence extends throughout the middle and lower classes, which often find that, by imitating the fashions of those above them, to use the words of Cowper,

> 'They sacrifice to dress, till household joys
> And comforts cease.'

Their income is heavily taxed to keep up an appearance beyond their position and means; and, whether it be small or large, it frequently becomes insufficient to secure domestic comfort, as well as provide for extravagant habits. Poverty then gathers, like a threatening thunder-cloud, over the dwelling; and when any sudden event transpires, by which the income is diminished, or the necessary expenditure is increased, the storm of sorrow begins to fall. Business is crippled, and often surrounded by serious difficulties, for want of the money that has been lavished in extravagant fashions; debts are contracted with scarcely a hope of their being discharged; things daily grow more black and menacing; peace and joy depart; anxious care takes possession of the spirits; the grim features of exposure and ruin become painfully distinct; and in the fearful struggle for life and position, recourse is sometimes had to practices condemned equally by morality and law, to avert the disasters which extravagance has caused. Many who were once prosperous and happy have been ruined by Fashion; and some are now paying the penalty of their recklessness in our prisons and penal establishments.

Wherever Fashion's voice becomes imperative, and leads her votary along her changeful path, she becomes the tyrant, and mankind her slave. Life then is stripped of its true dignity and importance; time and wealth, which might have been usefully employed in reclaiming the lost, and cheering the miserable, are frittered away on empty shows; a restless dissatisfaction breeds contempt for the sober duties of life; class strives against class in a most undignified and ruinous competition; and the votary ere long becomes the victim, and, while attempting to keep up with the swift revolving wheel of Fashion, is suddenly dashed to the ground, and broken to pieces. There is such a thing in life as propriety, and what may be very becoming in one station becomes very ridiculous in another. Extravagant fashions are unseemly in all walks of life; and they can have little idea of the dignity and design of life, whose thoughts seldom rise beyond the consideration of what they shall eat, or what they shall drink, or wherewithal shall they be clothed.

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ART. II.—1. *Parliamentary Papers on the West Indies.*
2. *Edinburgh Review.* 1858.
3. *The West Indies and the Spanish Main.* By Anthony Trollope.

THE West India question is both interesting and complicated. The unique Act of Emancipation, the appalling suffering of the negroes under slavery, and the subsequent chequered history of those beautiful cyclades, give to the British West Indian colonies an interest and importance that richly deserve recurrent attention. Perhaps there are few subjects upon which more contradictory statements have been received: it behoves us, then, to look at this matter with care and candour.

The morally sublime reached its culmination, when, at the striking of the midnight hour of the 31st of July, 1834, 800,000 negroes were transformed, as by the touch of magic, from chattels into human beings. Their jubilant shout was echoed by the rejoicings of Great Britain, as it reflected with becoming pride upon an act, which is alike without precedent or imitation. But the question recurs, has enfranchisement answered or not? The reply to this inquiry depends entirely upon how we understand the question. Viewed morally, the greatest foe to religion cannot deny that it has fully met the expectations of the most sanguine philanthropists and abolitionists. Where once there was stolid ignorance, there is now, in almost every village of the Caribbean Islands, the busy hum of the day-school. In lieu of promiscuous intercourse and licentiousness, there is the Divine institution of marriage, with its well-ordered families. Instead of unending toil, no wages, and Sunday markets, there are stated hours of labour, generally few; regular wages, and a sabbath-keeping, happy peasantry; and where the once indecent and inhuman practice of flogging females prevailed, women are now, in many cases, relieved from agricultural labour, are found at home—their natural position—regulating their family duties, the husband 'providing for his household:' while the clean, white-washed cottage, with shingled roof, piazza, commodious central sitting-room, with a bed-room at each end, bright furniture, and its brighter china and glasses, pictures hanging on the walls, out-buildings for cooking, &c., and flower-garden in front of the village cottage, all speak of an amazing advance in civilization; while some of these sable children of Ham have a refinement of manner, and gracefulness of mien quite aristocratic; and, to say the least, in sobriety, decorum, and morality generally, they are on a par with the peasantry of England. Socially and morally, emancipation has assuredly paid a hundred times over. But has it

paid as a question of economy? We unhesitatingly answer, It has. Proof of this is necessarily multifarious, but quite conclusive. Let us briefly examine it. It must at once be conceded that terrible commercial and agricultural depression followed upon emancipation, which many persons in England hastily, but most unwarrantably assumed, flowed from the abolition of slavery; but, as we shall presently show, this great and general distress was not produced by emancipation, for the causes of West Indian 'ruin and bankruptcy' were in potent operation long before the enfranchisement of the negro. Indeed, from the time of Charles II., the abandonment of estates, and ruin of proprietors have been quite common occurrences. In the words of Lord Goderich, Colonial Secretary in 1831, 'The great and permanent source of distress is to be found in the institution of slavery;' while in 1805, before the abolition of the African Slave Trade, the loud complaint was that of impending ruin. We may assume it to be as fixed as the principle of gravitation, that whatever puts aside natural laws and sets up artificial ones in their place, and whatever is unjust, must, from the nature of things, as settled by the Eternal, sooner or later end in wreck and ruin. Now this was emphatically the case with West Indian slavery. In the words of Mr. Bigelow, an acute American traveller, 'The Emancipation Act did not *cause*, but only precipitated a result which was inevitable. It compelled a balance to be struck between the debtors and creditors, which *revealed* rather than begot the poverty.' The stern fact is, slavery was bearing our beautiful and fertile colonies on to irretrievable ruin. Slaves were dying off in a very few years, while, the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 having cut off the supplies, slavery was fast wearing itself out, and depopulating our colonies with fearful rapidity. Indeed, as is well known, this alarming decrease of population *first* drew the attention of Parliament to the subject of West Indian slavery. It has been calculated that in a century at most, had matters been permitted to go on, the negroes of the West Indies would have become entirely extinct. That the proprietary body were in terrible straits is certain from the fact, that in 1830 they earnestly solicited relief from Parliament; while it was stated by Mr. Bright that their distress was 'unparalleled.' The causes, then, of the abandonment of sugar plantations were inherent in the man-degrading and God-dishonouring system of slavery itself. Mr. Bigelow declares that at the time of emancipation 'the island of Jamaica was utterly insolvent; nearly every estate was mortgaged for more than it was worth, and was liable for more interest than it could possibly pay: bankruptcy was inevitable.' Emancipation money merely staved off the ruin that had long been coming, and was now approaching with giant strides, by enabling proprietors to pay some portion of their mortgages,

mortgages, and kindred encumbrances; when, after a lull, 'the rain descended, the floods came, the winds blew,' and hurled them into ruin. Estates in general changed hands, and a new era set in: so thorough was this transfer, that Lord Stanley tells us, even in Barbadoes, where, from the density of population, labour has always been abundant, and so cheap that peasants often work for 5*d.* or 6*d.* a day; in Barbadoes a 'change of hands took place, at the expense and ruin of the former owners, from whom their properties passed at a greatly diminished value.'

From the foregoing remarks we have seen, that even in the palmy days of slavery, when monopoly stretched over that British archipelago her protecting hand, concurrent testimony earnestly and feelingly avers, that rents were accumulating, slaves dying, products diminishing, trade decaying, and planters being ruined. In addition to setting aside the laws of Nature, and of the short-sighted policy of working the slaves to death by the stimulus of the lash, there were other causes of ruin, amongst which we may mention absenteeism, and bad management, attorneys never visiting some estates they were paid for managing! Thus many of the plantations were yearly sinking money, and this, too, upon estates already heavily mortgaged, the aggregate of many years. These data will prepare us to look at and understand the subject of West Indian distress since emancipation. What is the cause of that dreadful outcry which has been ringing in the ears of the British public so long and loud? The cause is legion. Briefly—After emancipation money had warded off the evil day for a short time, calamities seemed to have been gathering strength in the interval. In 1843, a grievous earthquake visited the Leeward Islands. Hurricanes followed, then drought. These chafed wounds already deep and sore; but it was in 1847 and 1848 that the crash came, in the shape of a terrible fall in the price of sugar. In 1840 it was 49*s.* per cwt., exclusive of duty, whereas in 1848 it was only 23*s.* 5*d.*; a fall of 25*s.* 7*d.* out of 49*s.*, or, taking the average of eight years following, it was only 24*s.* 6*d.* per cwt. For the first twenty years in this century sugar sold at 48*s.*, nearly twice as much as during the interval between 1846—55. In the above-mentioned eight years the amount of sugar had increased by four million cwt. and a half, as compared with the previous eight years, while instead of putting fifteen millions more of money in the planters' pockets, had the old prices continued, it actually put seven millions less. This enormous loss precipitated a ruin which was inevitably approaching. This something rotten in the state of Denmark was a bequest of slavery itself. The fearful result of the low prices was, planters were actually making sugar at a loss! The way matters had been managed heretofore was this: West Indian merchants in London were wont to supply the planters

with

with capital upon the cargoes of sugar being consigned to the merchants, but now, such is the state of things, the sugar is not worth as much as is absolutely necessary to pay the labourers their wages. Thus, and now, the credit of the planter was gone. The money ceased to come, and with it the pot ceased to boil! So, perforce, Quashee left massa, and began to grow his own provision. Then, as if this was not enough, the West Indian Bank failed in a large amount; while—so completely did the avenger of God's retribution do his work—the British Government soon after determined, namely, in 1846, to carry out the principles of free trade; accordingly the slave-grown sugar of Cuba, Brazil, &c. was admitted into the British markets. The Bill provided a differential duty till 1853, when all sugar, slave grown as well as free, was admitted into the British markets at the same rate of duty, 10*s.* per cwt.

France, Belgium, and other countries having adopted protective measures in favour of their beet-root sugar, against cane-grown sugar, this had the effect of causing cane-grown sugar to be poured into the British markets, instead of, as heretofore, into European. Now if, when prices were high, and the markets were monopolized by protective duties, the complaints of distress were loud and long, of course when the enormous and sudden fall in the price of sugar overtakes the planters they are utterly overwhelmed. Have we not, ere this, said enough to account for the commercial ruin that overtook the West Indies? and is it not patent, that not one of these causes grows out of emancipation?

We next proceed to the question, Can free-grown sugar compete with slave-grown sugar? It can, and does, most successfully. We concede—for we wish to be candid—that under very favourable circumstances, and for a short time at least, slave-grown sugar may be said to be cheaper. *Ex. gr.* On an estate where every man, woman, and child could be employed all the year round, and where there were efficient overseers, slave-grown sugar might be said, *pro tem*, to be more economical. But where this juncture of favourable circumstances does not occur—and it seldom does, for labour is mostly scattered, and occasional, and certain departments require skill—free labour is confessedly the cheaper. It is self-evident, to even a careless observer, that it must be more economical to pay a labourer moderately for what he can do well, than to feed, clothe, and house many for what they cannot properly do. Now the unanimous testimony of slave-holders is, that their slaves cannot be intrusted with machinery. It will be remembered that the hoe and the grass-knife, instead of the plough and scythe, were the implements used in slavery. Slaves are enervated, unenterprising, and, despite the lash, strongly inclined to while away their time; while even in the hypothetical case just mentioned, that of having constant work for gangs, with efficient overseers,

overseers, it is even doubted by some, whether, in this single instance, slave-labour is really cheaper in the end. Mr. A. Trollope, a recent traveller, states, that while in Cuba it costs 6*l.* 3*s.* 10*d.* to make a hogshead of sugar, in British Guiana it costs only 5*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* per hogshead; a clear gain of 1*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.* by free labour as compared with slave labour.

It may be stated, then, fearless of contradiction, that free labour, as carried on in our colonies where the land is so rich, and wages so moderate—from 6*d.* to 1*s.* a day—is cheaper than slave labour. What, then, brought about the West Indian crash, which reverberated through the world? We answer, The loss of monopoly hastened a ruin that was steadily approaching. Yet, strange as it may seem to hasty conclusionists, it does not therefore, and certainly, follow, that free trade, in the long run, is injurious to the West Indian planter: it may, or it may not: this depends upon other circumstances.

Slavery, it is now mostly conceded, is in a few years beaten by free labour; but what shall be said when slavery, as in the case of Cuba, and, till recently, Brazil, has the slave trade to boot? Well, here, too, free-grown sugar will, at the very least, maintain its ground, even when it has lost the crutch of protection. If more sugar is made now than under monopoly, it proves thus much, it pays, or planters would not continue to make it. And if the West Indies are now healthy, where a few years ago they were in the throes of financial death; if a resuscitation, and revivification has taken place, it follows, that even free trade, as well as emancipation, is, after all, a blessing and not a curse! We must here again appeal to Government Returns. In the ten years ending with 1846, the free-labour sugar poured into the United Kingdom was, in round numbers, 41 millions of cwt. In the ten years ending 1856, it was 54 millions of cwt.; an increase of upwards of 12 millions of cwt. England has consumed much more sugar, and, what is most singular, the revenue arising from sugar has increased under the lowered duties, in four years ending 1858, from 17,000,000 of pounds to 20,000,000. It might naturally be expected when, upon emancipation, every West Indian negro was left to follow the bent of his own mind in choosing employment, that there would be a great falling off in the staple article of sugar. Now had this been so, though it would have appeared, it might not have been a real loss, inasmuch as the diverted labour might have been expended in the production of other articles of commerce. Yet, strange as it may seem, the amount of sugar has actually increased in our former slave colonies. In the last two years of slavery, 1832 and 1833, the exports to Great Britain were 8,471,744 cwt. In 1856 and 1857, the exports were 8,736,654 cwt., and this increase includes Jamaica, still depressed; while we must bear in mind it also exclud

excludes a large trade now carried on with Australia and the United States; so that the total increase in the aggregate amount of sugar now made, as compared with that produced under slavery, is very considerable.

We next come to the question of scarcity of labour. Upon this subject complaints from almost all our British West Indian colonies have been great and repeated. It seems to be well authenticated that in the colonies of Jamaica, Guiana, Grenada, St. Kitts, and Trinidad, the complaint is well founded. There is a scarcity of labourers. Other colonies, also, would hail immigrants from Calcutta or West Africa, and if importation of labour could be managed in a humane and just manner, none could object to it; but it is, confessedly, beset with very great difficulties. Part of this certain lack of labour, however, is traceable to other causes than sparseness of population. Immediately after emancipation, and for some time subsequently, the planters were very unconciliating with their quondam slaves. While in 1848, and soon after, the managers were bereft of capital, so the wages of the labourer not being forthcoming, what wonder that Sambo fled to the mountains, or squatted on waste ground, or became located in the new villages, and occupied himself with his own provision-ground? Not only so, but the labourers were not long in finding out that a freehold, or leasehold, in the long run, would yield them more money than working at a shilling per diem for another, and at certain seasons of the year having little or nothing to do. A labourer in Trinidad, according to the Governor's report, can clear 10*l.* an acre by his provision-ground; and as land in the West Indies, with few exceptions, is both plentiful and cheap, need we wonder that after they have saved a little money, many of the labourers prefer being their own masters?

With respect to the oft-repeated charge of the negroes being lazy, it is mostly a slip-shod expression, arising from misconception and assumption. Governors, magistrates, missionaries, merchants, all testify, that when sure of his wages, and kindly treated, the negro is both industrious and thrifty. Of course he cannot be expected to move as briskly, and work as long as labourers in a cooler clime, whose frames are braced, and whose wants, owing to inclement weather, &c., are more numerous. But taking these, and kindred themes into consideration, Sambo is as ready to do 'a fair day's work for a fair day's wages' as a British clodhopper; and after a day's toil the negroes work more or less in their own provision-ground.

We now come to an oasis in the desert of West Indian distress, to the first streaks of light denoting the morning dawn of what promises to be a long and bright day, after a protracted night of calamity. Most persons are aware, that with the solitary exception of a cry of complaint now and then heard from Jamaica, little has been

been said for the last three or four years of the West Indies. Has it not often been observed amongst British farmers, both north and south of the Tweed, that when they are able to pay their rent, and lay by something annually, they exhibit a silent satisfaction, but when the farm does not pay, how loudly they complain? Precisely so is it with respect to the West Indies. Those once noisy planters have ceased to be heard. Is their voice hushed in death, or are they as busy as a bee laying up stores of honey, with a low murmur of satisfaction, positively musical? The latter is the case. The colonies 'are now rising with great speed to a height of wealth, happiness, and comfort unknown to them before.' Say the number of our West Indian colonies is eighteen, then seventeen of these are prospering more or less—are, indeed, in a healthier social, moral, and productive state than ever they were before at any period of their history: the only exception is our largest island, Jamaica; and even it begins to show some signs of improvement, though as yet faint. Statistics from Government returns demonstrate this recent and delightful improvement. For this selection from reports, as also some of the previous statistics to our hand, we cheerfully acknowledge our obligation to an able and well-digested article in the 'Edinburgh Review' of last year.

In Antigua there is 'increase of trade, and a revival of agricultural prosperity.' The Bahamas exports and imports have risen 102,924*l.* in one year. Barbadoes reports a 'vast increase of trade.' Dominica is 'full of promise.' In Grenada 'contentment prevails,' while 'a proprietary body of considerable magnitude and importance has already risen from the labouring class.' In Guiana 'the revenue is flourishing, population augmenting, education spreading, crime diminishing, and trade increasing.' Montserrat is 'improved and improving.' Nevis a short time since 'abolished import duties, and taxed rentals 20 per cent. The new system increased the imports from 19,728*l.* to 34,449*l.*' It is not improbable that this new state of things, which has answered so admirably, may in time be very generally adopted. St. Kitts reports that 'its prospects are most encouraging.' St. Lucia the same. In St. Vincent's 'there is a really sound and healthy state of the colony at present, and a cheering and promising prospect for the future.' Imports and exports have increased 156,663*l.* in one year. In Tobago 'a marked improvement is visible in the revenue returns.' In Tortola sugar has ceased to be cultivated, but 'the change is wholly an advantage, almost all the people are owners of cattle,' for rearing which the island is peculiarly adapted. Trinidad is 'highly flourishing;' indeed, trade has increased enormously, upwards of 400,000*l.* in one year. The same returns inform us that British total exports to the West Indies in 1857, were half a million more than the average of the previous ten years; and that

'they equalled our exports to Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Greece, Azores, Madeira, and Morocco all combined.' Indeed they have lately been increasing at the rate of a million a year. In 1857 the sugar imported from the West Indies to Great Britain was valued at 5,618,000*l.* Altogether, then, the West Indies, as a whole, are highly prosperous, while England participates in the golden themes. The rainbow of hope spans the sky, and the Columbian cyclades have risen to a pitch of financial prosperity with which former days cannot be compared.

In that British archipelago new negro villages have risen as at the waving of a fairy's wand. Thousands upon thousands of negroes have become owners of freeholds, many of whom possess live stock; while not unfrequently, especially in British Guiana, they unite to purchase an estate, and employ a white planter, who calls them master—the very man, it may be, who once uttered the cry of terror, 'Put him down!' while the beseeching eye feelingly said, 'Tink me no man!' What a change! There are now of coloured men, barristers, legislators, doctors, ministers, editors, planters, proprietors, and merchants. We may here remark that the islands in general are governed by a representative assembly, council, and governor, except in the three crown colonies, Guiana, Trinidad, and St. Lucia, in which there are only a governor and legislative council. To entitle a man to be a member of the House of Assembly, he must possess a freehold of 300*l.* a year, or a personal estate of 3,000*l.* An elector must have a freehold of 10*l.* per annum in the parish for which he votes.

Jamaica, we have stated, is the only exception to this returning prosperity, the cause of which continued depression Sir H. Barkly ascribes to be as the root, 'the want of mutual confidence, the insecurity of property, arising from the inadequacy of existing arrangements for enforcing the law.' The 'Times' says, in October, 1859: 'The Government had in no way relaxed the stringency of its financial enactments, and the country was suffering greatly under the pressure of excessive taxation.' There is no doubt that when matters get properly adjusted, Jamaica, too, will shake herself from the dust, and rise into strength and prosperity. Indeed, in the 'Times' of last November, we read of Jamaica: 'Notwithstanding complaints from one or two districts, the season has been generally prosperous, and the canes are in a more promising condition than they have been for years past.'

The lessons emancipation teaches are, that 'Right is might,' and 'Honesty is the best policy.' It tells Russia to emancipate her serfs, as the right way to prosperity, and no longer to dream about the road to Constantinople. It tells France and Spain that wrong never comes right. It tells the sixteen slave states of South America that natural laws cannot be set aside with impunity; while

while the stunted, poverty-stricken aspect of these slave states, and their five millions of whites in degrading ignorance and destitution, echo 'They cannot.' It tells the boasting Americans of the North, that their fundamental law, 'All men are equal,' is true; and that their free coloured people cannot be deprived of all political and social rights with impunity. That in the grand essentialities of being, 'All men are equal,' is a living and divine truth, to set aside which is suicidal and ruin in the end to those who do so. In a word, the flood-tide of prosperity that now fertilizes the West-Indian islands will do more to promote the cause of universal emancipation, than sanguinary insurrections, a hundred 'Uncle Toms,' and a thousand homilies.

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ART. III.—1. *An Essay on Labour—its union—its proper objects—its natural laws—its just rights—its duties and prospects.* By John Scott, author of 'Politics for the People,' &c.

2. *The Importance of the Study of Economic Science as a branch of Education for all classes.* By W. B. Hodgson, LL.D.

3. *The Rate of Wages in Manchester and Salford and the Manufacturing Districts of Lancashire from* 1839 *to* 1859. An Essay by D. Chadwick, read at the Statistical Society, Dec. 1859.

PROMINENT amongst the recollections of our early life are trade riots, machinery smashings, and the wilful firing and destruction of premises in which improved machinery was, or was to be erected. About thirty-four or thirty-five years ago, trade in the ribbon manufacturing districts was very bad, as, with the exception of a few fitful intervals, it has too generally been, so far as our knowledge extends; and the genius of invention had fixed upon this period to effect a revolution in the motive power. Already the 'single hand loom,' making only one ribbon at a time, was fast dying out, being superseded by the 'engine loom,' making from five to thirty ribbons at once, according to their width; and now it was proposed to double the length of these engine looms, and to move them by steam power instead of by human hands and feet. We have said that trade was very bad: indeed a large proportion of the weavers were out of employ. The employers, whose drawers were full of ribbons waiting for customers, and whose capital was all wrought up, and could not therefore buy more silk or find further wages, and who, to meet their coming bills, must soon sell at some price, even at the risk of bankruptcy, were not without their share of suffering.

And as employers will do, when ruin stares them in the face, and, as we regret to say, some employers will do when they are simply greedy of extra profit, knowing that lower prices would

extend their sales, they attempted to reduce the list prices of the few who remained at work. Now a decent living in exchange for hard work has always been a difficulty with the ribbon weavers, and a knowledge of political economy is even yet a consummation devoutly to be wished amongst them; and as the more you press upon a ball of india-rubber the less elasticity will remain, so the nearer the human subject approaches the starvation point, the greater will be the resistance to any further reduction, necessary or not. So in this case, the workmen saw only that 'the masters' were bent upon a reduction of prices, and they turned out to resist the 'tyranny.' A turn-out or strike in those days was a very different thing to what we now observe under the same name; a strike was not then confined to a peaceful parade through the streets, and a collection of subscriptions from shop to shop, with a calm appeal to the public by placard or newspaper advertisement. True, there were deputations sent to wait upon and reason with the masters, but they were backed up by numbers enough to inspire a wholesome terror; true, that even then most of the speakers in the green hollow, called from time immemorial the 'weavers' temple,' counselled peaceful conduct; but if an obstinate employer was caught in the street, there was always a donkey near at hand, and a hundred willing helpers to set him astride thereon; and thus with his face towards the donkey's tail, he was forced to ride through the principal streets, and if unrepentant, was conducted to, and dragged through the nearest horsepond. And woe to the man who gave a promise under terror which he afterwards revoked; his garden gates and palisades, his greenhouses and windows, would be certain to need renewal before many days were over.

On the occasion under consideration mob law abated no jot of its vested rights; the usual meetings were held, the usual speeches made, the usual processions passed daily through the streets, penetrating through all the courts and alleys to turn out the 'knobsticks' and punish the obstinate masters. But this was no case of two or three greedy employers trying to get a few weeks' advantage over their fellow manufacturers, and a few weeks' extra profit out of their workpeople—no case of a few men who always forget the connection between the amount of wages paid and the possibility of a family keeping soul and body together thereon; but a real cessation of demand, which left only the unpleasant choice of hard work for half a loaf, or idleness and no bread. The necessaries of life were scarce and dear, even middle-class people could not get their usual amount of luxuries; the wives and daughters of the well-to-do tradesman wore only half their usual quantity of ribbons, and those of lower quality than ordinary; and the wives and daughters of working men were obliged

obliged to resort to the dyers and dressers instead of the drapers, and to make old things look almost as well as new, in order to keep up their scanty supply of daily bread. The English harvest was bad, and a portion of the wealth which, under ordinary circumstances, would have been spent on ribbons, had to be given to the Russian farmer for corn to keep us in existence till the next season's crop should be at hand. It was difficult for the neglected, ignorant workman of those days to see why a bad harvest should make corn dear; since, as we have often heard it asserted in later days, the harvest is never so bad but plenty of corn is to be had at some price; and it was more difficult for them to see, that this very high price, instead of being a reason for raising their wages to enable them to get corn enough, might even be a proper reason for reducing them. The consequences of ignorance are the penalties imposed upon us by nature for allowing the barbarism of an uneducated working class to exist in the midst of civilization. If each working man raised his own corn and his own potatoes, and had a bad crop, he would have no difficulty in recognizing the duty of working as hard as ever for the future, whilst he ate only half as much for dinner or supper; and so, if educated properly for his position in a civilized community, he would equally see that when harvests are bad, he must be satisfied to take in exchange for his work a less amount of money wage, which is, in fact, only an order or series of orders for a lessened quantity of corn, potatoes, &c.

But this simple logic was far beyond the reasoning of the working men of forty years ago, as, we fear, it is beyond some of them to-day. What they could, and did see, was, that the single hand looms which constituted the wealth of their fathers, and which were, in fact, 'heir looms,' in their families, were now only good for firewood; and that the engine looms, upon the possession of which the most respectable weavers of that time prided themselves, were now threatened with the self-same ruin. What a ruthless destroyer is this same creative power of invention! it travels like a railway train, and smashes all things which go at less speed in its track. We heard a few days ago of a cotton-spinner occupying the same mill, with the same machinery, in which his father some thirty years ago made a large fortune, whilst the son, in the best state of trade the cotton spinners ever saw, is not earning salt; the only reason being, that whilst his neighbours have spent ten per cent. per annum of the original cost of their machinery in improvements, he has not; and so, by saving his ten per cent. of outlay, he is ruined. But it is not every man, even in these days, who can see his way to prosperity through apparent extravagance; and the ribbon-weavers, with the annihilation of value in their own little properties staring them

full

full in the face, and with the prospect of the steam factory in exchange for domestic employment for their children, must be excused if the vague talk about supply and demand did not convince them of the propriety of submitting to a reduction of wages.

It is hard to stand by and see the savings of a life of prudence swept away by what another man calls improvement,—hard to see the work which has hitherto been the bread of thousands, and in dependence upon which they have grown up, been married and given in marriage, and risked their whole domestic happiness, diverted into another channel,—hard to see men and women thrust aside by iron and coals and water. And this was the weavers' prospect, for they could not see the widening market which cheapened production was to bring, and which would shortly employ them all again and more. It is not wonderful that the prejudice against steam power and the factory system was intense, so intense as to be difficult of belief at this time; but we very well remember that in a public discussion at the Mechanics' Institution, some years later, an intelligent and well-conducted weaver asserted, 'that rather than send his children to work in a factory, he would take them by the legs and dash out their brains against the wall.' Such were the prevalent opinions of the tyranny and gross immorality of factory life, that death was thought preferable to that kind of employment. Here was a theme for starving men to dilate upon: already the produce of one pair of hands had been enormously increased within a few years, and trade was now so bad that a large proportion of them were out of employment; and whilst it was attempted to reduce the existing prices upon the plea of absence of demand, here was a scheme to again double the size of looms and to keep them in constant motion. How could any market find room for all the labourers if this thing was allowed to go on? No; it was too evident that men with souls were to lie down and die, to make room for the iron man with lungs of steam! Human nature could not bear the thought, starvation grew eloquent and indignant, and 'knobsticks' and tyrant masters, and donkeyings were all forgotten or merged in the all-absorbing desire to stop the wheels of progress. And when the public meeting was over, and the weavers' green temple deserted, gloomy-looking groups of men and youths formed about the streets and gravitated slowly, and without apparent intention, to the banks of the river where stood the steam factory. And lo! whilst all other workshops had turned out their tenants these were occupied as usual: the tall chimney belched forth its black volume of smoke, the engine groaned, the shafting revolved, and the looms clanked as if there was no such thing as bad trade and no dispute about prices; there was evidently a market for goods, but they

they were to be supplied after this fashion. Why should not these people turn out like the others until the list price was agreed upon? it was evident that they were working under price: why, the gates were locked as if in defiance of public opinion! And the feeling grew more embittered as the crowd increased, till some one knocked at the gate, which not being promptly opened, seemed like adding insult to injury; and when the knocks had been several times repeated, with no better result, force was soon applied and the gates burst open: the crowd then ran to the building, which the most adventurous amongst them entered in order to turn out the hands. But whilst some were thus engaged, the demon of mischief was busy with others, and soon arose the cry of Fire! Fire! Fire! Alas! the alarm was too true; and whilst it is fully believed that very few men in that maddened crowd would have approved the wicked design, or, had it been seriously proposed, would have lent it the sanction of their presence, yet now that the deed was done, there was but little proffered help to put out the flames, and less expressed sorrow for the sad occurrence. On the contrary, as the flames burst through the windows, and crept serpent-like round the wooden frames and cornices, and leapt from story to story upwards to the roof, illuminating the black and sluggish river, and converting its dye-poisoned water into liquid gold studded with many-hued gems, the crowds upon the bridge shouted with delight; and when the aërial reflection drew the attention of the whole city to the occurrence, and busy rumour with electric speed defined the spot, few and far between were those who sympathized with the proprietor, or expressed much sorrow for his loss.

So many a fancied wrong has been the source of a real crime, and not until the deed has been accomplished past recall does reason resume its sway: then intense excitement is followed by excessive lassitude, great courage by great cowardice: so in this case the excitement culminated in the destruction of the mill, and then came the fear of consequences, which was added to by the appearance of the magistrates accompanied by some troops of cavalry upon the scene. The Riot Act was read at once, the crowds dispersed, and the leaders were very soon in custody, and at the next assizes two men were left for execution, and one was transported for life; but a great effort succeeded in commuting the extreme penalty of the law into transportation for the whole. We believe that two of these three men are now well-conducted citizens in the colony of Victoria, as they were formerly at home; proving that however great their crime, they were criminals by accident not by design; they committed a criminal act, for what, under their excitement, appeared to be a justifiable reason. But the result was very lamentable; it banished them

increased the criminal expenditure of the county; it laid an extra tax to restore the property; it increased the cost of ribbons in the meantime; it engendered bitter feelings which only death could assuage, and assisted to drive capitalists away to a more congenial soil upon which to realize their improvements, and so permanently lessened employment in that locality. Notwithstanding all that has been written and said upon this subject, there is still a lingering feeling of opposition to improvements amongst the working classes in various parts of the country. A short time ago the shoemakers of Northampton and Stafford refused to finish machine-stitched tops; the tailors have in many places refused to work after the sewing-machine; and less than a year ago a Liverpool shipbuilder having got the copper for a ship's bottom punched by machinery, was forced, by a strike of the other workmen, to employ the hand-punchers to go over the work again just as if it was not already done. And a few weeks since, when some wilful damage to machinery for saw-making in Sheffield had been attempted, and a reward offered by the proprietor, the magistrates, and the Secretary of State for the discovery of the offender, anonymous threats against the lives of the proprietor and his family actually induced the withdrawal of the offered reward!

There is probably no man so foolish as to believe that it would be possible, even if it was desirable, to stop the progress of mechanical invention, for such progress is not confined to our own country; other nations tread very closely upon our heels, and in some articles surpass us in cheapness of production. Thus the French beat us in hat plushes and in the best kind of silk goods generally; the Germans in light and thin woollen cloths; and the Americans and the Swiss in clocks and watches. Nor could a combination of skilled artisans succeed in such an object even if they were to leave off patenting their own inventions (which are not a small proportion of the whole) so long as their wages are double or treble as much as those of the agricultural labourer; on the contrary, the opposition of, and difficulties with workmen, always stimulate inventive effort, so as to still further increase the efficiency of the ever-obedient iron man, who never tires and never strikes work; and well-paid trades will never be short of workmen for any considerable period. But even intelligent working men do not yet comprehend the full significance of improved machinery; but, like Mr. Scott in his essay, they see that progress must go on, they acknowledge the value of increased powers of production, but they begrudge the possession of machinery by the employer. Mr. Scott's essay, amidst much loose and irrelevant matter, puts forth two doctrines which are growing in strength amongst working men: viz. that the whole land of the country ought to belong to the State, so that the improved

improved value which is caused by the demand arising from increased population should be common property; and that machinery for productive purposes should be the property of the workpeople. It is very clear, that if, by prudent saving, working men can become capitalists, and by wise combination purchase the workshops, machinery, and floating capital which now find them employment; and if, in their new capacity of proprietors as well as workmen, they can still implicitly obey their managers; then they will secure the nett profits of the master in addition to their own wages; but until moral education is sufficiently advanced for this purpose, it is surely much more advantageous for them to share the results of improvements with existing capitalists than not to partake at all. But what is a machine? Where does mechanical invention commence? at the spade, the plough, the steam plough, or the hitherto infantile steam cultivator? Does it commence with the round and hollow stones with which the Red Indian bruises his corn, with the hand mill, the water corn-mill, or the steam corn-mill? Does it commence with the bridle-path over the mountain, the turnpike, or the railway? with the wheelbarrow, the common stage-cart, or the state railway carriage? with the hand-hammer or the patent Nasmyth striking a blow of fifty tons? with the raft, the canoe, the barge, the full-rigged ship, or the mail steamship? with the oar, the sail, the paddle, the submerged or the aërial screw-propeller? What are all these things but appropriations of the powers of nature to the service of man, by means of the simplest mechanical contrivances? for out of these come all the complicated machines which serve us by land and sea, in the mill and in the field. The lever, the inclined plane, and the screw are the parents of them all.

Mere labour, without tools, *i. e.* without machinery, or, as Dr. Hodgson puts it, without the results of previous labour, can accomplish little; while the results of foregone labour, in whatever form embodied, need fresh labour in order to become still more productive. Thus, *e. g.*, a spade is a result of past labour; without it the labourer could accomplish little; and, on the other hand, a spade without a labourer to wield it, would be unproductive. Now the spade here represents that portion of wealth which is devoted to reproduction, and which is called capital. Capital and labour are thus indispensable to each other. They may exist in different hands or in the same hands, but they must co-exist and co-operate. The general principle of which this is an illustration applies to all machinery, simple or complex. Machinery is one of the forms of capital—of that capital which is necessary to, and the desire of profitable employment for which creates a demand for further production. And the more excellent the machinery, *i. e.*, the more effectually it seconds the efforts of the labourer,

labourer, the larger will be the demand for their joint productions.

Whence comes the demand for labour, in the field or in the factory? Doubtless it originates in human wants; but constituted as society now is, human wants alone, unaccompanied by the power to give in some shape an equivalent for the desired produce, would only cause a pauper demand, and even that would not cause additional labour, but would detract, in an equal degree, from the demand of the contributors to the poor rates. Real effective demand arises out of the ability to pay for the articles necessary to the nourishment of the body or the gratification of the mind. Increase of wealth is therefore the only road to increased demand for labour. What becomes of the increased wealth of the landlord, the merchant, the manufacturer, the workman? It is all employed productively or unproductively. The landlord, instead of living riotously, spends his savings on drainage and other improvements, thus increasing the demand for agricultural labour, and increasing, at the same time, his own future rent-roll. The merchant charters a vessel which he loads with goods and sends off in quest of a new market, from which in return he may increase and thereby cheapen our supply of the necessaries or luxuries which other climates produce in greater perfection than our own; thus increasing the demand for home products, and also finding work and wages for shipbuilders and sailors: the manufacturer invests in a new and improved machine for cheapening home productions, thus increasing the comforts of consumers and giving us a better chance of sale in foreign markets; and the workman who has saved a store, either invests as an employer in his own trade, or deposits his money in a bank or a loan or building society, whence it is borrowed and used by some one who by its agency creates an extra demand for labour.

Thus the investment in machinery, however improved, and however paradoxical it may seem, does in reality, in common with all other prudential investments, increase instead of diminishing the demand for labour; and it does so necessarily, because every successful new machine yields a profit over and above that which it supersedes: this extra profit increases the future wages fund, for it is only by paying wages that another generation of profit can be secured; and therefore the investment of a larger wages fund requires a larger number of labourers somewhere. If the plough and the harrow make more profit than the spade, the result will be that their proprietor will pay more wages and will require more labourers on the same, or more probably on a larger acreage; so if the steam-plough realize more profit than the horse-plough for its owner, he will in future spend more in wages, and will therefore require more labourers. And if a cotton-spinner

spinner gets more profit out of his double-decked and self-acting mule than was realized out of the spinning-jenny, then, even though the produce of one pair of hands be multiplied tenfold, he will still, because of his accumulated capital, require a larger number of workmen. And the very production of machinery itself induces an immense demand for labour. Whence has come the enormous trade in iron and its various manufactures now carried on by this country? Whence the employment of the fifteen thousand members of the society of 'amalgamated engineers,' the thousands who compose the smiths' society, and the thousands who do not fraternize with either society, but yet are engaged at pattern-making, moulding, forging, planing, boring, turning, filing, and erecting machinery in every direction? Whence the miners and smelters who prepare the metal for the other trades? Whence, but from the demand for machinery, which, rendering man as many handed as the Hindoo deity, is rapidly aiding him to fulfil his destiny—to people and subdue the earth?

One of our most eminent political economists has asserted that whoso makes two grains of wheat to grow where only one grew before is a benefactor to his species; and that which is true of the first necessary of life is equally true of every article which tends to human comfort; so that he who causes two shirts, two coats, or two pairs of stockings to be produced where only one was produced before, is equally a benefactor; and he who hinders any of these things not only lessens the present comforts of himself and fellows, but by preventing present increase he also prevents future profit, and future increased production; and thus lessens the growth of the comforts of life for all time to come.

Although the wealth of the capitalist alone is invested in the manufacture of improved machinery, although he alone pays the inventor and the machinist, he is, as we have shown, very far from reaping the whole advantage to himself. On the contrary, he is obliged, in order to get a profit on his outlay, to give the greater share of benefit to the public; and is himself but a small partner in what at first sight seems to be his own concern. He needs to sell his increased produce, and, to get an increased market, must sell at a lower price; and as fast as the improvement becomes generalized, his competitors will follow in his track, and prices will continue to fall until the extra profit will be only sufficient to pay interest upon the extra capital invested, or until the machine is superseded by some further improvement; the consumers of produce being, in fact, the largest partners in the fruits of the inventor's skill and the manufacturer's capital. But if machinery be so very beneficial, it will be asked, how does its introduction often throw workmen out of employment, and bring many of them to ruin? First, because many men are so uneducated that the slightest alteration

alteration from the routine in which they have been brought up unfits them for the work. Thus there is still a remnant of hand-loom cotton weavers, mostly old men and women, ekeing out a miserable existence by working and starving in their own cellars and attics, by weaving ginghams and checks at about six or seven shillings per week when in full work; but who are, in reality, not half employed, but are mostly dependent upon the poor rates. Second, because the whole increased produce from a new machine cannot be given at once to the public at the price of the smaller quantity, involving, as it does, an increased quantity of raw material, which, by the increased demand, will at first rather rise than fall in price, and involving also an interest upon increased capital. For these reasons a new machine of great productive power may, if rapidly generalized, require the opening up of a new market in order to keep all the workpeople in employment. But a new market is only required when corresponding improvements are not going on in various trades at the same time. And it is one of the peculiarities of invention that an improvement tending to lessen the selling price of one class of productions, stimulates improvement in every direction to meet it: thus many a man who looks at works of art as completely out of his reach, will, if a considerable reduction in price takes place, make an extraordinary effort to gratify his taste, and thus increase the productiveness of his own department of labour; and this principle holds with regard to ordinarily useful as well as artistic productions, and thus increases the demand for both.

In any case where one class of workmen is temporarily displaced by improvements, another class is benefited at the same time; thus, if the spinner and weaver be displaced, the iron smelter and machine maker are employed; if the wages of the one class are temporarily depressed, those of the others are raised; and if a small section of men be temporarily distressed, the whole world beside is benefited; and in the course of a very short time after any great improvement the number of persons employed will be found to be greatly increased, whilst the weekly wages of the workers will generally be improved. In fact, it may be adopted as an axiom that where machinery has been most improved, there trade has been most prosperous, *i. e.*, has done best for those immediately engaged in it, and for society generally. It is quite true that in almost every change some few persons suffer, and the changes arising from the progress of invention are surely amongst the most important of those casualties which should be provided against by good trade societies.

A glance at the present as compared with the past positions of the great textile manufactures will show that the measure of mechanical improvement is also the measure of general prosperity; that

that the most prosperous trades are those where, however great the progress of population, the powers of production have outstripped the increase of the people. Thus, in Lancashire, the home of the cotton manufacture, and also the home of the most perfect machinery, the population in 1821 was 1,052,948, and in 1859 it had increased to 2,372,700, being a growth of 125 per cent., whilst the ratio of increase for all England and Wales, exclusive of Lancashire, was, for the same period, only 59 per cent. Now apart from, at least, an equal increase of production, such a rapid growth of population would be a misfortune, would make Lancashire the great home of pauperism; but, happily, the value of real property which, in 1814, was 3,139,000*l.*, amounted in 1857 to 10,458,000*l.*, being an increase of 233 per cent., or nearly double that of the population; whilst the increase in England and Wales, generally, was only 93 per cent. Lancashire has, therefore, outstripped the country generally in population by 66 per cent., and in the growth of real property by no less than 140 per cent.

And yet, during the period which has seen such an immense stride in real property, the cheapening of the peculiar productions of Lancashire has been in even greater proportion than the increase of wealth. The amount of raw cotton consumed in this country in 1814 was 53,777,802 lbs., whilst in 1858 it was 905,600,000 lbs., being an increase of nearly 1600 per cent. The number of persons employed in cotton factories, in 1817, was 110,763, as estimated by Mr. Kennedy, and in 1858 they were about 400,000, say an increase of 300 per cent. since 1814. Now the proportion of juveniles at present employed is much greater than formerly, and yet we find that improved machinery enables each person, upon an average, to convert more than four times as much cotton into yarn or of yarn into cloth which one person could do at the commencement of our period. Thus, whilst population has more than doubled, the wealth of each person, upon an average, has nearly doubled; and the productions of each person have more than quadrupled since the year 1814. How could these things have happened apart from the cheapening of the comforts of life which improved machinery has alone made possible?

The population could not have been employed without an enlarged market; the enlarged market was only made possible by the cheapening process, and a pauperized population in accordance with its own increase decreases the value of real property, until, as in Ireland in 1846, rent, the test of value, becomes only a figment of the imagination. But in Lancashire the progress of wealth has nearly doubled that of population; whilst the cheapening of Lancashire products has tended to enrich the world, and has even more enriched its authors.

That this is not mere theory will be made evident by an examinatic

masters whilst working upon the capital of the employer; they are free and self-controlled, and look forward to the completion of their contract, instead of to the end of the day. We have known men thus employed earn as much as 20*s.* per week over the regular day wages for months together.

Turn we next to the woollen trade, whose chief seat is the West Riding of Yorkshire, and where machinery has also made great progress; and although the West Riding is not so completely devoted to manufacturing industry as Lancashire, nor so entirely devoted to the woollen as Lancashire is to the cotton trade; and although the published statistics are not so full nor so definite as could be wished, we shall yet find quite enough to confirm the conclusions drawn from the field of the cotton manufacture.

The population of the West Riding in 1821 was 809,363, and in 1859 it had reached 1,471,740, being an increase of about 81 per cent., or 22 per cent. in excess of England and Wales without Lancashire. The imports of wool in 1820 were 9,775,605 lbs., and in 1858 they had reached 126,738,723 lbs., being an increase of nearly 1,200 per cent.; so that, assuming the home production to have remained stationary, and the persons engaged in the manufacture to have increased 100 per cent., there must still be an amazing increase in the amount of wool converted into yarn or cloth by each workman, such increase being the result of improvements in machinery. The cheapening process must also have been largely operative here as in the cotton trade, for whilst the imports of wool have so rapidly increased, the increase in the declared value of the woollen manufactures exported in the same period shows much less progress. Thus the declared value of the exports of woollen manufactures in 1820 was 5,968,807*l.*, and in 1859 it was 12,042,831*l.*, or a little over 100 per cent. of increase. We have not seen any return of the official values for late years, and it is dangerous to quote from different authorities, because of the various modes of classification adopted by different compilers. But Porter, in his 'Progress of the Nation,' gives a series of returns ranging from 1815 to 1834, and from these we find that whilst the quantities of piece goods, and of goods entered in yards and dozens increased by 24 per cent., the increased real value was only about 2½ per cent.; and this cheapening process has gone on much more rapidly since 1834, as any one acquainted with woollen cloths can witness. The quantities exported in pieces and yards in 1859 were from 700 to 800 per cent. greater than in 1834, but the declared or real value of the woollen goods and yarns exported was only about 130 per cent. greater than in that year. Although the increased value of real property in the whole of the West Riding is not great, yet when it is remembered that Bradford, Huddersfield, Halifax, Sheffield, and the out-townships of Leeds, and many smaller towns in the Riding, are almost the growth of the last forty years;

years; and when it is known that more than one-third of the property assessed under Schedule A by the Income Tax Commissioners in 1857 was within the parliamentary boroughs; and how small a portion of the area of the Riding these boroughs cover, it will be admitted that the revolution caused by machinery in Yorkshire is only second to that of the adjoining county. A reference to the statistics of two or three of the towns in the Riding will make this fact still more evident. Thus the population of Leeds and its outtownships in 1801 was 53,162, and in 1859 it was 190,340, being an increase of 258 per cent. in 58 years. The amount of real property assessed for income tax in 1815 was 166,227*l.*, and in 1857 it was 688,487*l.*, being an increase of 314 per cent. in 42 years; or an excess over the increase of population of 56 per cent. in a term shorter by 16 years. The population of Sheffield in 1801 was 44,755, and in 1859 it was 158,430, being an increase of 254 per cent. The real property assessed to income tax in 1815 was 126,542*l.*, and in 1857 it was 473,645*l.*, showing an increase of 274 per cent., or 20 per cent. in excess of population in a sixteen years' less term. In Huddersfield the population was 9,268 in 1801, and it had reached 36,490 in 1859, being an increase of 400 per cent. The real property assessed to income tax in 1815 was 17,998*l.*, and in 1857 it was 129,807*l.*, being an increase of 600 per cent., or 200 per cent. in excess of the population in a term shorter by sixteen years.

If we turn to the third great textile manufacture, silk, the difficulty of forming a correct estimate of progress will be even greater than in dealing with the woollen trade. The trade is much less localized, but occupies portions of six counties. Its head-quarters were for a long period in Spitalfields and Bethnal Green, at the east end of the metropolis; and the neat cottage of the Spitalfields weaver, with its loom-shop over the sleeping-rooms; its little garden, famous for pansies and other choice flowers, the work-room made musical by canary birds and larks, was as distinctive and well known a feature of London life as the Lombard Street of the banker, or the Petticoat Lane of the Jew clothesman. Spitalfields for broad silks, and Coventry for ribbons, have been noted for centuries; but this, like all the other great textile industries, has migrated northwards, and Congleton having early adopted the factory system, now rivals Coventry in its plain ribbons; whilst Macclesfield no longer confines itself to bandanas, neckerchiefs, galloons, and doubles, but throws its own silk, and sends broad silks, and gimps, and fringes to the Manchester market. Derby also manufactures the silk which is thrown (twisted) in its own mills; and Manchester—manufacturing, commercial, cosmopolitan Manchester—plunges boldly into all the various [illegible] and gets the lion's share of the prosperity to be [illegible]

But a much larger proportion of the silk [illegible]

domestic occupation, than either in the cotton or woollen trades; the application of improved machinery has been a much slower process, and, as natural consequences, the productions have been but slightly cheapened, and there has been much less extension of the trade. If a lady will have a good silk dress, she must pay very nearly if not quite as much for it now as would have been necessary thirty years ago; and where ribbons appear to be much lower in price, strict examination will often lead to the discovery that the weft is of cotton yarn hard twisted and dressed with gum. A sort of compromise between the ordinary domestic weaving and the factory system is now being tried in Coventry, but so far with small success.

A ribbon manufacturer builds a row of cottages with loom-shops over the sleeping-rooms in the usual style; he then puts a steam-engine in the centre, and runs a shaft through the whole of the workshops. He lets each cottage for a weekly rent, which includes a charge for steam power; and each occupant finding his own looms, or hiring them also from the employer, works at home with his family, instead of in company of hundreds of strangers, or perhaps amongst disagreeable associates. The weak point in this plan seems to be, that paying for steam-power does not insure regular work, and the expenses of the weaver are therefore too heavy in times of bad trade; and he resorts to looms of the same size, put in motion by a windlass or a bar, and worked by a lad at about the price of steam power, but who is paid only when there is work for him to do.

The statistics relating to real property, are, until late years, given only for old parliamentary boroughs, for entire counties, or for divisions, which, retaining the same names, differ from time to time in area; and the silk trade occupies so small a portion of the various counties where it is carried on, that any conclusions drawn therefrom would be of very doubtful value. So with regard to population. The increase in Coventry, Derby, Macclesfield, and Congleton from 1820 to 1859 has been about 117 per cent. Now this is nearly as great as the increase of Lancashire; but the Lancashire return includes the agricultural districts, whilst this is confined to manufacturing towns, and is certainly much less than that of the town population of Lancashire or of the West Riding.

The increased imports of silk over the same period have been about 290 per cent., being about one-fifth of the ratio of cotton, and one-fourth that of wool.

From the various modes of classifying the exports, any conclusion as to the increase of quantity would not be reliable; but when we know that the chief increase of imports has been in low-quality silks, and that whilst the whole increase of quantity has been only about 290 per cent., the increase of declared value of the goods exported has been 320 per cent., it is clear that if

if the whole amount of the imports had been manufactured and re-exported, it is impossible that there should have been much cheapening of commodities.

Turning to the statistics of the silk-manufacturing towns, we shall find our theory, that prosperity is as the progress of machinery fully borne out. Thus in Coventry, where the staple is about equally divided between the production of ribbons and watches, the latter trade being much less fluctuating than the former, the population in 1801 was 16,034, and in 1859 it had increased to 42,200, being an increase in 58 years of 163 per cent. The real property assessed to income tax in 1815 was 57,770*l.* and in 1857 it was 120,931*l.*, being an increase of 100 per cent. in 42 years, so that, assuming the increase to have been regular throughout the term, the progress of wealth scarcely keeps pace with the population.

So in Derby the population in 1801 was 10,832, and in 1859 it had become 48,240, being an increase of 345 per cent. in 58 years. The real property assessed to income tax in 1815 was 39,430, and in 1857 it had increased to 145,340*l.*, showing a progress of 268 per cent. in 42 years, or very slightly in excess of the progress of population.

In Macclesfield the population in 1801 was 10,482, and in 1859 it was 44,990, being an increase of 329 per cent. in 58 years. The real property assessed to income tax in 1815 was 37,941*l.*, and in 1857 it had increased to 93,285*l.* or 145 per cent. in 42 years; an increase which, to accord with the progress of population, should have been accomplished in 26 years. In the cotton and woollen districts there are many instances of workmen rising to great wealth and honour; in the silk districts it is more common for wealthy men to sink into poverty.

Still the silk trade of Lancashire, where all the improvements in machinery have been employed, has partaken of the general prosperity around, and has experienced a considerable rise of wages.

Mr. Chadwick gives the following return—

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Silk throwster, 1842, for 69 hours' work, | 14*s.*; | and in 1859, for 60 hours' work, | 17*s.* |
| Weaver | „ | „ | 18*s.* | „ | „ | 20*s.* |

But this return applies to Lancashire alone, and it is very doubtful if there has been any rise elsewhere: in the county palatine, general improvement has been rapid, and the demand for labourers constantly increasing; the pauper families of the agricultural districts have been brought in and raised into comfort, and the silk trade has partaken of the general stimulus; but where the staple occupation is silk, there has been no such progress: not much has been given to the public, and the return has been alike

meagre. But even in this trade the prospect is good; steam factories are increasing, the government schools of art are improving the taste of the manufacturers, and French competition is improving the taste of the public: and although it seems to be the destiny of this country to make a serviceable article out of the lowest quality of material, this destiny is fulfilled in a manner which no other country has equalled. And now, M. Bonelli's electrical loom, by doing away with the necessity for Jacquard cards, will remove a considerable element of cost in figured silks, and will assist in carrying on the cheapening process, which alone can make the silk trade as prosperous as those of wool and cotton, which alone by giving largely to all the world will in return enrich and bless the givers.

If, therefore, we wish for the progress of wealth and comfort, we must wish for the progress of machine improvements; and if some plan could be hit upon to enable working-men inventors to carry out the fruits of their own intellects, instead of being obliged to sell for a nominal sum, or to see them pirated without hope of remedy, a great measure of justice and of utility would be accomplished. Who so likely to improve a machine as the workman who erects it, and must needs know its capacities; or the workman who superintends it in operation, and who, comprehending the principles as well as the practical working of the art by which he earns his bread, must know its defects as well as its excellencies? But, moderated as the charges for patents have been, they are still wholly out of the reach of the operative. But suppose the patent laws entirely abrogated, and a simple registry of inventions to be established at a nominal charge. Then let any inventor deposit his model and his specification; let these become at once public property, so that any one may adopt and manufacture the article; then after a term of years, let a scientific jury be called to assess the value of the invention, and let that value be paid out of the consolidated fund. Then every inventor, however poor, might look forward with confidence to his just reward, patent prices would be done away with, and every machine would be purchased at once at the cost of material and workmanship, with a moderate profit to the maker. To appreciate the value of such an arrangement, look, for example, at the sewing-machine. We have no doubt that these very useful articles could be readily produced at forty shillings each; but, so far as we know, the lowest price for one which makes a fast stitch is seven guineas; the difference being the effect of the patent laws, and the consequence being the restriction of the sale to thousands, instead of as it ought to be, and would otherwise be extended to millions, and the continuation of the tedious operation of hand-sewing and depreciated health in hundreds of thousands of families.

ART. IV.—*Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labours, during an Eighteen Years' Residence in Eastern Africa, together with Journeys to Jagga, Usambara, Ukambani, Shoa, Abesinnia, and Khartum; and a coasting voyage to Cape Delgado.* By the Rev. Dr. J. Lewis Krapf, Secretary of the Chrishona Institute at Basel, and late Missionary in the service of the Church Missionary Society in Eastern and Equatorial Africa, &c. &c. *With an Appendix respecting the snow-capped Mountains of Eastern Africa, the sources of the Nile, the Languages and Literature of Abesinnia and Eastern Africa, &c. &c., and a concise Account of Geographical Researches in Eastern Africa up to the Discovery of the Uyenyesi by Dr. Livingstone in September last.* By E. G. Ravenstein, F.R.G.S. London: Trübner and Co. 1860.

GEOGRAPHICAL discovery has advanced very slowly in the peninsular continent of Africa, though ancient civilization had one of its earliest seats on the banks of the Nile, and the monuments of Egypt, as well as fragments of history, sacred and profane, testify to what a height of greatness the Pharaohs attained. The Phœnicians formed their settlements on the northern coast, at least thirty centuries ago, and the Persians conquered Egypt five hundred years before the Christian era. Greece and Rome penetrated across the Mediterranean, and their mariners were acquainted with the coast line from the mouths of the Nile to the pillars of Hercules. Little more, however, was known of the continent of Africa. The river of Egypt being the only one open to the ancients, and the great Sahara pressing so closely upon the strip of habitable territory along the whole northern coast, prevented further acquaintance with this large portion of the world. There is a story told by Herodotus, the credibility of which seems still to oscillate between the most learned modern critics, but which is accepted by one of the latest writers in a volume devoted to the geography of Herodotus. The story is this:—Seven centuries before the Christian era, Necho, king of Egypt, sent out an expedition under the command of certain Phœnician seamen—then the most renowned navigators of the world. They set out from the head of the Red Sea. 'When autumn came,' says the Father of history, 'they sowed the land at whatever part of Libya they happened to be sailing, and waited for the harvest; then having reaped the corn, they put to sea again. Two years thus passed away. At length, in the third year of their voyage, having sailed through the pillars of Hercules, they arrived in Egypt.' The historian who first records this feat, throws some doubt over its performance, but the reason assigned for his

which to modern science would prove the very opposite—the physical fact stated by the voyagers, that they had the sun on their right hand all through their adventurous way. It is curious to mark how the statement of Herodotus has been received. In ancient times it was considered incredible. Modern writers hesitated to deny the possibility, and now it is boldly asserted. Major Rennell, one of the ablest reviewers of the evidence, 'argues the possibility of such a voyage from the construction of their ships, with flat bottoms and low masts, enabling them to keep close to the land, and to enable them to enter into all the creeks and harbours which any part of the coast might present.'

The unbroken coast, the tropical situation, the peculiar climate, and the great desert, contributed to prevent discovery making any progress for many hundred years. The Ptolemies, who did so much for learning and conscience, added nothing to African geography. The Carthaginian merchants, adventurous beyond their time, made little way into the interior. And though Roman arms penetrated as far as Abyssinia and Fezzan, they brought back little to enrich human knowledge. It was left for the Mohammedan Arabs to make the first effort to cross the Sahara to the centre of the continent. They also reached Senegal and Gambia on the west, and even planted colonies on the east, at Sofala and Melinda.

In the fifteenth century, a celebrated and successful attempt was made by the Portuguese to explore the coast of Africa. In 1406, Prince Henry, one of the sons of John I., devoted himself with great earnestness to this object, and resided for the purpose at a small town near Cape St. Vincent. Beginning in 1412, he despatched a ship annually to make discoveries. Much was added to an accurate geography of Africa by his efforts. After his death in 1463, the spirit of enterprise failed for a little, but it revived again in bold and and renowned adventures. In the year 1487, Bartholomew Diaz reached the most remarkable southern point of Africa, which he named Cabo Tormentoso—the stormy Cape—to commemorate his experience of the southern sea. His king changed the name into one more pleasing—the Cape of Good Hope—which, from the results of his anticipations regarding regions beyond, has been approved by posterior discovery. In the year 1497, Vasco di Gama discovered the route to India, and conducted a fleet of Portuguese vessels across that intervening sea, over which so much of the commerce of the world has since been carried.

Interior discovery was long prevented from the north by the Sahara. This vast desert spreads over a region extending from the valley of the Nile to the shores of the Atlantic—a length of three thousand miles, with a breadth in some parts equal to a thousand

sand miles. It is not entirely a plain, but a table land rising 1,500 feet, and occasionally 2,000 feet above the level of the sea, with mountain groups 6,000 feet in height. The district of Fezzan towards the north is divided by a broad and open valley, less sterile than the general character of the desert. Towards the east onwards to the Nile, the barrenness is relieved by oases, where springs of water abound, and which give a rare verdure to a scene surrounded by an herbless waste. The Great Oasis extends north and south fully ninety miles. The western portion again, 'though also diversified,' says a geographical writer, 'by some oases, is a more generally barren region than its eastern division. In some places it consists of dreary black rocks, broken into fantastic forms, and sometimes forming ridges which lie so close as hardly to leave room for caravans to pass between them. In the more open parts are vast tracts of burning sand, blown into ridges and hillocks, steep on one side, and sloping gradually on the other, and the position of which is rapidly changing. The atmosphere over these parched and arid regions often presents the appearance of a red vapour, the heat of which is augmented by a burning wind called the Samiel or Simoom. On the southern side there is a depressed region, sinking sometimes so low as 100 feet, and even at one place 167 feet below the level of the sea. This is succeeded by an extensive table land, sometimes sloping towards the sea, but also, as in Abyssinia, rising into mountains of 7,000 or 8,000 feet on the very margin of the ocean. The great desert was long deemed to be a 'broad belt intercepting the progress of commerce, civilization, and conquest from the shores of the Mediterranean to Central Africa.'

The interior has, however, been penetrated by the enterprise of explorers. During the last three quarters of a century more has been done to enlarge our knowledge of Africa than during all previous history. In 1769, Bruce penetrated to the source of the Blue Nile, a locality visited, as he afterwards learned, by the Portuguese missionaries before him; but he left the longest arm of the mighty river of Egypt undiscovered. The African Association, formed in London in 1788, sent several travellers into the interior. Mungo Park, in 1795, went up the Gambia, and fixed on our maps the southern boundary of the desert. In 1805, he attempted to trace the Niger to its source, but he never returned: the companions of his journey, thirty-eight in number, all perished also. Great, however, was the interest given to the public by the narratives of Bruce and Park, and there has never been wanting since a succession of adventurers to follow their footsteps, and open up the African continent to science, civilization, and religion. Hornemann went in 1799 from Cairo to Murzuk, but he too perished. Captain Tuckey, in 1816, conducted a disastrous expe-

dition to the Congo, without adding any information. So did Lyon and Ritchie in 1819. Denham and Clapperton and Dr. Oudney entered the desert from Tripoli in 1822, and advanced as far as the Lake Tsad and Soccatoo. Dr. Oudney died at Bornoo; but Major Denham and Captain Clapperton returned laden with successful discovery. Clapperton revisited Soccatoo by the Gulf of Guinea, and passed Brussa, where Park fell a victim. He was also a martyr to his zeal, and died at Soccatoo in 1827. His mantle fell on the faithful servant who attended him, and who soothed his last hours—Richard Lander. Along with his brother he attempted to trace the Niger, and added considerably to a correct geography of that river.

The Niger long puzzled geographers, and expeditions to obtain correct information regarding it, were sent out by the English Government at a sacrifice of human life not much less than the North-West passage itself. We have referred to Captain Tuckey's failure and disasters. He mistook the Congo for the Niger. In 1841, three steam-vessels were fitted out, as some of our readers may recollect, in order to ascend the Niger, and to promote philanthropy by obtaining treaties from native chiefs for the suppression of the slave trade. Fever prostrated almost all on board, as they entered into the country, and out of one hundred and forty-five men, forty-eight died. The steamers returned with no information, save the sad tidings of sacrifice and disaster. The advancement of sanitary knowledge has seldom received a more decided testimony than when the next expedition was attempted in 1854. The river was ascended by the steamer 'Pleiad' to a distance of three hundred and sixty miles, and returned to England without the loss of a single life! Confidence was thus restored, and from that time to the present the greatest efforts have been made, and the greatest successes won in the field of African discovery. The cause of exploration was meanwhile advancing in other parts of the continent. Major Laing had again crossed the desert from Morocco, and reached Timbuctoo in 1826; but after leaving that city for the west, he was murdered by the savage natives. Rene Caillié, a French traveller, reached the same place from the Niger in 1828, and brought back, by way of Tangier, most interesting intelligence of a district, from which, though some had seen it, yet few had returned to tell their adventures. Davidson, in 1836, reached Timbuctoo, where he found a premature grave by a violent death.

In 1849, Mr. Richardson proceeded to the district around Lake Tsad, in order to arrange commercial treaties with the chiefs. He was joined by Drs. Barth and Overweg in 1850. These three travellers passed over regions where no European had ever been, and they made accurate surveys of a large territory. In the second year

year they divided their forces, and each took a separate route, to meet again at the capital of Bornoo. Alas! when within six days of the meeting-place, Mr. Richardson died. Drs. Barth and Overweg, however, continued their explorations, and travelled three hundred and fifty miles farther south. Dr. Overweg surveyed Lake Tsad in a boat. In the third year of their labours Overweg died; but Dr. Barth continued, and having received a reinforcement from England, pursued his researches. Throughout the period of six years, this accomplished traveller endured perils and privations, the heat of a burning sun, and absence from all civilized society, and returned to England in 1855. He has since been enabled to give to science and philanthropy the results of his hard-won acquirements in several volumes of very interesting adventures, full of valuable information.

The south of Africa was colonized by the Dutch in 1650; but little was done to explore the territory to the north, for a considerable period after that date. Missionary zeal has done most to open up this portion of Africa. Many stations were formed there in an early period of modern missionary zeal. 'To no part of the world,' says the author of the History of Missions, 'with the exception of India, have so many missionary societies directed so much attention as to South Africa. Hither the United Brethren, the London Missionary Society, the Methodist Missionary Society, the Glasgow Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Society, the Paris Missionary Society, the Rhenish Missionary Society, the Berlin Missionary Society, the Norwegian Missionary Society, and the American Board of Foreign Missions have all sent missionaries; and the stations established by some of them have been numerous. It would be natural to conclude from this, that South Africa formed one of the fairest fields for missions which the world presents; and yet we scarcely know a single recommendation which it possesses. The population is at once small, scattered, uncivilized, unsettled, often wandering—poor, destitute, degraded. In a single town or inconsiderable district of many countries, a larger population may be found than in the whole region of South Africa which has been occupied by so many missionaries.'

But missionaries have not been without their success, notwithstanding the opposition of Dutch boers, the difficulties connected with a sparse population, and the mental and moral degradation of the people. With this, however, we have not at present to do, but with the labours of these apostolic men in the field of geographical discovery. Though great credit is due to the venerated Lichtenstein, Campbell, Moffat, and others, and to the scientific men who followed in their track, such as Dr. Smith, yet by far the highest place must be assigned to Dr. Livingstone, whose adventures have created a greater interest and obtained for himself

himself a greater sympathy and for his book a wider circulation than have been hitherto vouchsafed—at least since the days of Park. He occupied the most northern missionary station on the borders of the southern desert. In 1849, accompanied by Messrs. Oswell and Murray, he crossed the desert and entered a new territory well watered and thickly peopled. Following the course of the river Zouga for three hundred miles, they reached a magnificent expanse of water—Lake Ngami, 2,825 feet above the level of the sea. In 1851, Dr. Livingstone again went northward, and discovered two other rivers—the Chobi and Sheshekè. But in 1853-55 this energetic missionary attempted the bold design of journeying across the continent from Kilimane on the east to St. Paul de Loando on the west. The narrative of his adventures,—the confidence placed in him, and aid vouchsafed to him, by the Makololo,—the perils he endured,—the discoveries he made,—and the triumphant success which he achieved, must be fresh in the memory of our readers. It may be interesting to them to know, that since his return he has been as untiring in zeal, and as successful in discovery as before.

'After a minute examination of the river (Zambesi), up to the Kabra bessa rapids, he ascended the Shire, and, leaving the steamer at 16° 2' S. lat., continued his journey to the Shirwa lake, the existence of which had not hitherto been known to Europeans. This lake has an elevation of 2,000 feet: it is surrounded by mountains, and said to be separated from the Nyanja, or Nyenyesi (Star Lake), by a narrow strip of land, only six miles wide: its waters are bitter, but drinkable. Later in the year, Dr. Livingstone traced the Shire river to the point where it flows from the Lake Nyenyesi (Nyanja, or Niasse), 14° 23' S. lat., 35° 30' E. long. From that point the lake appeared to stretch towards the N.N.W., and upon its horizon appeared an island.'

How much may result from Livingstone's travels and labours, it is premature to predict; but from his enlightened and Christian philanthropy, results advantageous to commerce and to human improvement are confidently anticipated.

Livingstone has not been the only traveller in the south and towards the centre. Captain Vardon, Messrs. Gassiot, Galton, Plant, and Andersson deserve honourable mention for their enterprise and success. On the east and west, Portuguese traders have long had settlements, but while acquainted with the surrounding districts have not added much to science.

It now remains for us to notice the progress of discovery in the east of the African continent. Egypt had an early place in history. Nubia and Abyssinia being contiguous were also well known, but from the latter country to the south, and towards the interior, little was understood till within a very few years. The person who has added most to geographical science in this quarter of Africa is Dr. Krapf, also a missionary. During a residence of eighteen years he had ample opportunity of making explorations, and he availed himself of these to the full. In the year 1843, he published

published a journal of his own proceedings along with those of Mr. Isenberg, his fellow-missionary in the kingdom of Shoa, in which many interesting details of information regarding Abyssinia were given. But the same indefatigable missionary and traveller, having made many journeys into equatorial Africa since that period, has just now given to the public the account of his labours and discoveries. 'Whilst Dr. Livingstone was proceeding from the south towards the coast of Mozambique, Dr. Krapf and Mr. Rebmann were advancing from the north to the same point. The discoveries of Dr. Livingstone, no less than those of Dr. Krapf, may almost be said to have formed a junction at Cape Delgado. Indeed, the travellers approached each other within five degrees, the small section of the coast not visited by either being confined within 10° and 15° southern latitude.'

The coast line of the east was surveyed in 1822-26 by Capt. Owen, and by M. Guillain in 1847-48; but 'the inland exploration of that part of Eastern Africa,' says Mr. Ravenstein, 'may be dated from the time when Dr. Krapf, of the Church Missionary Society, established himself at Rabba Mpia, near Mombay (1844), a place which subsequently became the starting-point for several journeys into the interior, undertaken by himself and fellow-labourers.' * * * 'Dr. Krapf explored the whole of the coast from Cape Gardafui to Cape Delgado for objects connected with the mission. The most remarkable results obtained by these journeys is *the discovery of several mountains covered with perennial snow*, a discovery which can only be denied if we assume the missionaries to be capable of deliberately advancing false statements.' The interesting intelligence communicated by these travellers induced the Royal Geographical Society to send out an expedition to examine more minutely, and with scientific accuracy, to which the missionaries did not pretend. Captain Burton and Captain Speke—travellers well acquainted with desert experience and the East—were selected for this, and they went forth in 1857. The full information of their travels is just issued from the press, as is also a new volume on the 'Sources of the Nile,' by Dr. Beke, who has made many explorations in that region.*

Following the example of Dr. Livingstone, to whose volume the one before us is an appropriate sequel, Dr. Krapf has prefixed an autobiographical chapter to the narrative of his travels. He was born at Derendingen, a village near Tübingen, in 1810, and, amidst some difficulties, acquired an education fitting him for the Church. His attention was early attracted to travel by the work of Bruce, and he resolved to pursue his youthful fancy by the

* On some of the disputed points the reader is referred to the appendices of Dr. Krapf's volume, to Burton's, and other records.

dedication of his manhood to missionary work in foreign lands. In 1837 he set out for Abyssinia, as the agent of the Church Missionary Society, and he arrived at his destination in the month of December. For some time he resided in Shoa, whose king was Sahela Selassie, with whom many of our readers are already familiar from Major Harris's 'Highlands of Ethiopia.' This gallant officer visited Shoa on a political mission during the early part of Dr. Krapf's residence there, and was much indebted to the excellent missionary, both as interpreter with the Abyssinian court, and for the information respecting the country and people, which was afterwards woven into the interesting volumes published by him. It is well when information published by casual visitors respecting unknown countries is procured from so trustworthy a source. Dr. Krapf mentions a case which contrasts with this. A French gentleman, M. Rochet, came to Abyssinia, and was anxious to reach the source of the river Hawash. He was not able to prevail upon the king to allow his men to aid him in the enterprise, and had to return without the discovery.

'In spite of this,' says our author, 'in the book of travels which he afterwards published, M. Rochet asserted that he had seen the sources of the Hawash, and that the king had sent an escort to accompany him thither. Both assertions are completely false. Alas! such unconscientious statements are too common on the part of travellers, who huddle up a book, and obtain honours and emoluments at the expense of geographical truth. M. Rochet once said to me, in the course of that expedition, "M. Krapf, we must assert that we have seen the sources of the Hawash." When I replied that that would not be true, and that we had not seen them, he rejoined, with a smile, "Oh! we must be *philosophes!*"'

The country of Shoa forms the Ethiopian Highlands, and extends two degrees from the Adal to the Blue River, from east to west, and about the same from the river Hawash on the north to the fortress Dair on the south. The population is about a million. The government is an absolute monarchy. The religion is Christian, according to the Coptic faith, with a regular priesthood and liturgy. The clergy are, however, very ignorant; all the attainments for holy orders being an ability to read and to repeat the Nicene Creed. 'The duties of the priest are to baptize, to administer the Eucharist, and on Sundays to read and sing the long litanies for three or four hours.' The literature is but scanty, containing about one hundred and thirty or perhaps one hundred and fifty books, which, except the version of the Holy Scriptures, consist of translations from the Greek fathers. The general doctrines of the Christian religion are professed, but various dogmas of human origin are mixed up with them. They admit only one nature and one will in the person of Christ. Many believe the Virgin Mary to have died for the sins of the world and to have saved 144,000 souls. They have had controversies, by which they are still divided, respecting the birth of Christ,

Christ, one party maintaining that he had three births—'Begotten of the Father before all worlds (first birth), became man in time (second birth), and was baptized in Jordan (third birth). The party which acknowledged only two births got their view made an article of faith by royal ordinance some twenty years ago. Fasting is very rigidly practised in Abyssinia for nine months of the year; but 'immorality is the order of the day, and even priests and monks break the seventh commandment.' Concubinage is common, the king having five hundred wives. Slavery, too, prevails, and superstition has a stronger hold of the people than the Christian faith. Among a population such as this Christianity needs a new mission, and a thorough reformation must succeed the introduction of a purer faith.

The chief interest of Dr. Krapf's well-written and fascinating volume consists in the narratives of his travels through the unexplored countries to the south. Thither we shall now proceed with him for the instruction and entertainment of our readers. From a slave attached to his service by the King of Shoa, he obtained a curious account of a race of Troglodytes, called Dokos, who are only four feet high and dwell in a very sultry and humid country with many bamboo woods.

'They have a dark, olive-coloured complexion, and live in a completely savage state, like the beasts; having neither houses, temples, nor holy trees, yet possessing something like an idea of a higher being, called Yer, to whom, in moments of wretchedness and anxiety, they pray—not in an erect posture, but reversed, with the head on the ground, and the feet supported upright against a tree or a stone. In prayer they say:—"Yer, if thou really dost exist, why dost thou allow us to be thus slain? We do not ask thee for food and clothing; for we live as serpents, ants, and mice. Thou hast made us; why dost thou permit us to be trodden under foot?" The Dokos have no chief, no laws, no weapons; they do not hunt, nor till the ground, but live solely on fruits, roots, mice, serpents, nuts, honey, and the like; climbing the trees and gathering the fruits like monkeys; and both sexes go completely naked. They have thick, protruding lips, flat noses, and small eyes: the hair is not woolly, and is worn by the women over the shoulders. The nails on the hands and feet are allowed to grow like the talons of vultures, and are used in digging for ants, and in tearing to pieces the serpents, which they devour raw; for they are unacquainted with fire. The spine of the snake is the only ornament worn round the neck; but they pierce the ears with a sharp-pointed piece of wood.

'The Dokos multiply very rapidly, but have no regular marriages, the intercourse of the sexes leading to no settled home, each in perfect independence going whither fancy leads. The mother nurses her child only for a short time, accustoming it as soon as possible to the eating of ants and serpents; and, as soon as the child can help itself, the mother lets it depart whither it pleases. Although these people live in thick woods, yet they become the prey of the slave-hunters of Susa, Kaffa, Dumbaro, and Kulla; for whole regions of their woods are encircled by their hunters, so that the Dokos cannot easily escape. When the slave-hunters come in sight of the poor creatures, they hold up clothes of bright colours, singing and dancing, upon which the Dokos allow themselves to be captured, without resistance, knowing from experience that resistance is fruitless, and can lead only to their destruction. In this way thousands can be captured by a small band of hunters; and once captured, they become quite docile.'

This is a most remarkable description, and we are somewhat astonished

astonished that Dr. Krapf did not make an effort to prove its correctness, by actually visiting the pigmy race. He saw only one who corresponded to the above account in stature; but he heard of them from neighbouring nations. It is to be hoped that fuller information may soon be derived regarding so singular a people, whose existence, if true, must prove old Herodotus to be more credible than many have supposed. Such a people, too, may be more accessible to the influence of kindness and instruction than their more civilized neighbours. The Karens of Burmah have received the gospel with more gladness, and in larger numbers than the more polished Burmese. The South Sea islanders have been more rapidly evangelized than a people like the Hindoos, with ancient forms of religion, an organized priesthood, and sacred books.

South of Shoa is the nation of the Gallas, who have taken possession of a large portion of Eastern Africa. They are separated into many tribes independent of each other, but they have a common language. They extend 'from the eighth degree of north to the third degree of south latitude, numbering, on the whole, from six to eight millions, an amount of which scarcely any other race can boast.' Dr. Krapf therefore considers them one of the most important nations for a mission, as the field is large and opportunities numerous. The Gallas are a superior people, and many tribes lead an agricultural life, and are possessed of considerable wealth. Their land is fertile and its climate healthy, and fitted for European enterprise and colonization. The Gallas are heathen, and have certain religious ceremonies which are paid under the shade of a spreading tree. They have no idols, which, indeed, none of the East Africans have. 'This circumstance,' says Dr. Krapf, 'on the one hand presupposes a very ancient paganism, and on the other, shows that the East Africans are more occupied with temporal than with spiritual wants and interests. They are so devoted to the service of the belly, as not to trouble themselves much about gods and their worship. The fear of evil spirits is not wanting among these heathen nations, and this has led them to the idea of the necessity of an atonement, and to the ceremonial of sacrifice.' They do not offer up human beings as sacrifice to their gods, which is done by the people of Senjero. 'The slave-dealers always throw a beautiful female into the lake Umo, when they leave Senjero with their human wares; and many families, too, must offer up their first-born sons as sacrifices, because once upon a time, when summer and winter were jumbled together in a bad season, and the fruits of the field would not ripen, the soothsayers enjoined it.' In the interior the worthy missionary was once in danger of being sacrificed, because there had been no rain; and again he was almost deified because of a sudden fall of rain.

During

During the year 1842, Dr. Krapf repaired to the coast, for the purpose of furthering his missionary work among the heathen tribes, and for aiding the progress of new labourers on their way to join him. A personal object had also its attraction, his intention of marrying a young lady of Basel, who had agreed to share his labours and perils. This journey was rendered very unpleasant by treachery of professed friends, by robbery and imprisonment. He however, reached Egypt, and consummated his marriage. On his return by Zanzibar to the intended scene of his labours, he had the misfortune to lose his wife and child, and to be himself severely prostrated by disease. On the restoration of his health he made excursions into the Wanika land, and acquired the Suahili language. Among the Wanika he established himself at a station called Rabbai Mpia, which was the centre of his missionary operations and of his travels. Here he had the gratification of welcoming as a colleague the Rev. Mr. Rebmann, who shared his labours and his explorations with an ardour and enthusiasm akin to his own. In the journals written at that period, very much interesting information is given, both of the untiring efforts of the missionaries to promote their holy mission, and of the manners and customs of the people. Dr. Krapf mentions the following as an index of past and future:—

'January 11, 1848.—To-day the completion of my English-Suahili and Kinika Dictionary closes a long and troublesome labour. My task will now be, (1) to make a copy of this dictionary; (2) to continue my translation of the New Testament, and of Dr. Barth's "Bible Stories;" (3) to make daily an excursion to the plantations of the Wanika, and preach to them; (4) to instruct such Wanika children as wish for instruction; (5) to address the Wanika of the district, and to devote myself to those who visit us at our home from far and near; and (6) from time to time to make journeys into the interior, in order to become acquainted with its geographical and ethnological peculiarities and languages; preaching the gospel as far as can be done on these journeys, and thus pave the way for the mission into the interior, when we shall have received more fellow-labourers from Europe.'

In 1850 Dr. Krapf returned for the first time to Europe, to advocate his views of the mission, and to get his Suahili grammar, and a comparative vocabulary of six African languages printed. He returned in the spring of 1851, and commenced anew. He was, however, obliged, on account of his health, to return to Europe in 1853. In the succeeding year he proceeded by way of Jerusalem and Egypt, to resume his labours. Fever, sun-stroke, and fatigue so prostrated him, that when at Cairo it became evident that he could no longer labour in Africa. He therefore resigned his office in connection with the Church Missionary Society, and retired to Basel, where he fills the situation of Secretary to the Chrishona Society. He has not yet relinquished the idea of being useful to Africa, for in the volume before us there is a proposal for the establishment of a chain of twelve stations, to be called the Apostles'

Apostles' Street, each with the name of an apostle,* to stretch from Alexandria to Gondar, fifty leagues apart, and thence to branch out to the interior. Such a means of evangelization, while mutually strengthening to the labourer, would, it is believed, tend greatly to introduce the gospel, with the accompanying blessing of civilization, into the centre of Africa.

Dr. Krapf, in the second part of his excellent volume, has given journals of the journeys made by Mr. Rebmann and by himself into various parts of the interior. His own share includes notices of two journeys to Usambara, and two to Ukambani, both of which lie to the north-east of Zanzibar, also a journey to Cape Delgado in the south. The third part of his work is occupied with geography, topography, and history of Eastern Africa, which will amply reward the perusal of the reader. We can do no more than give a few extracts. While in Ukambani, our author was exposed to much danger and privation. He was attacked by robbers, and obliged to flee solitarily among the woods. His hunger was so great, that he 'tried to chew leaves, roots, and elephants' excrement to stay it,' and to feast upon ants. Even the powder for his gun he mixed with young shoots of a tree and ate; but this increased his thirst. Anticipating water, he would dig into the moist sand, but finding none, he filled his mouth with the sand, only to parch his tongue the more. What a boon was water to this weary pilgrim, and what a consolation woman's kindness! These were accompanied with new dangers. While he lay at one village, he learned that a plot was forming for his murder, and he had again to seek safety in flight. In his erratic and dangerous course he was well-nigh mistaken for a wild hog by some of the Wakamba. At length, after many adventures, hair-breadth escapes, and great sufferings, he reached Rabbai Mpia, where his friends were lamenting his death.

'The facts and results of this journey to Ukambani, in its relation to the missionaries and their operations, may be summed up as follows:—As the route to Ukambani is an extremely dangerous one, partly on account of the Gallas, and partly and chiefly on account of the robbers of Kilima-Kebomu, and as the gross superstition, and still more the lawlessness and anarchy, the faithlessness, capriciousness, and greed of the Wakamba are very great, a permanent residence among them must be a very unsafe and doubtful enterprise.'

* * * *

'Like the other East African tribes, the Wakamba have a feeble idea of a Supreme Being, whom they call Mulungu; and like those other tribes, too, they have no idols, and are not degraded to Fetish worship; but as they have no religious requirements they are wholly sunk in materialism, and have but few notions of religion itself. . . . Recently slavery has made great way among the Wakamba.'

Dr. Krapf's volume is remarkably well written—much better,

* We observe the second at Cairo is to be called St. Mark, and the third St. Luke! The twelve apostles will not get room in the street if these saints obtain the first places!

indeed,

indeed, than Dr. Livingstone's. Its novelty is scarcely less, and from the record which it gives of the labours, perils, and discoveries of the author, will secure for him an honourable place among those who have aided the opening of Africa to the knowledge of Englishmen, both for commerce and for missionary enterprise. The commerce of Africa is capable of very great extension. Meantime the city of Hamburg carries on as much as the whole of that vast continent. The exports do not exceed 20,000,000*l.*, and the imports scarcely reach 18,000,000*l.*, that is, only 2*s.* 8*d.* per head of a population numbering 150,000,000. But should the attention of our merchants be more devoted to this part of the world, and a philanthropic spirit move them, we might receive from that quarter a very large supply of the cotton for which we are now so dependent on America, while other branches of commerce would receive proportionate extension. The civilization of so many tribes must create a large demand for articles of English manufacture. It is evident that France has an eye upon the east coast; and our Government may learn too late the importance of keeping up friendly relations, and promoting trade on that side of the continent contiguous to our own East Indian empire.

Geographical discovery presents new claims to the friends of missions. The nations which have been brought to light by Livingstone and by Krapf, and who are veiled in the darkness and degradation of heathenism, appeal by their wretchedness to our sympathies and prayers and Christian philanthropy, to send to them the same gospel which has done so much to make our own land at once enlightened, civilized, and free.

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ART. V.—1. *Our Plague Spot.* London: T. C. Newby. 1859.
2. *Dr. Acton on Prostitution.* Churchill. 1857.
3. *The London by Moonlight Mission.* By Lieut. Blackmore, R.N. Robson and Avery. 1860.

THE pages of ancient history relate that even before the reign of idolatry, and while man yet adored the true God, there existed both polygamy and public profligacy. In this, the nineteenth century of Christianity, the sad fact has still to be recorded, that sins of the like nature abound, differing in name and in form, yet essentially the same dark, desolating vices as disgraced the heathen world. Throughout the ages, these vices, seductive yet repulsive, have unquestionably given rise to the greatest disorder that has ever beset the race. The very magnitude of the evil, at times, has enforced a temporary cure, or its excess induced a reaction, only to burst out afresh, till people after people fell beneath the outrage against nature, for such it [redacted] the 'necessary evil' it is too often named.

Women were called syrens by satirists, animals by philosophers, and poets rhapsodized of the fatal gift of beauty as their sole heaven-descended endowment, while monasticism endeavoured to bring heaven upon earth by the institution of celibacy. Meanwhile men degraded women, even when they were the objects of their highest affections; and if women, through participation in sin, degraded themselves, it has not been without retaliation, however much this fact may be ignored. Were it not so, it would be in opposition to the divine law of just and not to be avoided retribution! Amidst a multitude of proofs that might be cited throughout centuries in confirmation of this law, a startling fact of the present day may be referred to, in connection with one of our highest seats of learning; namely, that for every additional unfortunate woman introduced into the town, a student has departed this life, or has been for ever incapacitated from pursuing his career.

The subject is so painful, so dreary, the evil of such long endurance, and so widely spread, that one is ready to exclaim, 'It is ineradicable!' Seeing that, like other evils, it perpetuates and intensifies itself, it becomes forgotten that it is not the *nature* of humanity that commits the excess, but the abuse of that nature. With an increase of power and wealth, luxury is also on the increase, and with it the vice in question; and to such an extent as no longer to be overlooked with safety to society. Whether for good or for evil, matters are now publicly canvassed, spoken of, and written of, which some years back would only have been whispered about in private. The black shadow of an avenging social Nemesis stretches far and wide over the land. Our moral atmosphere gives out poison, and the cry now is, How can the pestilence be arrested? Before the dangers that threaten to overwhelm us as a nation, false sentimentalism stands mute; and even women are asked to come forward and try if *they* cannot aid in the restoration of purer morals, and a higher standard of social virtue, by stretching out a helping hand to the fallen of their own sex.

In some shape or other a spectre of this monster vice is met with everywhere. No household is safe against its intrusion; rich and poor are alike visited by it, and, what is worse than all, the innocent suffer as well as the guilty. Not in vain were the words of warning written—'The sins of the fathers are visited upon the children down to the third or fourth generation.' Divine laws cannot be altered to suit the sins or caprices of human beings; and therefore those who are wise, seek the prevention of vice rather than its cure—cure in many, nay, we may say in the majority of cases, becoming after a certain period of excess, next to impossible.

As yet little has been done in this direction, the direction of arresting the evil before its poisoned fangs have seized the victim. Neither

Neither has much been accomplished in the way of cure, notwithstanding the immense sums annually expended for the purpose. We moralize to the few women who can be got to listen—tell them they are lost, fallen creatures; yet men are not admonished to rise from *their* low and degraded condition: thus it becomes difficult to legislate for one sex while the other is left to follow out its own devices. We prepare refuges wherein women may hide themselves and repent; we enact certain not very stringent penalties against those who trade in obtaining the victims to be sacrificed on the altars of impurity; we thrust the latter from the highways out of sight, or propose sanitary regulations in hospitals, and such-like remedies. All these measures are directed against the poorest, most wretched, and most numerous class of these miserable women; the others are left alone, their larger pecuniary gains, and better concealed mode of life, serving to secure them from intrusion, though these by no means are the less dangerous or less vicious members of society. A celebrated medical authority, some years since, stated his conviction that not more than one man in a thousand escaped the ordeal; and it would be comparatively well could it be asserted that only youths and unmarried men thus gave way to temptation. The effects upon descendants are already apparent, and unless the evil is checked, not only must the present generation, but succeeding ones; suffer in augmenting ratio in body and in mind. In the discussion of this question, glancing at the enormous statistics which prove the widely-spread and deeply-seated evil, philanthropists ask for a remedy which shall obliterate or greatly modify it, without sufficiently inquiring into the causes that have produced its fatal increase, causes which, if left still in operation, must continue to feed it, and so defeat the best efforts to obtain a cure. As might be expected, it assumes its most glaring appearance in our large cities where luxury abounds; in our manufacturing districts where numbers are congregated, and wherever sailors and soldiers are found; also wherever the surplus numbers of poor, unemployed women are greatest.

In the agricultural as well as in the manufacturing districts another twin evil is equally present and likewise in rapid increase. Illegitimate children are so numerous that infanticide is practised to a fearful extent, and concubinage riots so openly, that not long ago one of our quarterly reviewers recommended that such connections should be recognized as legal, and the parties received by society as good members thereof, since there seemed no other way of dealing with them! A dangerous compromise! to lower the standard of morals to the level of the sinning members of the community, instead of endeavouring to raise them in the scale of ascension.

In all old and long-established countries there is a tendency to a surplus of women; the result of war, male emigration, and other causes. At this moment we have upwards of three quarters of a million of. such a surplus, and this in daily increase. These women unless they emigrate cannot get married; and to this embarrassing fact must be added another, namely, their poverty from want of remunerative employment; and what is still less understood or attended to (as a cause most productive of evil results), is their ignorance and want of self-respect, as well as the want of respect in men for them. There is likewise in the youth of the present day a precocity which is unfavourable to virtue; while the remedy proposed for this, by early marriages, cannot be resorted to at such immature years without impairing the stamina both of parents and of children. It is asserted, morever, that morals and religion have so little sway in the matter, that to prevent, or at least ameliorate the evil to a certain extent, attention should rather be directed to render it pecuniarily unprofitable. A very extraordinary state of affairs, surely, is this in a Christian country.

It is stated that there are above half a million of unfortunate women in the kingdom, and that about twenty millions sterling are spent annually amongst them. Nearly forty thousand of these victims die every year, either from disease, starvation, or by committing suicide; while above seventy thousand illegitimate children are born yearly, and, as before mentioned, there are infanticides innumerable. These are a few of the statistics of one particular form of this vice, and many others follow in dark succession.

It is not desirable, in a paper such as this, to follow the evil in all its ramifications; ramifications so manifold and intricate, that volumes might be filled with the miserable details resulting from this one root of sin. A few prominent facts are sufficient to enable the thoughtful reader to form at least some conception of the formidable network which is entangling so many of both sexes in its fatal meshes.

The system so prevalent of preferring unmarried young men as clerks or shopkeepers is destructive of virtue, as well as the fact that few of our soldiers or sailors can have wives. All this adds to the difficulty of providing husbands for our young women, consequently temptations to form illegal alliances are manifold.

Another painful aspect of this social chaos is the fact, that even in those towns where at our highest seats of learning the youth of England are expected to add virtue to knowledge, the amount of these unhappy women is fearfully large.

Mr. Commissioner Mayne informs us that in London there are 5,000 houses of bad repute; and other credible authorities give statements

statements of like proportions with regard to all our large cities and towns elsewhere. Of the occupants, and women in connection with these infamous resorts, a large proportion are known to the police as thieves, and nearly all at one time or other indulge largely in drink; indeed, they are rarely sober, as without this excitement these miserable women aver that they could not continue their dreadful mode of life. Nor can any one marvel that they thus seek to drown consciousness and conscience.

In 'Our Plague Spot,' a voluminous work lately published on the subject, wherein a vast array of facts are quoted from various sources, and of various kinds, it is mentioned that in London alone there are about 400 trepanners, men and women, whose demon-like occupation it is to look out for, and lay hold of, fair young victims, not to immolate them at one sure blow on blood-stained altars as of old, when sacrificial knife, or deadly stroke from priest or priestess soon gave swift and speedy death, but to lure them to lingering horrors by golden promises of ease and luxury.

The income of the 5,000 keepers of bagnios is reckoned to yield them a yearly profit of about 1,000*l.* each. Some of the inmates obtain from twenty to thirty pounds weekly, others perhaps not ten shillings; and if their wretched gains do not satisfy their masters or mistresses, they are thrust out of doors almost naked, and left a prey to wretchedness and death. One of these mistresses left at her death 20,000*l.* to her daughter, a proof that her patrons assuredly had neither poverty nor ignorance to plead in excuse for their transgressions against the moral law and their defiance of the divine command to abstain from all impurity.

It has been well remarked that with all our good feelings towards women as a sex, we are strangely indifferent, if not callous to the sufferings of a large portion of them, the slaves and outcasts of society. One fact alone is sufficient to prove that what is lightly called a necessary evil, is, on the contrary, a sinful disobedience; the *average life of these victims lasts only four years* after entering upon their miserable career. Were we equally aware of the number of young men who are swept off within a like period, or of those who linger out a longer life, suffering and enervated, we should probably be startled. At the age of twenty-three or twenty-five, by far the greater number of the most wretched class find an early grave; but before descending into which, these forms often of dazzling beauty become such breathing deformities as the eye cannot look on without a shudder. But the evil does not end with the death of the evil-doer, offspring legitimate as well as illegitimate, bear witness throughout their lives (in their predisposition to the same vices, or the inheritance of injured constitutions) to their parent's deeds of sin. Much of the insanity

now

now upon the increase in this country is to be traced to the existence of this evil.

If the heathen transcend us in deifying their vices, in making them part of a religious ceremony, what shall be said of professed Christians going through the same orgies, in mockery, as it were, of the Divine command, and in defiance of penalties the most dire that have ever been pronounced against the race?

A popular writer of fiction (or rather of truth under its guise,) remarks that the present age has produced a class of women peculiarly its own—adventuresses, who are not out of place in our enumeration of immorality. These women, however they begin life, usually manage to secure husbands before they advance far in their career, and are thus better able to mystify their antecedents than their less artful sisters; they make dupes of those who marry them, and even succeed in imposing upon society. Their numbers, compared with the others, are few, but they also are rapidly increasing; and whether (as the 'Quarterly Review' rather broadly hinted some years ago) our lawful domestic life is becoming more and more dull, from the very fact of its being on the part of women so circumscribed, or whether, under a civilization verging towards the ultra, men require attentions beyond those that wives feel disposed to give, certain it is that the tastes of many men lead them to prefer such women, though in the end they pay dearly for their choice, even when their eyes are not opened to its distortion.

Certain fundamental defects in the remedies tried, hitherto overlooked or gainsaid, seem to be the reason why those remedial measures already in operation produce such meagre results. Up to a very recent period, or it may be said up to the present hour, efforts have been directed rather to the cure than the prevention of the evil, and directed only to one sex. Assuredly within such limits as these, all efforts will continue abortive, for were every fallen woman in the land securely lodged within the walls of a penitentiary to-day, we should have the streets paraded to-morrow by hosts of relapsed revellers and fresh recruits.

In vain shall we attempt to rescue the one sex from evil if the other is to be held scatheless, and permitted to go on drawing the innocent into the vortex. The entire precepts of the Gospel run counter to such false distinctions and such false teachings, and we must express our conviction, that in the majority of cases, in the first instance, women are not the tempters but the tempted.

It is an accepted truth, that evil habits are more easily prevented than forsaken when once acquired; nay, it is certain that after a time it is not in the power of the victim to reform. Were there not one fallen woman left, how long, it may be asked, would the

the victims escape seduction or bribery, or be left free to choose a pure life?

At the meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, held in October, 1858, along with the paper read by Mr. Acton on this subject, there was another read by Mr. Caine on 'The Evils and Accessories of Prostitution,' but not included in the annual volume of the transactions of that society. The subject of Mr. Caine's paper was on the character of certain establishments licensed for plausible purposes in our large towns and even in our villages, but which offered special *attractions* for the immoral of both sexes, the law in reference to their prevention, and the laxity of its administration. He considered these establishments to be, in reality, more for the purposes of assignation, as resorts of bad characters, and marts for those infamous traders, who sought there to find victims, than anything else. He also noticed, as injurious to public morals, the national jealousy of what is called 'infringing on the liberty of the subject!' Why in such cases the liberty of the subject should not be infringed upon and curtailed, we do not see, and agree with Mr. Caine on this point. A freedom and a liberty that injures and demoralizes thousands, is no longer liberty but licence to do evil, and for which licence, rulers must in some degree, be held accountable at the bar of justice. We do not, however, concur in the opinion expressed that 'the greater number of women take up this vile pursuit deliberately and designedly, and follow it just as long as it yields pleasure or profit, and when either of these cease they give it up.' The profits and pleasures here alluded to are the property of the very few; while the number, after a brief riot, pursue the rest of their sad career amidst ill-usage, excitement from drink, and other horrors. It is those who traffic in them who get by far the larger share of their gains.

No doubt, evil passions, love of dress, dishonesty, and idleness, drive many into evil courses; but the numbers who thus, it may be said, sacrifice themselves, are as nothing compared to the vastly greater numbers who sink into these depths from seduction, ill-paid work, and no work at all; from the ill treatment or carelessness of masters and mistresses, ignorance alike of religion and morals, bad example, want of parental discipline, the small encouragement given to virtue, and last though not least, the constant temptations held out by the male members of society. Mr. Caine justly condemns the lounge of the theatre, the casino, the dancing-saloons, free concerts, and supper-rooms; especially dancing-saloons frequented by servants and shopwomen, who there encounter the dissolute and designing of both sexes. The laxity of the law is also complained of, with regard to irregular public-houses and its more rigid enforcement urged.

Miss Carpenter, who takes such interest in reformatories, states it also as her opinion that these dancing-saloons have been the ruin of many young girls, as several who came to the reformatory confessed to her, that it was by attending these places of amusement that they were first enticed into sin.

One disgraceful fact in connection with this humiliating subject must not be omitted, as stated by the Rev. Father Nugent at the same meeting, 'that workwomen were often victimized by late overhours' work, when they were plied with strong coffee, and infamous books read to them, in order to make them work quicker!'

Various plans have been from time to time suggested by benevolent persons who have taken interest in those who nine times out of ten are more sinned against than sinning.

Mr. Kinnaird, M.P., advocates reading-rooms, and other means for relaxation as well as for instruction. Another gentleman wishes that the name and address of every man who owns a saloon or bagnio were published in the newspapers, in order thus to be shamed out of such modes of money-making; and adds, 'that it would astonish people to know who some of these men are, holding outwardly, as they do, respectable positions in society.'

Those whose trade it is to aid in degrading their fellow-creatures, think no evil of such practices, and pocket their gains without a scruple. Neither are they regarded by the more conscientious members of society with that abhorrence and reprobation which a purer morality would demand.

It is not necessary, as we before remarked, to amplify details while writing on so painful a theme. We would spare our readers the sad task of going over the reports from various parts of the kingdom; the sum total of all the statistics supplied resulting in the one mournful fact, that everywhere impurity is rampant; publicly in the highways of cities, as well as in concealed retreats. 'It is difficult,' says one writer on the subject, 'to attain an accurate knowledge of the amount of public profligacy, but still more difficult to trace the extent of private or clandestine evil, the inquiries of the police being limited to the open and acknowledged houses of bad repute.' This writer, however, estimates the numbers of private and better maintained women as even greater than those of the openly dissolute; and mentions that manufactory girls and others are partly maintained by their wages, and partly by the remuneration obtained from a vicious mode of life. He also states that by far the greater proportion of those who have been rescued from the streets were unable to read or write, and were otherwise deplorably ignorant. Among other causes tending to mischief is 'the want of proper parental discipline,' and this cause has certainly been too much overlooked in the

the present day. Parental control is seldom or ever hinted at. Boys and girls, long before they have reached what used to be called 'the years of discretion,' now throw off all authority; and from this contempt of parental, or, indeed, of any control, come forth irreverence, self-will, insolence, and vice.

In the lower ranks of society, parents unfortunately are not often found able to train up their children in the fear and love of God, and in the way they ought to walk. This duty is left, in their case, to the schoolmaster and the pastor. Among the middle class, a perverse theory of governing by love, has been taken up, to the ruin of many children, who when grown up have shown nothing but the evils which ought in childhood to have been checked. Were it, in truth, a system of love it might be commended, but it is only a counterfeit and a system of easy indulgence on the part of parents. The highest and purest love sees that correction is sometimes imperative for the good of the human being; and this duty being left unperformed, the disappointed parents are often the first to suffer from the waywardness of both sons and daughters. Another vicious fashion is the practice of dressing up young girls—mere children, we may say—in the fantastic manner now in vogue, and parading them about the streets, as if each mother were bent on outdoing her neighbour in the matter of feathers, hoops, long flowing hair, and gay colours. In what is this vain show to end? Do mothers ever think to what this fostering of vanity and love of dress may lead? this inordinate desire for finery?

In manufacturing towns, where girls are largely employed in factories, the lack of proper superintendence is another fertile source of evil. This is now being attended to, and in some of our large mills educated women are earnestly active in looking after the morals, and aiding the young women under their care, to acquire habits conducive in various ways to their well-doing. It is scarcely necessary to point to intemperance as another fruitful cause, for although few girls take first to drinking and then to an impure life, yet nine out of ten of the corrupted maintain, as we have already observed, that without stimulants it would be impossible to carry on their wretched calling; indeed, these women are seldom thoroughly sober; and in an incredibly short space of time an ungovernable fondness for this fire-poison seizes hold of them, and hence the great difficulty of permanent reform. Nearly all who have been rescued have been so saved at an early stage of their downward course. Lastly, there are the wiles of the seducer, who, the better to succeed in his vile lies, employs intoxicating draughts, with which he plies his victim. One writer on this subject is of opinion 'that seduction, in nearly every case, has [redacted] to do with the first departure from vir[redacted]'

Seduction is practised in a multiplicity of forms by all ranks and in all classes; practised even in quarters where one would least expect it, and positive encouragement held out to vice, while the inexorably virtuous young girl has been put to a kind of work, at which, with the utmost exertion, but inadequate wages are earned. These are sad facts, but true as sad, and vouched for by men whose business it has been to investigate these matters, and bring forward such dark doings to the light of day.

As prevention is better than cure—especially when cures are of rare occurrence, and when the convict or penitent costs the country or the philanthropist sums so vast—the author of the volume at the head of this article urges the attention of the legislature, the clergy, and the social reformer, to use all means, moral and legal, to obtain this desired end.

The pulpit is called upon to reprove, rebuke, and exhort; the social and moral reformer to provide proper amusements for the people, more ample and suitable accommodation for the poor by improved dwellings, and likewise instruction to parents and children on their duties to each other and to society. The aid of the State is demanded to alter and amend laws whereby temptations may be removed, before which the thoughtless perish. Gin-palaces, beer-houses, dancing-saloons, bagnios, &c. &c., are spoken of as they can only be spoken of by every one who anxiously seeks to avert judgment and retribution for this colossal vice, which, as another writer says, 'devours almost undisturbed the flower and hope of mankind.'

It is suggested that greater facilities should be given for the purpose of marriage both in the army and navy. Colonization in India, and purchase of waste lands, on which only married men should be employed.

Female emigration is another remedy which may be mentioned: hitherto it has been but little attended to, and side by side with it is the extension of employments for those large numbers of women who must work or starve.

Something is now being done by the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, and by the Society for the Employment of Women, towards the instruction of young women and girls in certain branches of trade, hitherto closed against them. It were much to be desired that greater publicity were given to these movements, and the public thoroughly awakened to the necessity of an improved education, tending to diminish that love of display and idle attraction, such fertile causes of mischief, as well as to increase a desire for honest self-dependence, and greater self-respect.

The immense sums spent in efforts to reclaim the vicious would go far to prepare numbers of young women for honest trades, or even

even to give small portions to the deserving as capital wherewith to commence business.

The refuges now existing, and others proposed, for female destitute children, will likewise be a means of diminishing this evil, provided these children are properly educated and trained to work. But habits of industry and self-control must be formed in them, before they are let loose, at comparatively early years, to encounter the temptations sure to meet them, when beyond the sheltering walls of school or of refuge.

Sanitary measures, as commended by Dr. Acton, would likewise aid in checking some of the hideous features of this gigantic vice. Into these we shall not enter. Those of our readers who, in the spirit of charity, seek fuller information than is needful to be given in this article, can consult the works we have mentioned, and various others by medical men, who have of late directed their attention to the subject.

Evil of any kind, it may be granted, is not to be put down by legislation; but if legislation declines to interfere at all, it assuredly indirectly connives at it. In the case of the greater number, unless they are reformed within a very few years, nay, it may be said months, reformation is scarcely within their power; while, even if penitent and morally improved, the disordered state of their nervous system, and the great diminution of their muscular power, render them a mere wreck of their former selves. This holds good in the case of men as well as of women who forsake to any extent the healthful paths of virtue.

Hitherto a few almost unknown and ill-paid missionaries have had to wage war single-handed with this hydra-headed enemy. Lately, others have joined them—Christian men, as well as pious workers of the other sex, who feel that deeds and not words are the best exponents of faith; and now aid is openly asked from all quarters, as it is in vain any longer to deny that our morals are a disgrace to a nation calling itself Christian, and hourly boasting of its greatness. Great it may be in outward seeming, prosperous in merchandise, rich in gold and silver, yet poor in that righteousness which alone can exalt. There is a triad of evils to battle against —luxury, licentiousness, and deception. The time is surely come of which it was said 'that no man would speak the truth to his neighbour.' Trust and confidence seem alike crushed.

No one can assert that external pressure, or outward remedies, will ever effect a radical cure of moral evil. This can only be done by the power of religion speaking from within the sinner's heart; nevertheless wise laws ought to lend their aid, by removing, as far as possible, temptations from the paths of the thoughtless and unwary, and by bringing the tempter and the fallen within the reach of that divine influence.

The experience of those who for years have persevered in the best attempts in external appliances, testifies to the sad fact that very little has been done in the way of reform; therefore it is that we urge efforts being made rather in the way of prevention.

It is most important that women should take up the cause of their fallen sisters, one which, even in an interested point of view, closely concerns themselves; but it must be taken up in that spirit of humility which sees in the unfortunate one, not so much the dissolute, bold minister of evil-doings, as the miserable victim of certain usages of society, which in a manner demand, or at least betray her into the sacrifice.

While mothers warn the young, or moralize the erring, let them likewise turn to their sons, and teach them some better lesson than they now are taught, that to be manly is synonymous with being the associate of depraved women, and that virtue in men is of no consequence.

We are recalled to the opinion so often expressed in regard of the evil in question, that 'its final extirpation is not to be hoped for.' The same may be said of every sin existing; but the phrase, as applied to this particular vice, is used in a much wider sense than in most of the other cases of guilt, and gives license to this form of disobedience against the divine law to a fearful extent; an extent now bringing its own punishment in the degeneration of the race.

While sensible that the ignorance and weakness of women are the worst enemies the sex can have, what is to be said, on the other hand, of those who, instead of defending that weakness, take advantage of it for vicious purposes, and in like manner prefer the ignorance that is easily duped? Were the self-respect of women increased, their morals would improve; and were their intelligence cultivated, rather than as now their mere instincts and feelings, the 'social evil' (that name erroneously applied only to the one sex as evil-doers,) would be greatly diminished. And even in the case of those who continued in sin, the same amount of degradation and wretchedness would not be found, forming, as they now do, a miserable contrast to those women of the same stamp in some other countries, who, in the midst of their sad career, preserve, both publicly and privately, a certain decency and regulation of conduct.

They at the same time require from their visitors treatment of a more human fashion, than, we regret to state, is the case with our lowest and most numerous class of unfortunate women, who are the mere slaves of those who frequent their society, as well as of their own intemperate and dissolute habits, where alternate riot, starvation, and intoxication go hand in hand with brutality.

So much is this vice overlooked on the part of men, that it never seems thought of as criminal, either in a religious or moral point of

of view. As long as health can be preserved, no restraint appears to be inculcated, and no penalty exacted, either from the seducer or common trader in sensualism. In absence, then, of all principle or moral check, could the usage among the higher classes be made as unfashionable as it now is the reverse, a great step would be gained in the saving of young and beautiful women from destruction; and in respect of the middle class—said to be keenly alive to their pecuniary concerns, as well as their outward respectability—could the sin of seduction be visited with a fine, and partial loss of character, another onward step would be added. As the lower classes look to those above them for example in manners and morals, the improvement so much to be desired would speedily be seen, were purity of life accepted as the proof of nobility and of manliness; and were those (no matter what their rank or position) branded as cowards who seduced or allured the young of either sex into those paths whose end is perdition, our country would soon regain its lost strength, and recover from its present state of moral prostration.

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ART. VI.—1. *Charge of the Recorder of Birmingham to the Grand Jury at Birmingham Sessions, April*, 1860.
2. *Temperance of Wine Countries.* A Letter by E. C. Delavan, Esq. London: Alliance Depôt, 335, Strand.
3. *Journals of the Houses of Lords and Commons.*

NONE of the measures introduced by the Government during the present session to the attention of Parliament and the country has elicited so important an expression of public hostility as the Refreshment Houses and Wine Licenses Bill. It has been the fashion, during the discussion, to attribute the opposition which this bill has met with to the unscrupulous efforts of vested interests. Driven by the exigencies of a debate, of which the responsibility rested mainly on himself, the Chancellor of the Exchequer would hardly suffer any unfavourable criticism, without endeavouring to fix upon the critic the stigma of publican association. This cry was certainly a mere sham, but it was not without significance. The greatest amount of opposition, and certainly the weightiest and most reputable, proceeded from the friends of temperance; and it is true that, the bill having been carried, they have been beaten. But if the assumed alliance between the two old antagonists, publican and temperance man, be supposed, the contest has clearly shown the utter weakness of the 'licensed victuallers,' since, even when associated with moral strength, they have failed; and, on the other hand, we have learned that no term can be applied to a public man so opprobrious as to charge him with acting as the advocate of the publican. Henceforth none can fear

the 'great influence' of the gin-shop and public-house. Whatever the merits of the measure itself, its triumph must have emancipated the convictions of many members of the House of Commons and newspaper editors. The fact is, that the publican power, as exerted against the bill, though doubtless all that could be commanded, was extremely feeble. The opposition may fairly be taken as an opposition of principle rather than of interest. Out of 2305 petitions, with 216,130 signatures, which were presented to the House of Commons, probably 2000 emanated from friends of temperance. That these efforts were unavailing is not to be wondered at, when it is considered that all the influence of the Government, and all the commanding ability of Mr. Gladstone, were used without scruple; while, notwithstanding a disavowal, on the part of the Chancellor, of such intention, the scheme was throughout treated as an integral portion of the budget, and received the support of many liberal members, who, though disapproving of this particular detail, felt bound, by their pledges to the Administration, to support their financial arrangements in their entirety. It will therefore be interesting to review the progress of the discussion, and trace the principal modifications which the stress of opposition compelled, as well as to consider, apart from the excitement of debate, the principle on which the measure is based, and the very opposite anticipations of its friends and foes. We may then look at the bearings of the contest, and its result on future temperance legislation.

The resolution embodying the Government scheme, and in accordance with which a bill was afterwards framed, was no sooner drawn up by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and placed upon the notice-paper of the House, than alarm was instantly expressed, and petitions poured in in a continuous stream. After some delay a bill was introduced materially modifying many of the features of the resolution, but which was at once held to be almost equally objectionable. This bill was contested at every stage by the temperance sentiment of the country. On the motion for its second reading, Mr. Crook, the member for Bolton, and Mr. Digby Seymour, the member for Southampton, both Liberals, moved and seconded the ordinary negative proposition. Several nights' keen debate resulted; but the Government succeeded, by a majority of 74, in obtaining the assent of the House of Commons to the bill. The numbers indicated by the division list, including pairs, were 306 for the bill, and 232 against.

During its passage through committee considerable modifications were successfully suggested, and, after some resistance, introduced. As originally drafted, the bill provided for the granting of a license to any tradesman, draper, grocer, provision dealer, or any other, to sell by retail wine not to be consumed on the premises.

mises. This has been limited to sale in pint bottles, thus preventing the maintenance of a running tap at which to fill jugs or cans. The annual value of houses to the occupier of which a complete wine license may be granted is now limited, in towns of 10,000 inhabitants, to 20*l.*; while police inspection and early closing, as in the case of beer-shops, is secured for the new wine-shops. Many suggestions were unsuccessful, such as a prohibition of the sale of wine to children, a limitation of the definition of wine to a commodity not containing more than 18 per cent. proof spirit, and the allowance of a permissive veto upon the license by the inhabitants of a district. These were, however, introduced rather with a view to a subsequent discussion of the entire license question, than with any expectation that the Chancellor would consent to them or the House adopt them. Mr. Ayrton, the member for the Tower Hamlets, was indefatigable in his efforts to overthrow, and afterwards to improve the measure.

It was evident that, notwithstanding contrary professions, the Government, or at least Mr. Gladstone, regarded the passing of this measure as of great moment. The time which was consumed by it would have saved the humiliation of the withdrawal of the Reform Bill. The session of 1860, which opened with expectations of becoming glorious in our future annals, as the date of a commercial treaty which, it may fairly be hoped, contains the germ of perpetual peace, and of the admission of the masses of the British people to a share in political power, has really been rendered memorable by the introduction of wine-shops, and the withdrawal of the Bill for the Amendment of the Representation of the People in the Commons House of Parliament.

In the Lords, the Government resolutely determined to push the bill through at once, without amendment. To a deputation from various temperance bodies who waited on Mr. Gladstone, that gentleman pledged himself, in answer to their urgent representation that social morality should not be made subservient to fiscal necessities, to disentangle the question of financial considerations, and promote its discussion on moral grounds alone. This pledge Mr. Gladstone did not fulfil. The fears of those members who had thoroughly identified themselves with the French treaty were appealed to by the Government whip, and, notwithstanding the previous assurances of the Chancellor, it was broadly intimated that this bill must be taken as part of the budget, and that the supporters of the Government were expected to hold by the budget in its entirety. But the determination of Mr. Gladstone was still further exhibited in the course taken in the House of Lords. Not only was the measure pressed forward there with what one of the noble lords called 'indecent haste'—the second reading being taken within twenty-four hours of the first, and before the bill had been printed,

printed, a proceeding almost unprecedented—but, in order to prevent the possibility of amendment, the bill was moved explicitly as a supply bill. The Lords, who, as our readers know, were at that moment at variance with the Commons, in consequence of the rejection by them of the Paper Duty repeal, were unwilling to widen the breach. The Refreshment Houses and Wine Licenses Bill was therefore passed, Mr. Gladstone himself being present, and assisting Lord Granville by his advice during the short debate which the tactics of the Government allowed to be possible. The friends of temperance never can fight in future under so vast disadvantage; and the evident power they possess, and its enforced recognition by the Government and Parliament, may well encourage them to increased effort and improved organization.

But it will be answered by many of our readers, to our already evident distrust of the measure, that the bill itself was intended as a temperance measure, and it is hoped by many that it will be productive of sobriety. The two main arguments which have been insisted on, both in Parliament and by the press, have been these—that sobriety would be promoted, because the introduction of wine may be expected to supersede the large consumption of spirits, and triumphant reference was now and again made to the social condition as to drunkenness of wine-growing countries, and because the measure would associate eating and drinking, rather than call into existence fresh houses where drinking alone is sought to be promoted; and further, that the blow which the bill would give to the monopoly of the licensed victuallers would be the first step in getting rid of an odious public nuisance. We propose briefly to examine these positions.

It cannot be disputed, that if it were possible to substitute the drinking of wines of 15 to 18 per cent. of proof spirit for the drinking of the ardent spirits of ordinary consumption, much benefit would result. But it must be borne in mind that the bill of the Government provides for the sale of wines of 40 per cent. proof spirit, or from four to five times the potency of beer, a beverage which British experience would appear to have found sufficiently strong for the production of drunkenness and all its concomitant mischief. And it is not easy to see on what ground the assumption rests, that the people of this country will at any time become generally consumers of light wine, or that, if they did, they would run to no greater excesses than those which are common in wine countries.

It is, indeed, curious to observe how the faith of politicians in this substitutionary doctrine stands the assaults of repeated experience. The very same expectations entertained and expressed with reference to Mr. Gladstone's Wine Bill, were entertained and expressed with reference to the Beer Bill.

'That there will be,' said Mr. Goulburn, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, at the

the time, 'some sacrifice of property upon the part of many brewers and publicans, I at once acknowledge and deplore; but it is certainly better that the few should suffer than that the public at large should be deprived of a great benefit. Then as to the question of morality, *I deny that any injury will be inflicted on the morals of the people by an increase of the number of public-houses.* The measure has the assent of the great mass of the people. It is for their benefit the Government are determined to take off the beer duties, and it is also determined that the people shall have the advantage of it, and not a certain class of persons who enjoyed a monopoly in the sale of the article. *The measure, I have no doubt, will work well;* it will conduce at once to the comfort of the people in affording them *cheap and ready accommodation;* to their health in procuring them a *better and more wholesome beverage;* and to their morality in *removing them from the temptations to be met with in the common ale-house,* and introducing them to houses of a *better order, which are guarded by stricter securities than the others.*'

It is not easy to imagine language more nearly resembling that used with reference to the Wine Bill, both in Parliament and by the press. But if the anticipations indulged in in favour of the soberizing influence of light wines be no further realized than those avowed with reference to beer, we shall have little cause to congratulate ourselves on the legislation of 1860. Our readers will, in many instances, need very little information as to the actual results of the Beer Bill; but as these lines may possibly be read by others not so familiar with the facts, we propose briefly to extend our remarks. Very early experience of the effects of the beer-shop system resulted in parliamentary inquiry. In 1834 a committee moved for by the late Mr. J. S. Buckingham, then member for Sheffield, consisting of some of the most eminent statesmen living, prepared a report, which condemned not only beer-shops, but the whole license system in most unmeasured terms. In 1850 a committee of the House of Lords, after a special inquiry, declared that the beer-shop system had proved a failure; and in words which are sufficiently remarkable, as showing the complete disappointment of the hopes which had been entertained, reported—

'That the multiplication of houses for the consumption of intoxicating liquors which, under the Beer Act, has risen from 88,930 to 123,396, has thus been of itself an evil of the first magnitude, not only by increasing the temptations to excess, which are thus presented at every step, but by driving houses, even those under the direct control of the magistrate as well as others, originally respectable, to practices for the purpose of attracting custom which are degrading to their own character and most injurious to morality and order.'

And further, the same committee in its report declares explicitly that, so far from beer-drinking having displaced spirit-drinking, it had raised another class of beer-drinkers, and added it to the spirit-drinkers, who had gone on increasing, while the comfort and morals of the poor had materially deteriorated.

In 1853 and 1854, another committee of the House of Commons, under the chairmanship of Mr. Villiers, conducted a long and anxious inquiry, and though appointed for the purpose of arriving at conclusions favourable to a further development of the trade without

without magisterial license, was compelled, by the force of evidence, to pronounce against the beer-shop system.

During the thirty years which have elapsed since the Beer Bill was passed, there has been a gradual development of unfavourable public opinion. With singular unanimity, the magistrates of the country have declared that they are unable adequately to cope with the mischiefs of the beer-shop; and at last a powerful organization has arisen among them, especially in the populous districts of the West Riding of Yorkshire, with a view practically to obtain the repeal of the Act and to bring all licenses for the sale of drink within the magisterial discretion. The testimony of jail chaplains as to the influence of the Beer Bill on drunkenness and crime has been invariably in one direction. The following are testimonies extracted from the evidence taken before the Lords' Committee of 1850:—

'Is convinced by experience of the evil effects of beer-houses in the production of crime, the majority of cases of theft and poaching being traceable thereto.—Rev. G. Maclear, Chaplain of Bedford Jail.

'Has ascertained by investigation that about four-fifths of the offences committed by the agricultural population are traceable to beer-houses.—Rev. J. Field, Chaplain of Reading Jail.

'Attributes most injurious effects to beer-houses, several prisoners under twenty years of age being now in custody who acknowledge that "the beer-shop has done it all."—Rev. J. H. Hawes, Chaplain of Abingdon Jail.

'Beer-houses are the sources of a very large proportion of crime, the prisoners almost universally admitting that they trace their disgraceful position to them.—Rev. H. Meeres, Chaplain of Bucks Jail.

'Believes the several acts relating to the sale of beer to have been productive of the most demoralizing effects.—Rev. Henry Fardell, Chairman of Quarter Sessions, Isle of Ely.

'Suggests that the Legislature should repeal the whole of the Acts relating to beer-houses.—Rev. J. Thurling, Chaplain of Cambridge Jail.

'Jails must continue to be filled with prisoners, unless something be done to put down jerry-shops.—Rev. H. S. Joseph, Chaplain of Chester Jail.

'Judging from information obtained from prisoners, considers beer-houses one of the most fruitful sources of crime.—Rev. N. Kendall, Chaplain of Cornwall Jail.

'Considers beer-houses a curse in any parish, and productive of great domestic misery.—Rev. J. Thwaytes, Chaplain of Cumberland Jail.

'Has no hesitation in stating that the number of beer-houses and their vicinity to the dwellings of the poor have a very pernicious effect.—Rev. G. Pickering, Chaplain of Derby Jail.

'They (beer-houses) cannot be regarded otherwise than as positive nurseries of vice and crime.—Rev. W. B. Hellins, Chaplain of Devon Jail.

'Is convinced, from the additional experience of every year, that beer-houses are one of the most fruitful sources of vice and immorality in every form.—Rev. D. Clemetson, Chaplain of Dorset Jail.

'Finds that nearly all houses of ill-fame are beer-houses, and that spirits are sold in them, though the proprietor has no licence for so doing.—Rev. G. H. Hamilton, Chaplain of Durham Jail.

'Is inclined to consider beer-houses as dangerous to public morals.—Rev. G. B. Hamilton, Chaplain of Essex Jail.

'Has been informed by prisoners and others that much of the seduction and corruption in early life among females is to be traced to their being entrapped into these houses.—Rev. R. S. Cooper, Chaplain of Gloucester Jail.

'For fostering vice, and for consummating reckless and self-incurred pauperism, the

the beer-shop appears to furnish the most fatal channel.—Rev. R. S. Wright, Chaplain of Hants Jail.

'However lucrative they may be to the revenue in the way of Excise duties, it is at the expense of the best interests of the labouring poor, and entails an enormous expense in the punishment of crimes concocted in the beer-shop.—Rev. J. H. Barker, Chaplain of Hereford Jail.

'The effect of beer-houses is, and hitherto has been, to let loose a flood of vice and immorality.—Rev. H. Demain, Chaplain of Herts Jail.

'Has no doubt as to the demoralizing effects of beer-houses.—Rev. H. Maule, Chaplain of Huntingdon Jail.

'Beer-houses the chief cause of crime.—Rev. J. Metcalfe, Chaplain of Canterbury Jail.

'Is of opinion, formed deliberately and from long experience, that beer-houses are the promoters of crime.—Rev. J. Rowley, Chaplain of Lancaster Jail.

'Is enabled to say, from seven years' experience, that the operation of public-houses and beer-houses, in the production of crime, is beyond any other instrumentality.—Rev. W. Fox, Chaplain of Leicester Jail.

'From the facilities afforded by beer-houses to drinking, many offences and crimes are therein committed, or committed after leaving them.—Rev. H. W. Richter, Chaplain of Lincoln Jail.

'Certain beer-shops and public-houses are the constant resort of youths who subsist upon whatever articles they can steal and convert into money.—Rev. John Davis, Chaplain of Newgate.

'From conversations with prisoners, concludes that the tendency of beer-houses in a moral point of view, is exceedingly bad.—Rev. G. Jepson, Chaplain of Clerkenwell.

'It is a matter of frequent occurrence that young men, in writing home, speak of the beer-shop having proved their ruin.—Rev. John Penny, Chaplain of Millbank Prison.

'From experience can express a very confident opinion, that beer-houses must be looked upon generally as so many nurseries of crime in the land.—Rev. J. Kingsmill, Chaplain of Pentonville Prison.

'Has no hesitation in saying, that the beer-house has been the source of ruin to most of the inmates of this jail.—Rev. E. J. Gosling, Chaplain of Monmouth Jail.

'Has no hesitation in declaring, from long experience, that beer-houses are greatly and constantly productive of crime.—Rev. James Brown, Chaplain of Norfolk Jail.

'Is led to conclude, from experience, that beer-houses, by increasing the temptation to drunkenness, have greatly contributed to the increase of crime.—Rev. W. C. Bishop, Chaplain of Northampton Jail.

'Having closely interrogated each prisoner as to the cause of their incarceration, has received answer from every one (with one single exception), that it was the facility afforded in beer-shops for the indulgence of their drinking propensities.—Rev. Lewis Paige, Chaplain of the Northumberland Jail.

'Beer-houses operate in producing crime by providing occasions, more numerous and cheaper than otherwise would exist, for contracting drinking habits, bad companionships, and directly criminal engagements.—Rev. W. Butler, Chaplain of Nottingham Jail.

'Cases of poaching, sheep-stealing, and labourers forsaking their families, have originated in the facility with which they (the labourers) could frequent beer-shops.—Rev. W. H. Hill, Chaplain of Rutland Jail.

'Is of decided opinion that beer-houses, in general, operate in the production of crime.—Rev. D. Winstone, Chaplain of Salop Jail.

'A very considerable proportion of the crime for which men are committed arises from their frequenting beer-houses. Such houses are a crying evil to the country at large.—Rev. Joseph Gatty, Chaplain of Somerset Jail.

'The situation of many of these houses in by-places just suits the views of poachers, thieves, and midnight assassins.—Rev. Thomas Sedger, Chaplain of Stafford Jail.

'Crimes generally, if not invariably, originate in the frequenting of beer-houses;

and, as corroborative of this, fifteen out of twenty men have so confessed during their imprisonment.—Rev. H. Hales, Chaplain of Ipswich Jail.

'Considers beer-houses exceedingly injurious to the lower orders.—Rev. E. C. Wells, Chaplain of Bury St. Edmunds Jail.

'The present law is decidedly pernicious in its consequences, beer-houses being frequently resorted to by persons bent on the commission of crime.—Rev. W. S. Rowe, Chaplain of Horsemonger Lane Jail.

'Beer-houses are at least the means of spreading crime, from the effects of bad company.—Rev. W. Rigg, Kingston-on-Thames.

'It would be hard to overstate the extent to which the beer-shop is connected and mixed up with the crime of the country. Is at a loss for words to express the amount of evil every day produced by the multiplication of these dens of iniquity and curses of the poor.—Rev. Richard Burnet, Chaplain of Sussex Jail.

'I have found them the resort of all sorts of thieves, young and old, and places where the young find a ready instruction in crime.—Rev. Edward Faulkner, Chaplain of Worcester Jail.

'A very considerable portion of crimes may be traced to the habits of idleness, intemperance, and profligacy engendered in beer-houses.—Rev. John Adlington.

'I believe it is impossible for human language to describe the misery and wickedness added to the previous sum of our moral and social ill by beer-houses. —Rev. J. Clay, Chaplain of the Preston House of Correction.'

Few will be found who will deny the fact we have contended for, viz., that the Beer Bill has been a failure, but the reason has been but partially apprehended. Beer-shops have not diminished gin-shops—beer has not superseded ardent spirits. The operation of the increased facilities for the sale of beer has been twofold. A class of beer-drinkers has been formed, not from the number of spirit-drinkers, but, on the contrary, large numbers of those whose appetite for stimulants has been created on beer are continually passing over to swell the crowds which stand around the bar of the gin-palace. The reason of this is so obvious, that, were it not that even among some abstainers the old fallacy appears to linger, it would be almost needless to state it. But it must be reiterated, lest the indecision which appears to characterize much of the modern temperance faith should allow it to slip out of mind. It appears to us that total abstinence can be logically justified only on one ground. It is the law of the physical action of stimulants to tend to excess. The appetite for them must gradually increase by their use, not decrease, and this not from the accidental circumstances of time or place of their use, or of description or name, but from the essential nature of the article itself. The man habituated to a stimulus may for a time, more or less extended, be satisfied with beer or wine; but after a while a stronger dose must be taken to produce the same result, and the more powerful agency must be resorted to. This gradual development of appetite is the only possible explanation of the infatuation of drunkenness. Every extension of facility for the acquisition of an appetite for lighter alcoholic drinks must operate as a feeder for the places where stronger stimulants may be obtained; and although the operation of the law may in some instances be almost imperceptible, in others it is evident

evident day by day, and in none is it reversed. As we have seen, this has been the case with the beer-house system—if we are right, no other result could be expected. The same inevitable law operates in France and Belgium and in the other countries of the Continent. It is cause of lamentation and alarm to philanthropists abroad that the light wines so much spoken of no longer satisfy the appetite of the people, who are gradually passing over to the consumption of spirits. M. Ducpetiaux, the inspector of prisons under the Belgian government, and many other gentlemen of large experience, are incessant in their efforts to call public attention to this danger. It certainly does appear strange that the general consumption of light wines, which is carrying the people of the Continent *forward* to spirit-drinking, should be said to be the means of drawing our population *back* from the stronger beverages. It is but just, however, to Mr. Gladstone's sagacity to point out that he, at all events, entertains no such expectation. His calculations of revenue are based upon increased consumption, and he expressly discards any notion of decrease of revenue from spirits.

'The reduction,' said he, in his speech in explanation of the budget, 'of the duty on wine from 5*s.* 10*d.* to 3*s.* per gallon will afford a relief of 830,000*l.* to the consumer, and it will entail a loss upon the revenue, *after allowing for an increase of* 35 *per cent. consumption, of* 515,000*l.* The reduction of the duty on brandy from 15*s.* to 8*s.* 2*d.* will give a relief of 446,000*l.* to the consumer; and computing that the consumption will be raised up to the point at which it stood in 1850-51, just before the vine disease appeared, it will entail a loss to the revenue of 225,000*l.*

And on the 30th of March, 1860, when he moved the second reading, he used these words, which are sufficiently explicit to set the question entirely at rest, so far as he was concerned:—

'*I do not believe that the extended use of wine will act very powerfully in limiting or restraining the use of spirits; still less do I believe that it will act powerfully in limiting or restraining the use of beer.*'

If it be granted, then, that by the introduction of the new wine-shops we cannot expect to substitute the drinking of wine for the drinking of spirits, any inquiry as to the comparative sobriety of England and wine-growing countries is beside the question. It might be—though we do not altogether feel certain about it—advantageous to 'substitute,' as Mr. Gladstone phrased it, 'the drunkenness of Paris for the drunkenness of London;' but it cannot be done. So far as the intemperance of Paris is traceable to wine-shops, the measure we are discussing will add the 'drunkenness of Paris to the drunkenness of London.' The real question to be examined, therefore, is the positive, not the comparative sobriety of wine-drinking people; and we propose, as the second branch of our argument, to discuss this only. It would almost seem as though our politicians forget that, until the Revolution, England was a wine and beer but *not* a spirit-drinking country.

It was, nevertheless, a very drunken country. No one acquainted even superficially with the social history of our people but must know that intemperance was one of the most important and disastrous of the national vices long before gin flowed into the country through the channels of political liberty, or the exigencies of the government induced Parliament to promote distillation. A cursory examination of the Statute-book will afford traces of trouble from the earliest times with taverns and ale-houses, and their constant dangers and mischiefs. In a very early number of this Review we took an opportunity of calling the attention of our readers to the legislative history of temperance, and we now, therefore, directing them to that article, content ourselves with a few brief observations.

One of the most recent books published, Dr. Vaughan's on the 'Revolutions of Race in England,' quotes the statement of an ancient chronicler, that in the reign of John, drunkenness, debauchery, and crime pervaded the country, arising out of a system of wine licenses, such as we are discussing.

The Acts of Edward VI. and Elizabeth were directed against wine-drinking; and the remembrance that the gout—'the enemy,' as it was emphatically called at this time, when spirits were in the vasty deep—first made its appearance, should inflict upon some advocates of 'light wines' a mental twinge. Even the staid and virtuous manners of the Commonwealth were overturned by the same potent agency. The author of 'God's Plea for Nineveh' calls his fellow-countrymen the grape-suckers of the earth. 'To be strong to drink wine is become a kind of chivalry; men waging battle at their full bowls as in a pitched field; they who have drunk down most are like them that have knocked down most. Neither could the modesty of the fair sex restrain them from the like excess. We can find a multitude of them intemperate sottish women, who will quaff with the most riotous, and give pledge for pledge, and take off cup for cup.'

The early parliaments of Charles I. were not alarmed by gin-shops, but by wine-taverns; and the enactments of the reign of James I., which serve to empower magistrates to fine the man who has got drunk on spirits to-day, was directed in its provisions against the liquor so favourable, it is said, to sobriety. Even then drunkenness was a 'loathsome sin,' and the people were tempted to haunt taverns 'to the hurt of divers honourable trades, to the dishonour of God, and the discredit of the nation.' By the time of Charles II. the consumption of wine had become so considerable that on the purchase of the wine licenses by Parliament from the Duke of York (afterwards James II.), they were valued at no less than 24,000*l.* per annum. Then came gin and the glorious Revolution.

Nor

Nor is the history of the past in any way contradicted by the experience of the present. It is not true that wine-growing countries are sober. The people of those countries do not exhibit the ordinary phases of British drunkenness, but there is still much of the most dangerous form—excitement. Simply as a social mischief, the beastly, besotted stupor of inebriety is less to be apprehended than the inflammatory and passionate activity, which retains all physical power without any control of reason. But even the people of wine-growing countries, according to the testimony of residents among them, besot themselves. 'I never saw a man drunk,' said a gentleman of high eminence to the writer, speaking of the south of France, where he had resided many years, 'but I seldom saw a man sober; they are always more or less excited or stupefied.'

No doubt, of wine-growing countries, Italy presents the most favourable picture of a sober population; but even there wine produces its peculiar evils.

'Though,' says Cardinal Wiseman, in his 'Recollections of the Last Four Popes,' 'compared with other nations, the Italians cannot be considered as unsober,' 'they are fond of the Osteria and the Bettola, in which they sit and sip for hours.' 'There time is lost, and evil conversation exchanged; there stupid discussions are raised, whence spring noisy brawls, the jar of which kindles fierce passions and sometimes deadly hate: occasionally, even worse ensues. From the tongue, sharpened as a sword, the inward fury flies to the sharper steel lurking in the vest or the legging, and the body, pierced by a fatal wound, stretched on the threshold of the hostelry, proves the deadly violence to which may lead a quarrel over cups.'

It is worth while also to remember that many of the ecclesiastical authorities have been impressed with the importance of temperance in Italy itself.

Lord Acton, while Supreme Judge of Rome (afterwards Cardinal), stated his opinion upon the proportion of crimes which in his country may be traced, for their origin, either to the immoderate use of wine, or to the too great frequenting of public-houses. 'I think,' said he, 'I may fairly record one-third under this head.'

For the last few years, however, even this favourable state of things cannot be associated with wine growing or consumption. The wines consumed by the Italian populace have always been of the lightest character; but even these, by the failure of the grape crop and the increase of price nearly fourfold in consequence, have been placed beyond the reach of the great mass. As a result, it is stated, that great benefits have resulted, there being a visible and important distinction between Italians with even light wine and Italians with little or no wine at all.

But if attention be turned to other countries, the case against wine is still stronger. In Belgium and the north of France we have already said that the social difficulty in regard to in-

temperance

temperance is the growing appetite for spirits, and it would not be very difficult to show that in Paris, at least, the amount of alcohol per head of the population, consumed, is as large as in London. We are, of course, aware that travellers usually express a contrary opinion; but the statistics furnished by wine merchants and by government officials are more authoritative than casual observation. We very much doubt whether the drunkenness of London is obvious to the senses of a traveller who visits it on a tour of pleasure or business. Mark Lane and Mincing Lane, Cheapside or St. Paul's Church Yard, Piccadilly, Regent Street, Pall Mall, or the Parks, will compare favourably with the Champs Elysées or the Boulevards. London has a drunken reputation, Paris a sober one, and the case is prejudged. Those of our readers who have advocated temperance in private or public circles know that there are many Englishmen who, not having seen, refuse to believe the extent of intemperance in their own land. No argument is more usual or hackneyed than that the great mass must not be debarred from enjoyment or liberty because of the *few* members of the family of Stiggins who abuse their liberty. But no such complacency exists among the clergymen, town missionaries, and other workers in Ratcliffe Highway or Bethnal Green; nor would it long remain in the mind of any intelligent traveller who would carefully and candidly investigate the social state of Paris. It is a fact that drunkenness in Paris is on the increase, and that the great danger to order and government in France is to be found in the wine-shops.

We have before us a letter addressed by Mr. E. C. Delavan, of New York, to a friend in America, which has been published in this country. In 1839 he visited Europe, and devoted himself to the investigation of social questions. In the present year, being again upon a tour of pleasure, he felt compelled by the discussion in England to look again at the facts. We give our readers an extract from his statement of the result; and this, it must be remembered, is not hearsay, or hurried inquiry, or careless observation, but the distinct and positive testimony of an eye-witness of the most undoubted credibility.

'I visited one wine-shop with my guide,' says he, 'last evening (April 30th 1860); I saw the proprietor, and told him that I was curious to see his establishment; he was very polite, and sent a person round with us.

'At the lowest, five hundred persons were already assembled, and the people were flocking there in droves; men, women, and children, whole families, young girls alone, boys alone, taking their seats at tables: a mother with an infant on her arm came reeling up one of the passages.

'It was an immense establishment, occupying three sides of a square, three or four stories high, and filling rapidly with wine votaries. I saw hundreds in a state of intoxication, to a greater or less degree. All, or nearly all, had wine before them.

'The attendant stated to me, that the day before (Sunday) at least two thousand

sand visited the establishment, and that the average consumption of wine was two thousand bottles per day.

'This place was considered a rather respectable wine-shop. My guide then took me to another establishment, not ten minutes' ride from the emperor's palace.

'The scene here beggars description. I found myself in a narrow lane, filled with men and women of the lowest grade. The first object which met my sight was a man dragging another out of the den by the hair into the lane. Then commenced a most inhuman fight; at least fifty people were at hand, but not a soul attempted to part the combatants.

'I then entered into the outer room of the establishment, which was packed full of the most degraded human beings I ever beheld, drinking wine, and talking in loud voices. I did not dare to proceed further.

'I was informed by the cabman that, in the establishment last visited, he had seen from eighty to a hundred and fifty lying drunk at a time; that they frequently drank to beastly drunkenness, and remained until the fumes passed off, for if found drunk in the streets the police take them in charge.

'I was told there were hundreds of such places in Paris as I visited last night.'

Such, then, is continental sobriety, and so much for the *additional* obstacles imposed by Government in the way of all agencies for good.

But there remains, as we have seen, a second argument. The wine licences being granted to eating-houses will, it is said, associate eating and drinking, instead of making drinking a sort of duty of itself.

'The definition,' says the Rev. Dr. Burns, in an able letter addressed to the chancellor, 'of an eating-house merely provides that some eatables shall be present, but not that they shall be consumed. There is nothing in the bill, or that could be inserted in it, which would hinder the opening of shops doing a very small trade, or absolutely none, in eatables, and a "driving" trade in wine. Again, if the shop is a *bonâ-fide* eating-house, there is nothing in the bill to prevent persons resorting to it for wine-drinking alone; while, in order to make his wine-trade as flourishing as possible, it might be the shopkeeper's interest to set apart wine-rooms for the accommodation of his customers. You strongly insisted on the salutary effect of joining drinking and eating. Some medical men would dispute this teaching, and all abstainers would deny it in respect to intoxicating drinks. But, granting your view to be correct, have you considered that, while eating naturally satisfies, intoxicating liquor naturally excites, and that the wine at dinner may lead to wine after dinner? The old tavern was never a very sober place of resort, though used for eating as well as drinking purposes; and the licensed victuallers' houses have become, as you confessed, places for drinking almost exclusively. What guarantee can you offer that *many* of the present eating-shops will not equally degenerate? If the frequenters call for wine more than for meat, the owner will only be too happy to oblige them, and to let the course of his trade flow in the direction which gives him least trouble and brings him the greatest gain.'

We conceive this argument to be amply satisfactory.

Only one other branch of the subject yet claims our attention, and in this we may allow ourselves to feel some sympathy with those who have supported the Government measure. There can be little doubt that the bill has been a heavy blow and great discouragement to the licensed victuallers. It has struck directly at their monopoly; and while it has weakened their power, it has, at the same time, exhibited the hollowness of their pretensions to political influence, and the small danger incurred by public men in

setting

setting them at defiance. With the power of temperance sentiment with him, and not against him as in the case of Mr. Gladstone, any minister may safely regard the opposition of the publicans to any measure as comparatively unimportant. But while we rejoice at this, we do not agree with the reasons which are generally assigned in approval of the policy. Many of those who have advocated Mr. Gladstone's wine bill have done so, not from any clearly-defined notion of the effects of the publican monopoly on public morality, or from any desire that the power of the publican should be weakened for any future contest with temperance men, but from a sort of notion that Mr. Gladstone's bill was a development of the principles of free trade. This has been the cant of the last few months' agitation. The truth is, free trade has nothing to do with the question, but it is a very easy argument to put forward. The measure itself is restrictive of trade, not promotive of free trade. Even in wine the trade is not to be free, it is to be licensed and only conducted within strict limitations, while the measure introduces a tax upon the trade in provisions which did not exist before. But further, 'free trade' has no real connection with a discussion of the safety or danger of any particular 'home' trade. Would any free trader feel bound to advocate the removal of all restrictions in the trade in gunpowder, and the allowance of a stock of any amount within a thickly-inhabited town? The principles of free trade involve the abolition of all duties imposed for the sake of 'protection,' and mean no more than this, that the consumer shall be at liberty to buy in the best market, even though that market be a foreign one. But they do not involve the abolition of all laws of internal government necessary for public safety, even though those laws prohibit or restrict trade. Equality and not preference, as the rule of commerce, having been established, other considerations may be admitted to determine the home regulations which necessity or convenience may dictate, and which must be applicable to all alike. This distinction is again and again recognized in the treaty with France, which bears the signature of the greatest free trader. In the seventh article, her Britannic Majesty promises to recommend to Parliament to admit into the United Kingdom merchandise imported from France at a rate of duty equal to the excise duty which is or shall be imposed upon articles of the same description in the United Kingdom. The customs is removed, but the foreign produce is placed not upon more favourable, but simply upon equal terms, with the producer at home.

'It is understood,' says article 9th, 'between the two high contracting powers, that if one of them thinks it necessary to establish an excise-tax or inland-duty upon any article of home production or manufacture which is comprised among the preceding enumerated articles, the foreign imported article of the same description may be immediately liable to an equivalent duty on importation.'

But

But we are not blind to the fact that the great controversy which has yet to be decided in reference to the liquor traffic will turn on this point. The entire licence system must certainly be brought before the legislature for discussion, and the alternatives of prohibition of the common sale of or open trade in drink will, in our opinion, alone present themselves. It is suicidal for temperance men to expend their energies in seeking to patch up and amend a system so rotten as the licence system; their true policy must be, by constant agitation and discussion of a principle, to prepare the public mind. The public mind will never be prepared for prohibition but by the discussion of prohibition; and it will depend upon the unanimity and energy with which temperance men pursue this course, whether the Permissive Maine Law movement in this country shall achieve a rapid success, or be postponed until the desperate mischief of open trade drive the legislature to a course which, if adopted now, would save years of disaster and disgrace to the country.

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ART. VII. *Statistics of New Zealand for* 1858, *compiled from Official Records.* Auckland: 1860.

IT was only in the year 1842 that New Zealand became a British colony. It had been visited on several occasions by the veteran colonial chaplain, the Rev. Samuel Marsden, who may well be styled the apostle of New Zealand. To his civilizing and christianizing influence, much of the success which has crowned European emigration into that interesting colony must be attributed. He had made the acquaintance of a native on board ship, on his return voyage to New South Wales. By means of the kindness which he showed to this unfortunate man, Mr. Marsden's way was opened to the career of philanthropy, which led him to make seven voyages to New Zealand, and which contributed greatly to the advancement of the people. Duaterra, the native referred to, was taught agriculture by him, and was furnished with wheat for sowing. When the grain grew there was no mill to grind it, and savage ingenuity did not even devise the *quern*, or hollow stone in which to pound the grain. Mr. Marsden sent a hand-mill for grinding corn, which occasioned vast surprise among the people. He also conveyed implements of industry, and introduced the horse, the cow, and the sheep. These various acts of kindness prepared the way for the introduction of the Gospel, and Mr. Marsden was received with unusual confidence by a people who had long been cannibals. At one visit he was the means of promoting peace among contending tribes, and on his next visit each rival chieftain wished the missionary settlement to be within his own domain. The Wesleyan Missionary Society early sent

some zealous labourers into this interesting field, and they have reaped their wonted success. The Maories are now, nominally at least, almost all Christians. There are several Maori clergymen in the Episcopal Church, besides a band of zealous native assistant ministers among the Wesleyans.

The first attempt to colonize New Zealand was made in 1839, previously to which time no white men, except the missionaries, and runaway seamen or convicts, resided there. Still more recently, great efforts have been made to plant settlements; and the progress has been rapid, and the results most satisfactory. There are now six provinces in the colony: Wellington, on the eastern side of Cook's Strait; Auckland, and New Plymouth in the North Island; Nelson, Canterbury, and Otago in the Middle Island. Otago was colonized by a zealous band of Presbyterians belonging to the Free Church of Scotland in 1848. These took with them the ecclesiastical and educational organization which they had at home, and set apart a portion of their land for the maintenance of Christian ordinances. The Rev. Thomas Burns, a nephew of the poet, and who had resigned a valuable living in the Church of Scotland at the disruption in 1843, was the first minister. This colony has prospered largely. There are now 6,944 Europeans inhabiting it, of whom about 5,000 are Presbyterians. In the town of Dunedin, the capital of the province, there are 1,712 souls. Canterbury was a settlement formed by members of the Church of England, and was first occupied in 1850. 'The site made choice of possessed a harbour of its own, an immense extent of land, which it was supposed might easily be brought under cultivation, and removed from danger of disturbance from the natives, of whom there were but few, an extent of grazing country unequalled in New Zealand, and a territory "every way available for being formed into a province, with a separate legislature." The plan was to sell the land at an additional price, and appropriate one-third of the cost to ecclesiastical purposes. The sums thus realized by sales of land were to be placed at the disposal of an ecclesiastical committee, who were empowered to make such arrangements as they might think fit, to organize an endowed church in the colony.' Within a year after the arrival of the first band, three thousand emigrants were in the province. The towns of Lyttleton and Christchurch were founded. The former of these now contains 1,135 persons, and the latter, 1,443. In neither of these settlements has there been any exclusion of other sects. Episcopalians abound in Otago, and Presbyterians in Canterbury; and Protestant dissenters, Roman Catholics, and Jews are found in both. All have their separate places of worship. The other colonies have been settled in the ordinary way; but the tone given by the Otago and Canterbury associations has influenced all, so that

that there is a good ecclesiastical and educational apparatus already set up throughout New Zealand. This will appear in the census returns which we now present to our readers. Through the courtesy and kindness of the Honourable E. W. Stafford, Colonial Secretary, we have been favoured with an early copy of the 'Statistics of New Zealand for 1858, compiled from Official Records.'

First of all, let us extract the returns of population. In 1858 there were of Europeans in the following provinces:—

Auckland, 18,117; New Plymouth (since altered to Taranaki), 2,650; Wellington, 11,753; Hawke's Bay, 1,514; Nelson, 9,272; Canterbury, 8,967; Otago, 6,944; district of Stewart's Island, 51. Total, 59,328. But there were of military and their families, 1,896; making a total of Europeans, 61,224. During the septennial period since the census was taken in 1851, there has been an increase from 26,707, or equal to 12·2 per cent. Of the whole, males preponderate by the large number of 8,000. Of the Europeans above twelve years of age, 25 per cent. cannot read or write, 11 per cent. can read only, and 63 per cent. can do both. The aggregate numbers attending schools were 9,672. As to religious profession, the numbers stand as follows:—Church of England, 30,492; Presbyterians, 11,513; Roman Catholics, 6,592; Wesleyan Methodists, 5,387; Congregationalists, 1,280; Baptists, 1,259; Primitive Methodists, 563; Lutherans, 425; Hebrews, 188; Society of Friends, 109; other denominations, 968; of no denomination, 592.

The distribution of occupations is thus registered:—Persons engaged in commerce and manufacture, 1,813; agricultural and pastoral, 4,416; mechanics and artificers, 4,579; clerical profession, 145; legal profession, 74; medical profession, 123; teachers, 206; surveyors, 110; other educated professions, 297; labourers, 4,061; domestic servants, 1,927; miscellaneous, 2,592; no occupation stated (principally women and children), 38,985.

The aboriginal population amounted to the following numbers:—In Auckland, 38,269; New Plymouth, 3,015; Wellington, 8,099; Hawke's Bay, 3,673; Nelson, 1,120; Canterbury, 638; Otago, 525; Stewart's Land and Ruapeke (estimated), 200; Chatham Island, 510. Total, 56,049. We are not informed of the increase or decrease of the natives; but we apprehend that the decrease is rapid. The males abound by 7,000 over the females, which is a most anomalous condition of population in any land being the mother-country of a people.

Material prosperity has been most remarkable during the septennial period. Live stock has increased from 299,115 in 1851, to 1,727,997 in 1858; and land under crop from 29,140 to 140,965 acres, while land fenced has advanced from 30,470 to 235,488 acres. In 1858, 339 vessels, representing an aggregate burthen of

90,188

90,188 tons, entered inwards, and 322 cleared outwards. 'The tables relating to trade and interchange are given as heretofore, (says the Registrar-General), 'both in detail and in condensed summaries; the latter being the most generally acceptable, as compendious modes of conveying all the information desired by readers out of the colony. It will be seen that the total value of imports has increased, within the period included in these summaries, from 597,827*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.* in 1853, to 1,141,273*l.* 6*s.* 10*d.* in 1858. In the summaries of exports, the rapid advance in the exportation of wool claims special notice, the value having increased from 66,507*l.* 19*s.* in 1853, to 254,024*l.* 16*s.* in 1858. Gold appears for the first time in a separate table, showing an export of gold, the produce of the colony, to the value of 52,443*l.* 16*s.* 1*d.* in 1858, which, added to that exported in 1857, makes a total, to the 31st December, 1858, of 92,886*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.*

The revenue of the colony, ordinary and territorial, has increased from 149,820*l.* 8*s.* 7*d.* in 1853, to 341,654*l.* 15*s.* 2*d.* in 1858. During the year last mentioned, 147,539*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* were received from the sale of crown lands. The customs revenue amounted to 151,636*l.* 9*s.* 11*d.*, of which 80,051*l.* 7*s.* 1*d.* were from intoxicating drinks. We shall notice the effect of this last item on the moral statistics. In the six years ending with 1858, there were 12,558 convictions of all kinds of offences, committed both by Europeans and Maories; but 6,659 of these were for drunkenness. This is to be viewed apart from the Maories, of whom not more than 42 in any year—and that is the largest number—were convicted of drunkenness. If, then, the common sale of ardent spirits were and had been prohibited, what a happy colony New Zealand might have been! But by taking the vice of the mother-country into their antipodal abode, they disfigure their calendar by the drunkenness which is our blot at home. What advantages prohibition and abstinence would have been to social economy the vast sums expended in drink attest. Where land is cheap, how much valuable property might have been acquired!

The prices of provisions in this colony will interest our readers. They vary considerably in different provinces. Beer is 6*l.* per hogshead in Nelson, and 9*l.* 10*s.* at Hawke's Bay. Butter is 1*s.* per lb. at New Plymouth, and 2*s.* at Hawke's Bay. Horned cattle average from 8*l.* to 15*l.* Horses for draught from 30*l.* to 80*l.* Beef is from 4*d.* to 8*d.* per lb. Milk 4*d.* to 6*d.* per quart. Sugar from 4*d.* to 7*d.* per lb. Tea 2*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.*

The total numbers of letters received and despatched in six years amount to 1,147,697, and of newspapers 1,643,582. Savings-banks have 715 depositors, and 15,752*l.* deposited, of which 47 Maories have 911*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.* The total amounts sued for in the magistrates' courts in 1858 were 61,558*l.* 11*s.* 9½*d.*, of which 31,821*l.* 7*s.* 3½*d.*

31,821*l.* 7*s.* 3¼*d.* were recovered. The Maories were concerned in 339 civil cases, of which they were defendants in 224, and they recovered 1,142*l.* There were only 53 cases in which they went to law with one another, while the Europeans had 4,174 cases among themselves.

Many interesting topics are suggested by the census returns; but we have preferred to let them speak for themselves. We have given our readers the benefit of a report which few may have an opportunity of perusing.

## ART. VIII.—RECORD OF SOCIAL POLITICS.

SOCIAL Science and Social Politics are phrases of such large and elastic import, that they seem to embrace, and certainly touch, almost every public question and movement. It is, therefore, impossible, in a few brief paragraphs, to give anything more than a glance at some of the most interesting social events and proceedings of the quarter.

In an article on 'Continental Sobriety and Mr. Gladstone's Wine Bill,' the reader will find embodied some facts and statements bearing upon one of the most important public questions of the day, as affecting the social condition of the people. Mr. Gladstone's unique measure, conceived with the double-minded view of promoting national 'sobriety and morals' on the one hand, and of raising 'money supplies' for the State coffers on the other, has had to pass through a severe contest. Contrary to his promises and professions, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, having wriggled the measure through the Lower House, as a bill more within the province of the Home Secretary than the Finance Minister, sent it hissing hot through the House of Lords as a 'Supply Bill,' not to be touched by the little finger of the peers, on pain of impeachment for treason against the Constitution. Under these circumstances, with the Paper Duty quarrel unadjusted, it is not surprising that the lords declined to discuss the merits of a bill they had no power to amend. Still the measure was not allowed to go through the forms of the House without some scathing remarks and denunciations from several of the lay peers. The lords spiritual, it would seem, have no strong aversion to free trade in light wines, containing 40 per cent. of proof spirit, to be sold wholesale and retail everywhere, and by anybody who can pay a small fee to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Lord Brougham, when presenting the petition of the Executive Council of the United Kingdom Alliance against the Wine Licenses Bill, said: 'These gentlemen (the Alliance) argue at great length against the bill now before your lordships, considering that the bill will increase the consumption of wines and other liquors more or less connected with alcohol; and that this increase will not be confined to particular classes, but will tend to the general increase of intemperate habits, against which they protest, and argue at great length and with great force.' These pregnant words sufficiently indicate the view and judgment of Lord Brougham in regard to the measure; and no one can doubt but that his lordship would have put all his force of logic and eloquence against the scheme, had it come before the House on moral and social grounds, and not as a piece of finance. In presenting a petition from 'a most respectable body of persons residing at Bradford, who had for some time past been very active in promoting the cause of temperance,' his lordship significantly remarked: 'The petitioners were surprised that, when they were making progress in their movement, *the legislature was doing all it could to retard it.*'

The Earl of Shaftesbury, the Earl of Harrington, the Earl of Donoughmore, Lord Denman, and Lord Redesdale all spoke against the bill. The Earl of Harrington's speech was earnest, advanced, and truth-telling, and could not but make the money Chancellor wince. The Earl of Wicklow complained that the bill did not include

Ireland

Ireland and Scotland, saying, with more wit than wisdom, 'It will not do to tell me that, because these two portions of the empire are deprived of parliamentary reform, they are also to be deprived of the benefits and advantages of beverage reform. (Laughter.)' Lord Denman and the Earl of Harrington divided the House, spite of the injunctions of political chiefs, who evidently feared being pushed into another conflict with the House of Commons on a question of 'supplies.' Of course the bill was carried—36 lords, including 2 bishops, voting for it.

The following Protests against the bill have been since entered on the journal of the House of Lords:—

'Protest by the Earl of Harrington against the Refreshment Houses and Wine Licenses Bill.

'Dissentient—

'1. Because the Free-Trade Wine Bill of 1860 is dishonoured by its connection with the [tax on] eating-houses.

'2. Because this bill will tend to convert eating-houses, which are innocent places of recreation and refreshment, into resorts of vice like beer-houses.

'3. Because the measure is opposed to the wishes of the labouring classes, who are in favour of a Prohibitory Permissive Bill, enabling the ratepayers to decide in their localities for or against the sale of strong liquors in public-houses.

'4. Because the drinking habits of the people are rated by the judges as the great source of crime.

'5. Because it is criminal to sanction a traffic that leads the labouring man into temptation, that poisons his brain with alcohol, that injures his health, beggars his family, lessens his productive power, and diminishes the nation's wealth.

'6. Because the licensed drinking-house system has been denounced by the House of Lords in 1734 as to gin, and in 1850 as to beer, and by the House of Commons in 1834 as to spirits, wine, and beer.

7. Because the people of England, Ireland, and Scotland, and chiefly the working classes, tax themselves 57 millions yearly for beer, wine, spirits, and tobacco, the latter two containing no nourishment, and they are all the fertile source of disease, vice, and crime.

'8. Because all experience proves that the greater the number of public-houses where strong liquors are sold, the greater the drunkenness and crime.

'9. Because in 1743 the bishops denounced the Gin Bill with matchless eloquence; but this bill was not debated by the bishops, who were absent, or passive at their posts.

'HARRINGTON.'

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'Protest of Lords Denman and Dungannon against the Third Reading of Refreshment-Houses and Wine Licenses Bill.

'Dissentient—

'1. Because it is inexpedient to pass a bill which can only be temporary, whilst a new and general regulation is rendered by it more than ever necessary for all houses, whether licensed by the magistrates or the Excise, for the sale of wine, and spirits, and beer, or of beer only.

'2. Because the veto pointed out by this bill is difficult to be carried out, and has no reference to the opinions of a neighbourhood as to the necessity for the number of refreshment-houses required therein; whilst it takes away from the magistrates the power they at present possess (in part) of controlling the sale of foreign wine.

'3. Because the notice of application for licenses for refreshment-houses, being placed on church doors, is a reference to a subject entirely different from that of religion.

'4. Because while this bill defines "refreshment-houses" as houses open between nine at night and five in the morning, it requires every vendor of eatables who may close his house as early as eleven at night to take out a "refreshment-house" license, and to be subject to domiciliary visits from the police (without any complaint from any informer or from the neighbours) until five o'clock in the morning.

'Because the retailing of wine of all descriptions, Spanish, Portuguese, French, or German, in any description of shop, without any limit as to number, will interfere with ordinary branches of trade, and cause great interruptions in the ordinary course of business, and a great waste of time; whilst those who have a character for importing pure wines will find it difficult to maintain their ground against unlimited competition.

'DENMAN.
'DUNGANNON.'

Bills

Bills for extending the Wine Licenses to Scotland and Ireland have been prepared, and whilst we write, are being pressed through the Commons. Being 'money bills,' they will of course go through both Houses. The Commons want supplies, and the Lords have no power to refuse. The people are obliged to submit until the next general election.

That able and philanthropic judge, the learned Recorder of Birmingham, has spoken out nobly upon the Government measure to prevent temperance and raise taxes, by extending the sale of wines. At the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace for the borough of Birmingham, Mr. Recorder Hill, after speaking of the open desecration of the Sabbath by Birmingham traders, alluded, in condemnatory terms, to the New Wine Licenses Bill. He said that Government had entered into a treaty with France which rendered it incumbent on this country to lower the duties of French wines. This reduction would cause a greater consumption; and then arose the question—Who are to be the consumers? Not those who drank beer, he hoped, because he thought they had enough of the intoxicating liquor at present; and not those who drank spirits, because they had too much now. Were those who were temperate, and at present confined themselves to the harmless beverage, water, to become vast consumers of French wines? Or, were the present consumers of wine to be allowed to increase that consumption? One could hardly suppose that either of these classes could furnish the additional consumer; but the additional consumers must be furnished somehow; and though he felt assured that the measure had been introduced with every desire to benefit the country, he could not but fear, wishing at the same time that he might be mistaken, that it would not promote the sobriety of the people. He was addressing them in no partisan spirit, but from a stern sense of duty. He sat there day after day, and year after year, to try prisoners. He tried always to ascertain what was the cause of their crimes, and from the long experience he had had, having sat in criminal courts for forty years, he had found that, in almost every case, drinking had something to do with the crime; sometimes it was traceable to the drinking habits of the criminal, and sometimes it arose from the drinking habits of the victim, whose state of intoxication acted as a temptation to lead persons to do him wrong.

Lord Chelmsford's bill for lessening the amount of Sunday trading in the metropolis has passed through the Lords, but is being obstructed in the Commons, on the ground that it contains some money clauses (fines), and, having originated with the Lords, is therefore not strictly constitutional.

Mr. Crook's bill for lessening the hours of labour in bleach-works and dye-works, similar to the provisions of the Factory Act, has been adopted by the House of Commons, on second reading, and will most likely pass the Lords. Another useful measure, the Mines Regulation and Inspection Bill, has passed into committee on the clauses, and will doubtless become law. These are measures which all social reformers must take special interest in, seeing that they tend to protect human life, health, and morals.

Lord Redesdale's bill to regulate the weights of the running horses at races, on the second reading, was warmly debated, and withdrawn.

Mrs. Swinfen's case against Lord Chelmsford has again been adjudicated upon. This time the judgment is adverse to Mrs. Swinfen. Chief Baron Pollock decides that, 'provided an advocate acts honestly, with a view to the interest of his client, he is not responsible at all in an action.' Of course it will never be possible to prove that counsel act with any other view, however much he may blunder or bungle his case, or compromise the character and cash of his client. Leave was given by the Lord Chief Baron to appeal against the judgment of the court.

That great social and political question of a reform in the representation of the people, has been largely debated in the People's House, but has been dismissed till a more convenient season. Who killed the measure it would be difficult to say, but had the cabinet been half as anxious to carry it as were one or two of them to secure the Wine Licenses Bill, it would not have passed away as an abortive effort.

A select committee of the House of Commons, moved for by Sir John Trelawney, sat several days in March, to take evidence in respect to opening public institutions in the evenings. The evidence, along with the report, are now published. Several places are indicated

indicated that might be opened in the evenings—the National Gallery, some departments of the British Museum, the Tower, the East India Museum, the Geological Museum, and the Houses of Parliament during the recess. The committee report in favour of opening such institutions in the evening, and recommend simple catalogues, sold at small cost, and occasional short popular lectures; and also that surplus works of art and duplicate specimens from the museums be exhibited in different parts of the metropolis, wherein responsible parties will provide suitable premises. This is a most excellent suggestion, and it is to be hoped that it will be carried out, not only in the metropolis, but throughout the nation. Some extra attractions and ameliorations will be required to keep the young people out of the Chancellor's new wine taverns.

A preliminary meeting has been held at Glasgow to make arrangements for the reception of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science in September next. The Lord Provost was in the chair, and a numerous attendance was gathered. A large general committee was appointed, the Lord Provost being convener. James M'Clelland, Esq., jun., was appointed treasurer, and Mr. A. B. M'Grigor, Mr. J. Wyllie Guild, and Dr. Blackie were invited to act as secretaries. The meetings of the Association are to commence on Monday, the 24th of September, and will continue during the week.

Some frightful railway accidents have recently occurred, one of a most extraordinary and terrific character, at the London terminus of the Great Northern Railway, King's Cross, to a return excursion train, conveying passengers from the large towns in the north of England. It would be well if a select committee, or royal commission, were appointed to inquire into the connection between these accidents and the strong drink sold at railway refreshment rooms, to the companies' men, whose drunkenness is the cause of such enormous sacrifices of railway property and human life.

The new Census Bill is the subject of much newspaper remark, and public meetings are being held to protest against the clause requiring persons to state their religious professions. The clause will surely be withdrawn.

Those distinguished veteran philanthropists, Lord Brougham and the Lord Bishop of Oxford, have been attending a series of large public meetings in Manchester, Leeds, and Liverpool, advocating with eloquent earnestness the claims of a new mission to Central Africa, hoping, as Lord Brougham remarked in his Manchester speech, 'that it would be found a powerful agency in aid of the termination of that guilty traffic (the slave trade), and trusting that the native chiefs of Africa would be led by increased knowledge to the promotion of civilized industry, instead of lending themselves to the purposes of the slaveholder.'

A select committee of the House of Commons, appointed to consider the best means of settling disputes between masters and operatives, has recommended the establishment of courts of conciliation, more especially in the manufacturing, commercial, and mining districts.

Lord Brougham has introduced an important bill into Parliament, intended to amend the law of evidence. Mr. Ewart's bill to abolish professional oaths has passed a second reading in the Commons, the Home Secretary giving it support. Lord Raynham's Aggravated Assaults on Women Bill has been rejected by the Lower House, having passed the House of Lords; the principal objection of the Commons being, that the infliction of corporal punishment would prevent the wife giving evidence against the husband. The Permissive Bill of the United Kingdom Alliance would be the best antidote to the growing evil alluded to, as it would prevent nineteen out of twenty of the assaults being committed.

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ART.

# ART. IX.—LITERARY REVIEWS.

*Ishmael; or a Natural History of Islamism, and its Relation to Christianity.* By the Rev. Dr. J. M. Arnold. Formerly Church Missionary in Asia and Africa. London: Rivingtons, 1859.

THIS work is full of a vast amount of learning, brought to bear on a most philanthropic object. Dr. Arnold divides his work into two parts, as indicated by his title. In the first we are introduced to the forerunners of Mohammed, the land of Islamism, the age, history, and character of Mohammed, the history and dogmas of the Koran, what Mohammed borrowed from Judaism and from Christianity, the spread and success of Islamism, and its character and influence. In the second part there is a contrast drawn between Christianity and Islamism, and those points in the former which are affected by the latter brought strongly out and defended. After the recent events in India, and the long neglect of the Arabs, it is high time that the Christian public of England made some special effort to propagate the Gospel among Mohammedans. Dr. Arnold keeps this in view throughout his work; and we trust that a book so full of facts and arguments may obtain a large circulation. Social amelioration to a great extent, especially among women, would take place were Islamism to give way to the beneficial influence of the religion of Jesus.

*Why I have taken the Pledge; or, an Apology for Total Abstinence and the Permissive Maine Law.* By the Dean of Carlisle. London: Hatchard, 1860.

THE Dean of Carlisle, while he was the respected incumbent of Cheltenham, was well known as a great friend of education. The institutions which stud the beautiful town where he so long ministered will remain as monuments of his public spirit and philanthropy. His elevation to a deanery has not abated any of his zeal. His eye is as open to inquiry, and his hand to labour as ever. And having seen that education is not sufficient to cure the English sin of drunkenness, he has thrown his influence into the scale of temperance, that he may benefit his fellow-countrymen. In the pamphlet before us he assigns his reasons for so doing. These reasons are conclusive, and cannot fail to speak to the heart of all who peruse his paper. It is a hopeful sign of the temperance cause when church dignitaries are taking it by the hand. The Dean of Carlisle is not the man to flinch, and we rejoice to observe that he is as ready to advocate with his voice as with his pen. While giving the example of Total Abstinence, he cordially supports the United Kingdom Alliance in agitating for the removal of the temptation. The Permissive Bill has his thorough sympathy. This pamphlet ought to be extensively circulated among the clergy and people generally. We would be glad to see a penny edition, for more extensive circulation.

*The Other Side: an Examination of an Article in the 'National Review' for January,* 1860, entitled 'Intemperance: its Causes and Cures.' By the Rev. Dawson Burns. Manchester: United Kingdom Alliance.

THIS is a thorough examination, exposure, and refutation of the fallacies, follies, and objections of the National Reviewer. Mr. Burns classifies his remarks under these heads: 1. The Reviewer's Aspersions; 2. His Objections; 3. His Concessions; 4. His Suggestions; and lastly, his Omissions. Each point is dealt with in an able and crushing manner. Temperance men seem ever ready to meet their adversaries—to take advantage of weaknesses. To them it is matter of gratification when their enemy prints a book, for it is immediately answered. Every objection serves as a new peg to exhibit their noble and glorious cause. This pamphlet has an interest independent of the controversy, and deserves to be circulated at a time like this.

*Politics of Temperance;* a Series of Monthly Papers of the United Kingdom Alliance.

WE have already drawn the attention of our readers to these admirable papers, as they were issued separately. In this collected form we have six very able essays on the great question of the liquor traffic. Besides being of service

service to the people at large, every elector ought to possess a copy, and every member of the legislature ought to be supplied with one by some of his constituents.

*The Lost Jewel.* A Tale. By A. L. O. E. London: J. F. Shaw, 1860.

THE popular author of this tale has produced a story of unflagging interest and excellent moral, such as young persons may read with profit.

*The Book for All Ages.* By the author of 'Have You?'

THIS work contains a collection of stories, original and edited. They are touching and impressive, with a decidedly religious tone. The book is beautifully got up, and is well adapted to the young.

*Glimpses of our Heavenly Home; or, Destiny of the Glorified.* By the Rev. Edwin Davies, of Stroud. Second Edition. Heylin.

THIS is a beautiful book: it treats a profoundly interesting subject in a manner that ought to make it a favourite in every Christian family. The author has succeeded in condensing nearly all the information that can be gathered from revelation concerning the future state into a short compass, beginning with 'Anticipations of our Heavenly Home,' and closing with 'Celestial Employments,' he has swept over a vast range of truth, and clothed his thoughts in language that glows and burns with poetic fire. Almost every page is studded with choice quotations from our best writers, both in prose and verse, that display wide and careful reading. We cordially recommend the book, and think that no Christian can read it without feeling at the close like John Bunyan, who, when he got a glimpse of his pilgrim as he entered the city of God, and of the glory, exclaimed, 'Which when I saw I wished myself amongst them.'

*The Song of Christ's Flock in the Twenty-third Psalm.* By John Stoughton. London: Nisbet and Co.

THIS work, as the title indicates, contains an exposition of that exquisitely beautiful and precious portion of God's word, the twenty-third Psalm. This exposition is divided into thirteen discourses, which the eloquent author says were addressed to his own flock at the beginning of the year. If such be fair specimens of his ordinary pulpit exercises, his flock may well felicitate themselves on being privileged to listen to his teaching. The discourses, albeit brief, are correct in exegesis, scriptural in doctrine, and suffused with profound and tender feeling. Many devout believers will ponder them with more than ordinary pleasure and advantage.

*Notes on Nursing: what it is, and what it is not.* By Florence Nightingale. London: Harrison.

THE name of Miss Nightingale on any work would secure the circulation of a large edition; but a pamphlet on her noble mission, and any hints for the better construction of hospitals, or an improved mode of nursing the sick, cannot fail to be received with attention. Her noble self-devotion to the wounded soldiers at Scutari, and her self-denying labours amidst dirt, disease, and death, will ever make her name a household word in England, and give her memory the influence of example when she is gone. Great as was the gratitude to this heroic lady for her generous philanthropy during the Russian war—gratitude which was expressed in a national gift—deep has been the sympathy and sorrow of the people at large on account of her serious illness, the sad result of her self-sacrifice for the suffering soldier. We sincerely trust that her valuable life may be spared. Unable, from the state of her health, to organize the institution for the training of nurses, she has embodied some practical suggestions of great value to all houses and to all women. In the pamphlet before us she addresses herself directly to the point in view, and with practical wisdom advances truths of which we have been too long and sinfully ignorant. They refer to very common things; but in which very much of life, health, and comfort are bound up. She does not intend her 'Notes' to be 'a rule of thought by which nurses can teach themselves to nurse, still less as a manual to teach others to nurse. They are meant simply to give hints for thought to women who have personal charge of the health of others. Every woman, or at least almost every woman, in England has, at some time or other of her life, charge of the personal health of somebody, whether child or invalid: in

in other words, every woman is a nurse.' Seeing that this is the case, and that so much depends on the first principles of sanitary knowledge, Miss Nightingale says: 'How immense and how valuable would be the produce of her united experience if every woman would *think* how to nurse!'

In her 'Notes' she endeavours to suggest such thoughts as would aid nursing, and the knowledge of those principles which would assist its practice. These relate to the following subjects:—Ventilation and warming, health of houses, petty management, noise, variety, taking food, what food? bed and bedding, light, cleanliness of rooms and walls, personal cleanliness, chattering hopes and advices, observation of the sick. They are all treated with great common-sense, a rich vein of humour, and a plainness that the most stupid can understand. Were these only made the subject of study and practice in ordinary nursing the sick and attending to the well, diseases would, in many cases, be prevented, and be more easily arrested when they seized a patient.

'The very first course of nursing,' says Miss Nightingale, 'the first and last thing upon which a nurse's attention must be fixed, the first essential to the patient, without which all the rest you can do for him is as nothing, with which, I had almost said, you may leave all the rest alone, is this: TO KEEP THE AIR HE BREATHES AS PURE AS THE EXTERNAL AIR WITHOUT CHILLING HIM. Yet what is so little attended to? Even where it is thought of at all, the most extraordinary misconceptions reign about it. Even in admitting air into the patient's room or ward, few people ever think where that air comes from. It may come from a corridor into which other wards are ventilated, from a hall always unaired, always full of the fumes of gas, dinner, of various kinds of mustiness: from an underground kitchen, sink, washhouse, water-closet, or even, as I myself have had sorrowful experience, from open sewers loaded with filth; and with this the patient's room or ward is aired, as it is called—poisoned, it should rather be said. Always air from the air without, and that, too, through those windows through which the air comes freshest. From a closed court, especially if the wind do not blow that way, air may come as stagnant as from a hall or corridor. . . . With a proper supply of windows, and a proper supply of fuel in open fireplaces, fresh air is comparatively easy to secure when your patient or patients are in bed. Never be afraid of open windows then. People don't catch cold in bed. This is a popular fallacy. With proper bedclothes and hot bottles, if necessary, you can always keep a patient warm in bed and well ventilate him at the same time.'

It would be of very great consequence if the air-test of Dr. Angus Smith could be made generally useful, and as cheap and portable as a common thermometer. This would arouse the anxieties of parents and of relations. Regarding the school 'we should hear parents saying, and saying rightly, "I will not send my children to that school, the air-test stands at 'Horrid.'" And again: 'Scarlet fever would be no more ascribed to contagion, but to its right cause, the air-test standing at "Foul."'

With regard to the health of houses, we are told by our fair monitor, that that there are *five* essential points—Pure air—pure water—efficient drainage—cleanliness—and light. 'God,' she says, 'has laid down certain physical laws. Upon His carrying out such laws depends our responsibility (that much-abused word), for how could we have any responsibility for actions, the results of which we could not foresee—which would be the case if the carrying out of His laws were *not* certain? Yet we seem to be continually expecting that He will work a miracle, *i.e.*, break His own laws expressly to relieve us of responsibility.'

A word upon *dusting* may be appropriately introduced, as very much of health results from the proper mode of performing that every-day exercise. 'No particle of dust is ever or can ever be removed or really got rid of by the present system of dusting. Dusting in these days means nothing but flapping the dust from one part of a room on to another with doors and windows closed. What you do it for I cannot think. You had much better leave the dust alone, if you are not going to take it away altogether. For from the time a room begins to be a room up to the time when it ceases to be one, no one atom of dust ever actually leaves its precincts. Tidying a room

room means nothing now but removing a thing from one place, which it has kept clean for itself, on to another and a dirtier one. Flapping by way of cleaning is only admissible in the case of pictures, or anything made of paper. The only way I know to *remove* dust—the plague of all lovers of fresh air—is to wipe everything with a damp cloth. And all furniture ought to be so made as that it may be wiped with a damp cloth without injury to itself, and so polished as that it may be damped without injury to others. To dust, as it is now practised, truly means to distribute dust more equally over a room.'

Miss Nightingale does not favour carpets in sick rooms, unless they are frequently taken up and cleaned. She condemns the papered wall as the worst. The painted wall, from which you can wash the animal exuviæ, or the varnished paper, only receives her approbation. But 'the best wall for a sick room or ward that could be made, is pure, white, non-absorbent cement or glass, or glazed tiles, if they were made sightly enough.'

*Personal cleanliness* is of the utmost consequence to the preservation or restoration of health. Yet how few are aware that 'in many of the most important diseases, nature relieves herself almost entirely by the skin!' Hence the need of frequently opening the pores and clearing away the defilement which so rapidly collects there. Few, also, are aware how to clean the skin. This is Miss Nightingale's recipe: 'Take a rough towel, dip one corner in very hot water—if a little spirit be added it will be more effectual—and then rub as if you were rubbing the towel into your skin with your fingers. The black flakes which will come off will convince you that you were not clean before, however much soap and water you have used. These flakes are what require removing. And you can really keep yourself cleaner with a tumbler of hot water and a rough towel and rubbing, than with a whole apparatus of bath and soap and sponge, without rubbing. It is quite nonsense to say that anybody need be dirty. Patients have been kept as clean by these means on a long voyage, when a basinful of water could not be afforded, and when they could not be moved out of their berths, as if all the appurtenances of home had been at hand.'

These quotations will show the reader what is the practical value of the 'Notes on Nursing' which Miss Nightingale has published. We trust that all our readers will procure and peruse the pamphlet for themselves, that they will give it to their wives and daughters. The topics referred to are such as should enter into the common education of every woman; and into the professional training of all female teachers of schools, and all who go out as nurses. Much happiness would be transfused throughout society, general health be greatly preserved, many children saved from an early death, and patients in sick rooms or in hospitals be much more skilfully nursed and restored. 'On women,' says our authoress, 'we must depend, first and last, for personal and household hygiene—for preventing the race from degenerating in as far as these things are concerned. Would not the true way of infusing the art of preserving its own health into the human race be to teach the female part of it in schools and hospitals, both by practical teaching and by simple experiments, in as far these illustrate what may be called the theory of it?'

*Domestic Servants, as they are and as they ought to be. A few friendly hints to employers.* By a Practical Mistress of a Household. London: Tweedie.

*The Comparative Properties of Human and Animal Milks.* By M. A. Baines. London: Churchill.

*The Practice of Hiring Wet-nurses (especially those from the fallen) considered as it affects Public Health and Public Morals.* By M. A. Baines.

*A Few Friendly Words to Young Mothers.* By one of the Maternity. London: Wertheim and Macintosh.

*A Few Words on Woman's Work: shewing the paramount importance of Home Duties.* By M. A. Baines.

*Married Women at Home.* By H. Stallwood.

THESE pamphlets are issued in connexion with the Ladies' Sanitary Association, and are deserving of a very wide circulation. The subjects which they discuss are of more vital moment to society than is generally believed. Much credit is therefore due to the ladies who have written such able and practical papers, and who are endeavouring with commendable zeal to carry

carry out their views. We sincerely trust the Association will extend its influence and be multiplied by branches in every large town. The reformation of home will go far to cure many of the miseries, vices, and diseases which prevail, and save many a child from a premature death. If our readers peruse and circulate these pamphlets they will do a good work.

*The Magdalen's Friend.* Edited by a Clergyman. London: Nisbet & Co.

THIS is a monthly magazine issued in connection with the efforts now being made to put down or allay 'the Social Evil.' It is well edited and admirably adapted to its object.

*Danesbury House.* By Mrs. Henry Wood. Glasgow: The Scottish Temperance League. 1860.

A PRIZE of 100*l.* was given for this tale, which is 'illustrative of the injurious effects of intoxicating drinks, the advantages of personal abstinence, and the demoralizing operations of the liquor traffic.' These themes are strikingly portrayed in a well-told tale. The drunken cases introduced are decidedly bad; but they can easily be paralleled from real life. There is good writing, lively description, and fine delineation of character, with a wholesome moral in 'Danesbury House.'

*Anecdotes: Religious, Historical, and Scientific.* By Matthew Denton. *Third Series.* London: Partridge and Co. 1860.

WE have not seen the former series of these anecdotes; but the little volume before us contains some additions to the hackneyed list hitherto in circulation. If the book had possessed some arrangement, its usefulness for reference would have been enhanced. Should the author collect his three volumes into one, we commend this to his attention in order to make his collection permanently useful.

*Lectures to the Men of Liverpool.* By Hugh Stowell Brown. Liverpool: Gabriel Thomson. 1860.

THERE is a great amount of good advice amidst much loose writing and slang phrases in these addresses to the men of Liverpool. There is no doubt that they must tell upon the intelligent conviction of those who heard them delivered and on those who peruse them. Mr. Stowell Brown is *sui generis*, and he fulfils his mission with much labour and singular adaptation.

*Schoolroom Poetry.* London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

THERE are some good pieces from our best poets in this compilation, but there is no arrangement fitting it to be a school-book. Some pieces whose authorship is well known are marked *anonymous* by this Educator!

*Summary of the Bill introduced to Parliament by F. Pigott, Esq., M.P., entitled, 'An Act for the Better Regulation of Medical Relief to the Poorer Classes in England and Wales,' &c. &c. With a Commentary thereon, and a Letter to the Members of the Legislature.* By Richard Griffin, J.P., M.R.C.S., and L.S.A., Chairman of the Poor Law Medical Reform Association.

OUR readers may recollect an article on this subject in a former number of this Review. The pamphlet before us is worthy of earnest consideration, not only by the profession, but by the Legislature and the Boards of Guardians throughout the country. It is high time that the position of medical men under the Poor Law were in a satisfactory state. Mr. Griffin has done much to promote this, and we trust he will realize his wishes in the passing of the Bill now before the House of Commons.

*Samuel the Prophet, and the Lessons of his Life and Times.* By the Rev. Robert Steel, Cheltenham, Author of 'Doing Good: or, The Christian in Walks of Usefulness.' London: Nelson and Sons. 1860.

THIS work is in its *third thousand.* A critic personally unknown to us but entirely devoted to literature has thus written of it: 'The volume before us does great justice to the illustrious prophet. Mr. Steel is a man of judgment, observation, and reading — qualities which are turned to excellent account throughout the work. The volume deserves, and we doubt not will obtain, great and general favour.' For reasons known to many of our readers, we prefer giving this to any notice written at our own request.

*The Blood of Jesus.* By the Rev. William Reid, M.A. London: Nisbet and Co.

AN earnest and evangelical book, remarkably well suited to anxious inquirers

quirers in the most momentous period of their lives. It is scriptural, practical, clear, and pointed, and cannot fail to be largely useful. Though a small work, it goes to the root of the soul's disease, and applies the balm of Gilead with a skilful hand.

*Scrub; or, the Workhouse Boy's First Start in Life.* By Mrs. C. L. Balfour. London: S. W. Partridge.

THIS story, which is illustrated with a few woodcuts, is a happy effort of Mrs. Balfour's fertile pen. It may be appropriately placed in the hands of young apprentices whether out of the workhouse or happy homes.

*A Biographical and Critical Sketch of Dr. Beaumont, the eloquent Orator.* By the Rev. Richard Wrench. London: Partridge and Co. 1859.

THERE is cleverness in this sketch which would give effect to it as a lecture; but for a book much more is necessary. If the author publishes the others referred to in his preface, we strongly advise him to make one book of them all. Individually they would be ephemeral.

*Temperance of Wine Countries.* A Letter by Edward C. Delavan, Esq., of Albany, New York: London: Alliance Depôt. 1860

THIS exposure of the fallacy and fatal policy of the Wine Bill of Mr. Gladstone ought to be in every one's hand. When so many have been deluded by the Chancellor's sophistry, a pamphlet like this will do much to open the eyes and convince the judgment of the candid.

*Love and Labour; or, Work and its Reward.* By Kate Pyer, Author of 'Peace Stories for Children.' London: Thickbroom and Stapleton. 1860.

THIS is a most touching story, and fitted both to fascinate the attention and impress the hearts of the young. There is great naturalness in the description. Too many scenes of common life exhibit the dark side of this picture; but we rejoice to believe that there is a growing increase of the bright side also. Drink causes the shady, and abstinence the sunny side.

*Steyne's Grief; or, Losing, Seeking, and Finding.* By the Author of 'Bow Garrets,' &c. London: Tweedie. 1860.

THERE are some entertaining scenes and good writing in this temperance tale. The influence of drink, and the evil of public-houses on working men, are most accurately traced. A good and skilled workman, after having been rescued from intemperance and misery, and made happy by the kind attentions, cheerful piety, and fond affections of an excellent wife, and after having started afresh in a new locality, is seduced by the publican, and becomes a sot, a cruel husband and father, and a wretched suicide. The trials and sorrows, the wrongs and insults endured at home, are told with power, and the death of the broken-hearted wife is related with much pathos. The fortunes of Cary Deering form a very painful episode in the whole. 'Steyne's Grief' is intended to represent the long, long agony of spirit realized by the drunkard's son in his career through life. There is, however, a haze of improbability about his sudden rise at last. We have much pleasure in commending this work to our readers.

*After Many Days. A Tale of Social Reform.* By Seneca Smith. London. 1860.

THE volume just noticed refers to the ravages of intemperance among the working classes. This conducts us to the 'upper ten thousand,' where the insidious vice has also its victims. It is true that drunkenness does not now characterize the higher classes as it once did, but it is not without its withering blight, wherever it is indulged. 'After Many Days' is a pretentious tale, and attempts to show the high social advantages of temperance. We have not, however, been so much interested in it as in the others before us, which aim less high but touch more keenly.

# Meliora.

ART. I.—1. *Histoire du Merveilleux, dans les Temps Modernes.* Par Louis Figuier. Deux tomes. Libraire de L. Hachette. 1860.
2. *Hecker's Epidemics of the Middle Ages.* Sydenham Society. 1844.
3. *Select Memoirs of Port Royal.* By M. A. Schimmelpenninck. In three volumes. Longman and Brown. 1858.
4. *Hours with the Mystics.* By Robert Alfred Vaughan, B.A. In two volumes. John W. Parker.

IT is impossible to gaze at the continual rise and swell in the waves of the sea, without being struck by its strange likeness to the mysterious action and reaction in human society. As each wave spends itself, how slowly and surely it gathers again, till, fed from hidden sources and imperceptible currents, it swells into a wall of crystal, and breaks in the culmination of its strength. Backwards and forwards ebb the impetuous tides, in alternate passion and rest; now 'the scream of the maddened beach, dragged back by the wave,' and now the lull after the frenzy is over. So the history of mankind appears, at first sight, to revolve in perpetual cycles, bringing round and round the same heart-stirring crises of intensity and excitement, followed by the same monotonous periods of mental and physical stagnation.

In one sense we may assert, that what has been will be, to the end of time. And yet we can never reduce this independent existence to a mere web woven out of the machinery of circumstances, or turn statistics into a horoscope for foretelling the future. History cannot be investigated by a tedious process of counting, for it will never exactly reproduce itself; but as no single face, and no one idea, are the same as other faces and ideas, so no fact is a precise repetition of a previous fact, and we must think out each event on its own peculiar merits. Events are illustrations of laws. Particular tendencies and peculiar stages of feeling are natural to humanity. Ultra spiritualism and gross materialism are two poles, between which a just medium should be found. Mankind has ever been leaning to one or other of these opposites. Phariseeism and Sadduceeism, the puritanical and papistical characters, are not new, nor will they ever be old. If, on the one hand, the cold formalism of the once saintly Sardis seems to be incorporated in human

nature, so that each generation is in danger of staking its religion on mere dogmas and formulas, it may be said, with equal truth, that there is a tendency in society to that fanaticism which mistakes feeling for principle, and which is ready to rush to the most Utopian extremes.

In 1853 (when walking and talking tables made their début in the civilized world), many sensible persons found it difficult to reconcile a widely-diffused and ignorant passion for the marvellous with the advanced philosophy and scientific research of the nineteenth century. Sober Englishmen seemed as if returning to that mania after 'dæmons' which distinguished the earliest dawnings of knowledge in pagan antiquity, and Pharaoh's sorcerers might have mocked at their childish puerilities. But a better acquaintance with the history of the past might have diminished this astonishment, and might have proved that such phenomena had taken place in all ages of the world.

In 1859 a like sensation of alarm and disgust was aroused in some minds by the 'physiological accidents' connected with the 'revivals' in Ireland. Strong prejudices were entertained against these religious movements, on account of the bodily manifestations with which they were associated; and many of the more prudent amongst us were inclined to distrust the good, on account of the positive evil which followed it. The discussion has given rise to much acrimony and party spirit, and has been so well debated, that we are disinclined to give it more than a cursory notice. On behalf of the advocates of revivalism, it may be urged that strong feeling will produce a corresponding action upon the nerves and the brain, extending over the whole frame, and often agitating the body. Scripture sets no value on such 'bodily exercise,' nor can such excitement be proved to be genuine, till tried by experience, and tested by the rules of Gamaliel. Yet that such affections should take place during any excitement amongst the demonstrative Irish can cause no wonder, though it may teach us moderation and caution. The vaunted progress of our age is powerless to repress the excesses of natural emotion. Scientific information is only the possession of the few, whilst it increases the credulity of the many.

The phenomena of fanaticism are confined to no nation, and limited to no time. They extend to both body and mind, occasionally producing the gravest results, such as catalepsy, convulsions, fainting fits, and even insanity. That these phenomena are propagated by sympathy and imitation is a fact proved by experience. At one time the excitement in Belfast assumed the grave appearance of an epidemic. Children in arms from six months old and upwards, were reported by their parents to have taken the infection, and the 'smitten' could be counted by scores. The danger of attributing such results to special inspiration, was, however,

ever, recognized in time, and subsequent events have proved that the movement may be guided into permanent usefulness. In many places the outward face of society is changed by the improvement in morality; and sermons are no longer productive of physical disease.

The evidence of an English writer attests the reality of the reformation in America, where the results could be imputed only to the direct agency of prayer.*

Yet the physical phenomena of revivalism in its coarser forms are a painful burlesque on sacred and mysterious feelings. We have little occasion in our day to foster a morbid spirit of self-introspection, and to aim at increasing nervous susceptibility. The excesses of Mormonism may warn us against physical contagion. Religion, it has been said, should be associated with the soundest reasoning, and the highest development of intelligence. True revivalism consists in the service of the heart, and the strict performance of duty, rather than in a temporary effervescence of enthusiasm, manifesting itself in spasmodic shoutings and contortions of the body. After the 'application of such violent stimulants' (as Sir Charles Lyell remarked, with regard to the United States), there is usually a corresponding reaction. There is a tendency in all crowds to act upon sympathy apart from conviction, whilst the spirit of imitation will often nurture self-deception and hypocrisy. It remains for intelligent preachers of religion to discourage the symptoms of such dangerous contagion, and to avoid that unnatural exaggeration which may weaken the bodily organism of their hearers, engendering hysteria and mesmerism.

The abnormal results of mental and physical excitement require the advice of the physician rather than of the divine, and might be generally cured by prudent discouragement. By far too much importance has been attached to these phenomena, which are nothing new, but have been fostered in all ages by those who sincerely believed them to be the result of divine agency, as well as by cunning impostors. From the curious results which attended the preaching of Tauler, down to the days of Jonathan Edwards; from the time of the dancing Galli, to those afflicted with Tarantism, there has been a striking uniformity in the pathology of these cases. A cursory review of history will be sufficient to show that the annals of the past are replete with anecdotes of self-imposture, which was encouraged by the misdirection of the holiest and sublimest sentiments. In like manner the so-called miracles of mesmerism and spiritual communication are only the continuation, the almost inevitable development of analogous phenomena, which preceded them in the past; and may be explained by the instruc-

* 'The Power of Prayer. A Revival in America.' By an English Eyewitness.

tions of science, and the consideration of our complicated human nature. For much solid information on these subjects, we are indebted to M. Figuier, who (in his new work, of which two volumes are presented to the public) has brought together a large amount of historical and scientific research, and to Dr. Hecker, whose 'Epidemics of the Middle Ages,' translated by Dr. Babington, is a marvel of patient investigation. We shall not apologize for presenting our readers with the result of their labours, hoping to show that these phenomena are of the body rather than of the soul, that they follow the usual physical laws, and are productive of the same deplorable results.

It is easy to gather from ancient history numerous illustrations of the facts relating to the mysterious border-land between soul and body. The belief in divination, in the power of oracles, in sibyls, and thaumaturgists, did not fundamentally differ from many of the superstitions of our own days. The Greeks and Romans were greedy of the marvellous. Their 'cultus' bore a close affinity to their realization of the spiritual world, and their images (as the word εἴδωλον betokens) were the thoughts of their minds expressed in matter. During the progress of their arms, the superstitions of the Romans never abated, and Horace in vain appealed to them by the axiom of 'Nil admirari.' All polytheistic nations believed in the incarnation of the Deity. In the poems of Homer, the gods figured side by side with the heroes. In vain do we attempt to discover profound combinations in these fantastic mythologies. As well (remarks Ernest Renan) might we seek for the serious and positive in the dreams of an infant. The worship of the earliest Greeks consisted in a deification of matter. They had not yet learnt to distinguish between their own sensations and that nature which appeared to them as if animated. The first men could not discriminate between the outward and the inward, and hence they constructed those wild myths which the moderns have vainly attempted to solve. 'In wonder,' says Coleridge, 'all philosophy began;' nor need the profound sensation caused in Pindar's mind by the mysteries of Ceres strike us with a sense of the ludicrous. During this pantheistic confusion everything seemed miraculous, and the wisest men hurried with beating hearts to watch the Pythoness in her hysterical convulsions. Plutarch tells us that these oracles could only prophesy after protracted fasts, and after breathing the exhalations of the damp earth. Sometimes the excitement of the brain which followed was so violent as to bring on insanity or sudden death. Cicero, however, lamented that the earth had lost its mysterious virtues in his time. Latterly, these fits of convulsions were imitated by successful impostors, and became analogous to the melodramas of Mesmer. Demosthenes did not hesitate to accuse the Oracle of receiving bribes from Philip of Macedon.

In

In the monotheism of the Semitic races, the conceptions of the imagination were sterner and grander. The ancient Arabian was the earliest mystic. Alone with the mirage of the desert, amidst trackless sands untrodden by human foot, the monotonous uniformity of the landscape impressed his mind with awful sensations of sublimity. The Egyptians were attracted to the arts of magic by a singular predilection for the mysterious. They worshipped the Spirit of Evil, through whose power they professed to subvert the order of the natural world. In India, a Brahmin of the sacerdotal caste was always regarded as a 'spiritual medium,' and the Hindoos to this day are skilful in reducing themselves to peculiar bodily states, supposed to be inspired. In like manner, the worship of the Yogis resembled the degrading asceticism of the monks of Mount Athos. According to the system of Zoroaster, the whole world (spiritual and material) was supposed to be impregnated with the 'oel,' or the substance of Deity. The gods themselves were the first emanations from this 'uncreated essence;' and a second order (the 'spirits of the air,' subdivided into good and evil) filled up the interspace between them and the earth. On this vast system of demonology were founded the theories of the Chaldeans, the Pythagoreans, and the Alexandrian magicians.

At the downfall of paganism, many doubtful seekers after truth groped wildly after the supernatural as the only relief from uncertainty. St. Justin speaks enthusiastically of the skill of 'Simon of Samaria,' who endowed statues with powers of walking, and remained himself uninjured in the midst of flames. Not less marvellous were the exploits of 'Apollonius of Tyaneus,' who seems to have been subject to curious hallucinations. Tertullian alludes to chairs and tables, which were reported to prophesy in his times; whilst Iamblichus and Plotinus were strangely familiar with spirits. Their theurgy attached great importance to symbols and cabalistic formulas.

It is remarkable that when Christianity penetrated into Gaul, the Druid priests being found in possession of the gift of exorcism, the power of these unfortunates was without hesitation ascribed to sorcery, and they were immediately drowned or burned. This was bad enough; but as the ages rolled on, and as the primitive simplicity of Christianity became more and more defiled and obscured by the increase of heresies and abuses, we may observe the progress of superstition advancing to a corresponding degree. The penitential frenzy of the Crusades became a widely-spread and spiritual epidemic. The effect which was in this instance produced by the fiery preaching and vehement will of Peter the Hermit may indicate the true medium of communication in these cases; *i. e.* the powerful operation of mind upon mind. But as great a religious convulsion,

unequalled

unequalled in absurdity and extent, followed the pestilence of the Black Death.

Physical diseases have often been productive of extraordinary moral effects. The plague at Athens (of which Thucydides and Hippocrates have left us interesting accounts) was accompanied by a remarkable change in the conduct of the inhabitants. Every barrier of propriety seemed to be broken down, whilst the doctrines of the Sophists sprang at once into maturity, and were productive of the worst results. During the plague of Constantinople, and that of Florence (described by Boccaccio), a contrary effect was remarked. Every profligate seemed to be awed into temporary decency, and the most ungodly became religious in their desire for personal safety. These various effects were probably to be ascribed to the difference of religious belief. Amongst the Athenians, the faith in a future life was too unsettled and vague to serve as a rule of conduct. Stung into madness by the intoxication of danger, they reasoned, 'Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die!' 'Thus,' as Dr. Hecker observes, 'the presence of danger will bring about a change beneficial or detrimental according to circumstances, causing natures to sink lower or rise higher in the scale of civilization.'

During the disease (which was called in Europe the 'Black death,' and in Italy 'La mortalega grande,' or the 'Great mortality'), the infection was so terrible that men and women abandoned their nearest relations, and all ties of kindred were forgotten. No medicine brought relief to the sufferers, whilst many were struck as if by lightning, and died on the spot. In some of the towns of England only a tenth part of the inhabitants remained alive. Europe lost 25,000,000 of people, nearly a fourth part of her then population. Physical portents preceded the disease, which were calculated to strike dread into the minds of the timorous. In China there were earthquakes and parching droughts, succeeded by swarms of locusts darkening the air. The pestiferous winds were said to be charged with a poisonous odour. Mists and foul vapours spread over sunny Italy. The order of the seasons was inverted, whilst meteors in the skies increased the superstitious terror. A horror as of darkness fell upon the minds of men. In vain did Clement VI. promise absolution to the dying. Want and misery, famine and fever, let loose the furies of fanaticism, and destroyed, in the minds of many, all feelings but a longing for self-preservation. Kings forgot their treaties, morals deteriorated, covetousness increased, and monastic discipline was everywhere relaxed. The danger of infection was augmented by cowardly fear, and many died of the shock at the first appearance of the distemper. Nor was this all. To distorted imaginations, it seemed as if hell were yawning to fill her capacious maw

maw with the dead; and an awful sense of contrition fell upon the Christian world. The conventional ceremonies and lukewarmness of the Established Church were powerless to arrest the popular excitement; and soon a fearful opposition to priestly authority uprose in the ghastly sect of the 'Flagellants.' These 'Brothers of the Cross' paraded the cities in procession, robed in sober garments, and carrying before them burning tapers; whilst the people flocked from all quarters to witness the severities of their penitence. On they marched, amidst the ringing of bells, and swinging lashes of the scourges, chanting the solemn hymn, of questionable orthodoxy,

'Whoe'er to save his soul is fain,
Must pay and render back again.
Ye that repent your crimes draw nigh,
From the burning hell we fly.'

On they marched, striking terror into the hearts of the beholders, whilst women and children, shrieking with delirium, rushed wildly to join their ranks. These were soon swelled with honourable ladies, nobles, and ecclesiastics. Children of the tenderest age flocked to the standard, whilst the poorest and the most depraved were unable to resist the infatuation. Night and day the hills and mountains resounded with sobs, cries, and wild hysterical laughter. They carried aloft the instruments of their torture, whilst the road was marked with the blood which flowed from their wounds. After a time the plague ceased. The dead were lamented and forgotten; the world began to repeople; but the minds of men had received a shock not so easily to be overcome. The processions of the 'Flagellants' still continued; and they propagated the grossest delusions under the sanction of religion. Their leaders began to lay claim to high spiritual power, till the general indignation put bounds to these excesses, and measures were adopted by Pope Clement and the Emperor Charles IV. to interdict the continuance of such public penance. This, however, did not happen till their gloomy fanaticism had instilled fresh poison into the minds of the desponding people. Amongst other disastrous consequences of this popular excitement, the unfortunate Jews were accused of poisoning the water, and demanded as victims of the public rage. They were pursued with merciless cruelty, and often burnt alive. The Jews in Basle were enclosed in a wooden building, and burnt without trial or sentence. At Spires they set fire to their own houses, and consumed themselves with their wives and children; whilst at Strasbourg 2,000 suffered together. Revenge and desperation filled the hearts of the religionists, whilst the humanity and moderation of the few were powerless to stem the tide of fanaticism. These violent feelings had scarcely subsided, when another strange delusion took posses-

sion

sion of the minds of men, and the 'dancing mania' began to spread in the Netherlands and Germany. Men and women joined hands and formed circles together, seeming to lose all control over their senses, and jumping in the wildest insanity. During these paroxysms, they raved of beatific visions, and conjured up spirits by name; till they would fall to the ground reeling in exhaustion. This demoniacal disease, commencing with epileptic convulsions, was propagated rapidly over the whole civilized world. Delusions of the most abnormal nature quickly resulted, from the deranged health of the sufferers. The increasing derangement of the physical organization was followed by unnatural and local sensibility. Particular colours (such as scarlet or crimson) would irritate the 'St. John's Dancers' like infuriated animals; whilst in the disease of 'tarantism' music exercised a miraculous influence in calming the spasms.

This wild infatuation affected all classes of society. Peasants left their ploughs, and girls abandoned their parents; whilst gangs of impostors wandered about the country, imitating the contortions of the sufferers, and increasing the violence of the complaint. In 1418, Strasbourg was visited by this plague, and cures were said to be worked by the aid of 'St. Vitus,' a Sicilian youth, who suffered martyrdom under Diocletian. On the other hand, since it had been the custom, from as far back as the fourth century, to celebrate the day of 'St. John the Baptist' by bodily exercises, and mystical relics of heathenism, the first fanatics quoted the name of St. John in the unsightly contortions which they indulged; whilst thousands of a wretched and oppressed population tried to quiet their consciences, and vent their despair in this frantic and artificial delirium. Latterly the St. Vitus's Dance (being attended by hysterical shouting, and occasional loss of intellect) was attributed to demoniacal agency. Tarantism (another form of this mania which appeared in Italy) was attributed to the bite of a spider—called by the Romans 'tarantula'—a popular delusion which threw no light on the real nature of the disease. Those who imagined themselves bitten, became affected with religious melancholy, and a peculiar susceptibility to music. These symptoms were followed by nervousness, irritability, and spasmodic dancing. Charitable persons hired musicians, whose trade was to play for the relief of the sufferers; and under the violent exercise excited by the harmony, it was supposed that the poison of the tarantula was exhaled from the skin. The abhorrence of certain colours, and morbid sensibility for sound, were strikingly united. The music was of a kind peculiarly suited to the complaint. Measures in the Turkish style, commencing stately and slow, but winding up to a pitch of frenzy, have been preserved to this day. This nervous disorder, with all the additions of self-deception

deception and imposture was of long duration. It is worthy of remark, that an hysterical affection very analogous to it began to spread during a revival in the Shetland Isles, which took place in the last century, and was speedily cured by an appeal to the sense of shame, and the plentiful application of cold water.

A more striking instance of a similar disease occurred in the cases of the 'convulsionnaires' among the Jansenists.

It is unnecessary to enter on the history of the protracted religious dissensions which waged for many years between the Jesuits and the Jansenists. It is sufficient to observe that the cardinal points of difference between the two parties were based on doctrines which were held by many who were esteemed orthodox during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; but which were afterwards disallowed by Rome, as incompatible with her creed. The fear of schism, and the value attached to church unity by Jansenius and St. Cyran, were strong enough to check the growth of the reformed opinions they advocated; whilst on all important doctrines, such as redemption, free grace, absolution, and the efficacy of the eucharist, their opinions were fundamentally opposed to those which were taught by the disciples of Loyola. In their hatred of the lax morality of the Jesuits, the monks of Port Royal carried their austerity and self-mortification to immoderate lengths. In the contest which took place respecting the book of their founder, these ascetics were treated with a cruel severity, calculated to increase the intensity of their faith. The peaceable convent of Port Royal became the scene of these horrors: nor can we wonder that, excited by their sufferings, and infected by the superstition of their age, the simple nuns should gladly have hailed the appearance of a miracle, which (for a time at least) set them free from the power of their adversaries. The convent of Port Royal possessed, amongst other relics, a thorn from the actual crown supposed to have been worn at the Passion. By the application of this holy relic to her diseased eye Mlle. Perrier (niece of the celebrated Pascal) was suddenly relieved of an ophthalmic complaint, hitherto pronounced to be incurable. Medical men attested the reality of the miracle; which, by-the-by, owed its 'getting up' to the devices of a certain Sœur Flavie Passart, who afterwards turned traitor to the community. But the credulous nuns were only too ready to welcome the interposition of Providence on their behalf. The fame of the cure spread far and wide, and for a while the Jesuits did not dare to renew their attacks on a community so favoured by heaven.

The peace, however, was not of long duration. Louis XIV., whose tender conscience was ruled by a Jesuit confessor, was in haste to renew the hostilities. The power being all on one side, the rest was easily managed. The innocent nuns languished in

cruel

cruel captivity. Their convent was razed to the ground, and the ashes of the dead were torn from their resting-place. As the king grew older and more irritable, the necessity of insuring for his precious soul a short road through blood to heaven, grew more and more important. Severities were redoubled, and finally, by the propagation of the bull 'Unigenitus,' the defeat of the Jansenists was consummated. Not content with this triumph, the Jesuits bragged of their miracles. The tomb of James II. (the ex-king of England, who died at St. Germains) became the scene of astonishing cures which were worked by the holy dust. But this was an argument which was also open to their adversaries, and the language of miracles became the only mode of protest left to the Jansenists for relieving their oppressed consciences. They had not long to wait for an opportunity, which was afforded by the sudden decease of a celebrated ascetic of their party—the holy deacon, 'St. Francis of Paris.' The mortifications of this worthy by far exceeded those of St. Bernard, or St. Francis de Sales. His childhood was marked by a saintly precocity, manifesting itself in a dislike to all learning, and the common-sense duties of life. Arrived at manhood, he crossed the wishes of his relations by his invincible determination to take upon himself monastic vows. Abandoning all riches, he lived like a penitent, visiting the sick, and denying himself the necessaries of life. The excesses of Madame Guyon, or of St. Catherine of Sienna, were nothing to the vagaries of this mystic. He would take long journeys in the worst weather, and would cover his body with burning sealing-wax. Hearing of another maniac (M. Journus), who excelled him in enormities, he travelled miles in search of this successful self-tormentor, knocking at his door, and crying out, 'You shall not save yourself alone!' The science of Christian mortification (as M. Figuier remarks) gained greatly by the interview between these two heroes, and after it the austerities of the deacon were increased. He slept scarcely a quarter of an hour at a time; he drove nails into his quivering flesh; and yet (wonder of wonders!) was still miserable and dissatisfied. At last, when (like the Irishman's horse) he had brought himself to living on about one straw a day—the astonishing consummation of all was, *he died.* Let us draw a veil of pity over a tragedy too painful to admit of caricature.

Such was the miserable suicide, whose emaciated corpse was to work the miracles of St. Medard. Thousands flocked to his tomb. The earth taken from the cemetery was thought to possess miraculous virtue. The women who were carried lame or paralytic to the grave would suddenly rise with convulsive movements, and often begin to dance.

These convulsions soon began to affect the healthy as well as the

the sick. Crowds of devotees attended the tomb, shouting 'Hosanna to the holy deacon!' and men as well as women fell raving in spasms. The cemetery was soon the scene of leaping and screaming. France was scandalized by these uproarious assemblies, and government interposed to shut the graveyard. This measure only heightened the excitement. Wits scribbled on the walls of St. Medard,

'De part le roi, défense à Dieu,
De faire miracle en ce lieu.'

The disorder spread rapidly to the provinces, and the number of 'Convulsionnaires' was computed at 800. Strange phenomena were connected with this frenzy. In their normal condition, the healthy organs of the body receive similar impressions, under similar circumstances. But in some states of deranged health, (as M. de Boismont has remarked*) these organs may become subject to illusion and delusion. Existing objects may be distorted, or imaginary ones invented, which exist only for the sufferer. So it happened during the epidemic of St. Medard. Strange visions were seen. Strange noises were heard. The women fell into states of clairvoyance, and were able to predict the time they would remain insensible. During these attacks extraordinary tortures might be endured by the sufferer, whose senses were stupified, as if by chloroform. Two or three women actually underwent crucifixion. Nearly all experienced such abnormal sensibility, as to be accompanied with intense pain, and to require assistance from brethren, commonly called 'Secourists.' The sufferers mewed like cats, and bent their bodies into unnatural forms, swallowing burning coals, and prophesying in hysterical raptures. They would endure hundreds of blows with bars of iron; and planks were often placed on the bodies of delicate girls, supporting the weight of twenty or more adults. Such tortures would only add to their feelings of delight. These sensations were produced by the perversion or vitiation of physical sensibility. There was nothing miraculous in these enormities. Socrates recognized the intimate connexion between pain and pleasure; whilst Locke records the case of a certain Irishman, who flew into a rage whenever he saw the man who rescued him from the luxury of drowning. But to the excited Jansenists these wonders were portents from heaven. Scenes of fanaticism took place unprecedented in the annals of mankind. In their morbid avidity for the miraculous, men seemed to lose all sense of common humanity, and stood with satisfaction to see delicate women writhing in tortures, scarcely equalled by those of the Roman gladiators. Many became idiotic. Others expired from prostration. 'Here is the grand convulsion,' murmured one of the

* 'Explanations of Apparitions and Somnambulism.' By M. de Boismont.

sufferers,

sufferers, feeling herself dying. 'God be praised—it is over at last!' In many of the extraordinary details we must allow for the exaggeration of prejudiced witnesses. Upon some invalids, the convulsion of the system seems to have produced a beneficial effect; though many of those reported as cured, suffered returns of their former disorders, and others died of the violence of the epilepsy.

Other cruelties were exercised in the same century, through the dominant belief in demoniacal possession. The Romish priests, confident of their descent from the apostles, claimed the right of asserting lordship over unclean spirits. From the earliest ages of the world, disease had been referred to this origin. In the language of the Greeks the word 'dæmon' signified either a hateful or a benevolent spirit; but to Christians the expression was wholly evil. The female slave who possessed a spirit of divination (analogous to the ventriloquism of the Pythoness) was restored to her right mind by the holy indignation of St. Paul, whom the so-called 'exorcists' professed to follow. And though it may be admitted, past the possibility of controversy, that the dawn of Christianity marked the darkest crisis of these mysterious maladies, it has ever been difficult to demonstrate beyond a doubt the fact of their actual cessation. Neander and Trench refer to modern missionary accounts, of something like the same phenomena taking place in heathen countries till this day. During the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, the belief in sorcery became excessive. A sick person suffering from nervous maladies was considered as possessed of the devil, and sentenced to be burnt alive. Innocent people were condemned without evidence. After the punishment of Joan of Arc, two other young girls declared themselves also to be inspired. One of these Amazons had the prudence to retract, but the other was condemned to the flames. The propagation of a bull by Innocent VIII., in 1484, entitled inquisitors to commence persecutions against witchcraft. This decree was productive of the most curious results. Monomaniacs hastened to denounce themselves, and invented the most horrible stories of the enormities which they had committed. Forty-five of these wretches were burnt at one time. Their fate attracted but little notice in an age when 3,000 heretics were slaughtered by Philip II. These 'stryges' (as they were called) pretended that they were transported on broomsticks by night, to diabolical meetings. Their fantastic accounts of these gloomy orgies furnished Shakespere and Goethe with the groundwork for their wild inventions. These unfortunate women carried frogs concealed about their clothes, and fancied themselves transformed into cats. In this delusion they were imitated by the 'Lycanthropes,' a sect of religious maniacs described by the learned Burton,* who,

* 'The Anatomy of Melancholy.' By Democritus Junior.

howling

howling like wolves, would conceal themselves in graveyards and charnel-houses. This infection spread quickly to the surrounding convents, where the nuns imitated the cries of animals, and piteously bleated like sheep. Agitated by fear or sympathy, these miserable women lost all control over their own wills, and were impelled by irresistible impulses to bite and scratch one another. Those who suffered under such agonies were ordered by exorcists to denounce the name of the sorcerer who tormented them. Compelled, like poor Topsy, to ''fess' where there was nothing to be told, in desperation or revenge they would pronounce the name of some unfortunate person, whom no presence of mind could save from his inevitable fate.

The demonomania which excited the Ursulines of Loudon has particularly attracted the attention of physiologists. The disease commenced with somnambulism, during which the nuns left their beds, and climbed on the roofs of the houses. Nightmare and delirium succeeded, accompanied with spectral illusions. The abbess of the convent (Jeanne de Belfiel) belonging to a noble family in France, declared herself possessed with a legion of devils. Being exorcised in Latin, she denounced in that tongue one Urban Grandier—a Jesuit of high rank—who through the independence of his character, the beauty of his person, and the *hauteur* of his manners, had made himself many enemies. Being thrown into prison, he appealed against the injustice of his sentence, and a division amongst the false witnesses caused him to be set at liberty. But being unable to bear his triumph with moderation, the malice of his slanderers was again aroused by his imprudence. The devils recommenced their accusations; and in spite of their solecisms in Latin, and the failure of their attempts to prophesy, they gained the Cardinal Richelieu on their side. Aided by the jugglery of skilful exorcists, the nuns performed astonishing feats and manœuvres. When these failed, the devils had one answer for the sceptical, 'Nimia curiositas.' The dialectical skill of the unfortunate Grandier, and the indignant rebukes of a medical man named Duncan (who appeared to be in advance of his age), were equally in vain. The excited crowds poured in thousands to the convent of St. Ursula: the thirst of blood was awakened, and Grandier was arrested. During the trial, it was in vain that the conscience-stricken nuns protested they had accused an innocent man. The priests declared that such confessions were only fresh artifices of the devil. According to the custom of the times Grandier was examined by torture, but refused to accuse himself of crime. Being promised a commutation of the sentence to the flames, and finding himself deceived at the last moment, he addressed himself in desperation to the principal of the forsworn priests. 'There is one Judge in heaven, before

whose

whose bar I cite thee to appear.' A short time afterwards this 'Father Lactance' seemed to be overcome by depression of spirits, and died in violent convulsions.

After this tragical drama, the malady of the Ursulines continued to increase. The epidemic was accompanied with the usual phenomena—the seeing of visions, the speaking of unknown tongues, and the augmentation of physical force. Letters of blood appeared on the hand of the abbess. Apparently these seizures were of a cataleptic nature, and without attributing intentional imposture to these nervous girls (who, after prolonged fasting and exciting thoughts, may have imagined themselves to see and feel all that they described), it is evident what a dangerous opportunity for treachery was afforded to the 'Barnums' and impostors, who made a traffic of their infirmities. As to the claim to the possession of new faculties following on these states of magnetic somnambulism, the evidence is unsatisfactory, and there was probably a transmission of signs between the exorcists and their patients.

The acuteness of particular faculties in abnormal physical conditions is, however, singularly illustrated by the history of the Huguenot prophets, of whom M. Figuier has collected some curious anecdotes. No independent party in any kingdom ever merited more tolerant treatment than the reformed burgesses of France. The sect of French Protestants was composed of pious, honest, and industrious citizens, who were animated by conscientious scruples, but who would rather have laid down their own lives than risen as insurgents against the legitimate authority of their king. But these pacific intentions could not mollify the cruel resentment of a grandson of Philip II. The men who had enriched their country with their labour were termed 'monsters of heresy'—their religious meetings were pronounced to be 'cradles of pestilence and synagogues of Satan.' The magnificent Bourbon, troubled in his illicit amours by the stings of his conscience, is forced to quiet this inconvenience by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The Protestants are hunted down like runaway slaves. They are tortured in secret, and deprived of their children. Their emigration is forbidden; their wives are surrendered to the brutality of the soldiery; their priests are confined in damp dungeons, chained to pillars which suffer them neither to lie nor to stand. The infirm and sickly among them are tortured till they retract in the agony of their sufferings; and meanwhile, from groaning thousands, a terrible cry goes up to heaven, 'How long, O Lord? how long? Avenge thy scattered saints!'

We have not patience to record the shallow excuses made for these cruelties by the panegyrists of Louis XIV., nor to cite the pompous

pompous periods of Bossuet, in which he is compared to Constantine—the saviour of the church. To the glory of Fénelon be it acknowledged, that he alone had courage to raise his voice in stern condemnation of such criminal excesses, which religious women like Madame de Maintenon could witness and approve. For a while the Huguenots bore up against their afflictions with unexampled courage and patience; but the cruelties practised against them were suited, with diabolical calculation, to numb and depress every energetic tendency of the mind. Their fathers were sentenced to the galleys; their marriages were declared void; their children were considered as bastards; and the comforts of their worship were forbidden them under the most horrible penalties. The strongest minds could not bear up against such overwhelming pressure, and bodily and mental prostration soon succeeded to their former spiritual exaltation. The belief that Divinity would interpose in their favour, grew into a monomania. Torn from his people by persecution, one of their aged pastors had exclaimed, 'Fear not. The Spirit of the Lord will never abandon you. If we are taken from you, He will speak by the lips of women and children.' These words were literally accepted, and engendered a sort of preaching delirium. To excited imaginations the hills and the mountains echoed with unearthly voices. A party of fanatics went about advocating long fasts, and prophesying from the pages of the Apocalypse. Women fell into a state of ecstatic sleep, and preached during somnambulism. The 'beautiful Isabeau' (a girl of eighteen) was one of the first to be so affected. She would preach sunk in so profound a lethargy that the application of hot irons could not recall her to her senses. At these times, her features (otherwise irregular and ordinary) would seem as if transfigured, and be lighted up with an unearthly beauty. On awaking from her trance, she would remember nothing she had said, and show no power of eloquence. The 'gift of the Spirit' was soon communicated far and wide. Children of six years old would preach, and admonish their seniors. Animated by the promises of their prophets, the Calvinists began to pluck up spirit, and instead of yielding themselves quietly to their tormentors, they routed large forces of their enemies. The appearance of these wild recluses issuing from their fastnesses in the mountains, with streaming hair, outstretched hands, and countenances lit up with unearthly joy, crying in tones of thunder, 'Arrière Satan!' was such as to strike terror into the hearts of the merciless soldiery.

For a long time they maintained a doubtful contest under their leaders Roland and Cavalier; but being at last overpowered by the number of their enemies, and routed by the superior military skill of the generals who were sent to defeat them, this insurrection

in the desert was at last suppressed. Multitudes of the unfortunate prophets were burnt alive, whilst others carried their supposed gifts into the lands of their exile.

During this obstinate struggle the 'enfants de Dieu' (as the prophets were called) represented a sort of military theocracy. Everything was delivered into their management, and the people had the utmost confidence in the reality of their inspirations. In his 'Letters on Enthusiasm,' Shaftesbury ridicules the contortions of those prophets who took refuge in England. This ecstatic illuminism was invariably accompanied with tremblings and spasms. After a while the convulsive violence gave way to a calmness and serenity of demeanour when the prophet commenced his exordium, beginning always in the same manner, 'Je te dis, mon enfant; je t'assure, mon enfant.'

Sometimes this state of ecstacy was artificially produced, by one of the initiated breathing into the mouth of a neophyte, with the words, 'Receive the Holy Spirit!'

It is worthy of notice that these ecstatic conditions invariably commenced by the sudden falling down of the sufferers, as if they had been struck to the ground by some unseen force.

The limits of this paper preclude the possibility of considering the analogous cases which have occurred in the middle ages, and more modern times. Many of those who attended the preaching of Tauler in the fourteenth century, were found lying prostrate in states of insensibility. During the sermons of Wesley and Whitfield, such was the violence of the feeling aroused in their auditors, that they fell on all sides, and often remained for hours in death-like swoons. In the fourteenth century the monks of Mount Athos produced a great sensation by throwing themselves into states of ecstacy. Their method consisted in fixing their eyes steadily upon one spot, by which means they imagined themselves surrounded with uncreated light (the essence which shone upon Mount Tabor), and thought they were transported into the holiest of holies. About the same time the sect of the 'Free Spirit' told wonderful stories of their own miraculous powers. By depriving themselves of food and sleep, they managed to remain for weeks in trances, and deliberately believed themselves to be inspired, and to have attained to a state of perfection.

The desire for dancing and leaping seems often to have been connected with fanatical hysteria. The priests of Baal shrieked and leapt in their excitement. The Galli discovered the same method of producing a state of frenzy; and it is curious that the Methodist Jumpers relieved their hysterical raptures in the same morbid and unnatural manner. The mania for making noises and talking gibberish has always been infectious. The citizens of Athens went about wildly reciting verses, from hearing those of Euripides.

Euripides. Congregations flocked to Mr. Irving's church, in later days, and were taken with the infection of raving. Shrieks and maniacal exclamations are heard during the camp-meetings of America. Jonathan Edwards, in his account of the revival in New England, in 1734 and 1735, describes the converts as 'yelling for mercy.' This account, couched in the 'technical phraseology of Puritan divines,' relates the wonderful effect of sympathy amongst the people: but attaches no value to the visions of imagination.

Dr. Copland remarks that partial insanity may be propagated by infection. In times of religious excitement, suicides have often been common. Some of the Mullerites who, in 1844, expected the end of the world, sat up all night in their shrouds, determined to be prepared for the event.

If such phenomena as these were to become general, the machinery of society would be stopped, 'the lands would lie untilled, and men might return to a barbarous state.' Derangement of the senses, ecstacies, and hysterical affections were not enumerated by the apostle in his account of the fruits of the Spirit. Amongst these we may notice a precise mention of that moderation or 'temperance'—that habitual inner self-government, with which the Christian should regulate his passions and affections, and be able to resist the temptations arising from religious terror or epidemical delusion.

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ART. II.—1. *Tobacco; its History and Associations.* By F. W. Fairholt, F.S.A. 1859.

2. *Tobacco; its Use considered with reference to its Influence on the Human Constitution.* By Andrew Steinmetz, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. 1857.

3. *The Narcotics we indulge in. No. VIII. The Chemistry of Common Life.* By J. F. W. Johnston, M.A.

4. *Mr. Solly's Letters in the 'Lancet,' February* 1857.

5. *Tobacco. Lecture by the Dean of Carlisle,* 1859.

TOBACCO hath three stages. In the first it is a matter of luxury, in the second of indifference, in the third of necessity. And here lies the pith of the matter in three lines. Mr. Steinmetz is a votary of tobacco, and pleads eloquently and pleasantly in its favour. Mr. Fairholt takes a middle course, and holding the scale in equal hands, confines himself, as far as possible, to the history of tobacco and pipes, &c. Mr. Johnston almost exhausts the subject in his valuable work, 'The Chemistry of Common Life;' while Mr. Solly is a vigorous and damaging opponent to the Virginian weed. With an ample field in which to exercise his powers of observation, endowed with a practical intellect, and copious [redacted] energetic speech, armed with an imposing professional [redacted]

has unsparingly denounced the use of tobacco in all its forms, in a series of letters to the 'Lancet;' while Professor Laycock, a man of European reputation, has endorsed the assertions contained therein, and re-echoes the word from the northern metropolis. To lay the finger on the exact line where weakness degenerates into wickedness, and where wickedness develops into crime, is a very difficult matter; but the after consequences all who are not wilfully blind can see, and every one of moderate intelligence can reflect on; and that physical and moral deterioration is invariably and rapidly the result of disobedience to the laws of God, the laws of man, and the laws of nature, few will wish or be able to deny. To the advocate of extreme liberty it has been well said, that if 'whatever is, is right,' nothing that has been was ever wrong; and by pushing this theory to its logical consequences, we reduce it to an absurdity. It must be borne in mind, that if no one be sufficiently sure that his way is right and other ways wrong, there would be neither cause nor inclination to check anything in this world; and all coercion, either physical or moral, must necessarily cease. However much, therefore, we may, for the sake of blunting the edge of the bitter intolerance natural to man, advocate the theory of extreme personal liberty according to the tenets of Mr. J. S. Mill, practically we must and do act differently. Bearing all this in mind, we shall endeavour to investigate our subject impartially, and to consider, first, the evidence as to the increasing appetite among us for narcotics; and, secondly, its probable influence on the social condition of mankind.

Probably few of our readers are unacquainted with those excellent maps of physical geography in which the geological formations, and the diversifications of the climate and productions of each country are, by means of different colours, distinguished at a glance. On the same principle there are maps of Great Britain containing the result of the laborious industry of our Registrar-General, in which the social condition of our people is placed in evidence. Those counties are distinguished from the others, where morals are at a low ebb, and illegitimate births are reported as being above the average; where ignorance of reading and writing prevail, of which the number of marks instead of signatures to the marriage-registers are one means of proof; and where the number of convictions for crimes of violence are in excess. There are also, we believe, in course of preparation maps of our sanitary condition, in which the localities where the greatest amount of preventible death occurs will be pointed out, distinguishing between that which arises from neglect or carelessness in the use of machinery (as happens frequently in our manufacturing counties), and death from miasma, the effect of inefficient or defective drainage, or endemic disease, such as appears constantly in certain marshy districts.

Mr.

Mr. Johnston has in his work given a small map—very incomplete, however, and which might be greatly improved—in which the different countries are marked where narcotics are used, as also the particular drug selected. We give the details in a tabular form:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Siberia | Fungus. |
| Turkey, India, China, and many civilized nations | Opium. |
| Persia, India, Turkey, Africa, Brazil | Hemp, haschisch. |
| India, China, Eastern Archipelago | Betel nut, betel pepper. |
| Peru, Bolivia | Coca. |
| New Granada, the Himalayas | Red and common thorn apple. |
| Asia, America, and all the world | Tobacco. |
| India, Florida | Emetic holly. |
| England, Germany | Hop, tobacco. |
| France | Lettuce, tobacco. |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Tobacco, as used among | | 800 | millions of human beings. |
| Opium | ,, | 400 | ,, |
| Hemp | ,, | 200 to 300 | ,, |
| Betel | ,, | 100 | ,, |
| Coca | ,, | 10 | ,, |

Thus we find that almost every nation has its narcotic, in which sometimes the male only, sometimes the male and female indulge. We find, further, that there everywhere exist among them those who totally succumb and fall victims to the habit, become completely degraded, lost, and brutalized; that these usually die early and in great torture. Such are the *coquero*, or coca-eater; the *Theriaki*, and others of whom we shall have more to say anon. To return to tobacco. Its chemical ingredients are three in number—a volatile oil, a volatile alkali, and an empyreumatic oil. The first has the odour of tobacco, has a bitter taste, and, when taken internally, causes giddiness, nausea, and vomiting. The alkali is nicotin: it is an acrid, burning, narcotic poison, of which a single drop is sufficient to kill a dog. The proportion contained in the dry leaf is from 2 to 8 per cent. A hundred pounds of the dry leaf produce seven pounds of nicotin. In smoking, therefore, one hundred grains of tobacco, from two to seven grains of one of the most subtle poisons known are drawn into the mouth. Being extremely volatile, it is also present in the smoke, and to this circumstance is doubtless owing the inconvenience which many people experience when exposed to the fumes of tobacco.* The steadily increasing practice of the use of tobacco among us is a remarkable fact; and when viewed in connection with the prevalence of the debilitating type which now characterizes all disease, becomes also a suggestive one. Some profess to see in it only a coincidence; others maintain it is cause and effect. We shall endeavour to lay the evidence on either

* The *Atropa Belladonna*, or common potato, is a member of the same family as the tobacco plant; and there may be obtained from the leaves *E. Solanine*, a similarly acrid and narcotic poison, two grains of which would prove a fatal do[illegible]

side before our readers, so as to leave them to draw their own conclusions. The figures stand thus for Great Britain and Ireland, as indicated by our Custom-house returns:—

| Years. | Total Consumption. lb. | Population. | Consumption per head. oz. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1821 | 15,598,152 | 21,282,960 | 11·71 |
| 1831 | 19,533,841 | 24,410,439 | 12·80 |
| 1841 | 22,309,360 | 27,019,672 | 13·21 |
| 1851 | 28,062,841 | 27,452,692 | 16·86 |
| 1853 | . . | 29,737,561 | 19 |

If we take as our guide the average of the last two quotations—and there is little to make us suppose we should err in doing so—we may suppose that the home consumption has now reached 35,000,000 lb. annually, making it 25 oz. per head. Upwards of 8,000,000*l.* are annually spent on tobacco in Great Britain.* The duty paid on it amounted in 1858 to 5,272,471*l.* It exceeds the sugar duties by 575,350*l.*, and is 200,000*l.* above the excise on malt, long the prime prop of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.† That the quantity of tobacco actually consumed is considerably greater than that indicated by the above returns, we may infer from the fact that a tolerably large contraband trade is carried on in spite of Custom-house vigilance. We must now touch on our great commercial sin—that of adulteration, with reference to the subject. Mr. Prescott, in his valuable work on tobacco, announces that, among other things extensively used in adulteration, are the leaves of rhubarb, dock, burdock, coltsfoot, beech, plantain, oak, elm, peat, earth, bran, sawdust, malt rootlets, barley meal, oat, bean, and pea meal, potato starch, and chicory leaves steeped in tar-oil, cabbage and lettuce leaves, the latter especially for cheap cigars. A parliamentary return, made in 1853, adds the following to the above list: sugar, alum, lime, saltpetre, fuller's earth, malt-commings, chromate of lead, peat, moss, treacle, common salt, endive leaves, lamp-black, gum, red dye and black dye, iron, and liquorice.‡ From these well-authenticated statements we may reasonably infer that though 8,000,000*l.* are annually spent in Great Britain for genuine tobacco, at least a third more is laid out in purchasing the above disgusting rubbish. The Custom-house may

* Of this the Scotch contribute 6000*l.* per annum for snuff.

† In Vienna, 52 millions of cigars are consumed annually. In Hamburgh, with one-third of the population, 14,600,000 cigars. The entire consumption for Austria amounts to 1000 millions. Rome has the fewest tobacco-shops of any large capital (*vide* Fairholt, 'Tobacco, and its Associations'). In Denmark the consumption of tobacco is 4½ lb. per head. In Belgium 4¾ lb. per head. In New South Wales, where it is admitted free of duty, it is about 14 lb. per head. (*Vide* Johnston's 'Chemistry.')

‡ A few years ago a cigar manufacturer was enabled to resist with success an attempt to enforce the legal penalty from him for the unlawful sale of 'Havannah cigars,' by demonstrating that he had never on any occasion used the tobacco leaf at all.

indicate

indicate the quantity of tobacco used; but from this reason, it can give no idea of the number of smokers, or the amount of filth, not absolutely poisonous, that the purchaser of the spurious article draws into his mouth and lungs. It may be useful to notice the extreme severity with which our forefathers of Europe viewed the introduction of tobacco, before the sensual pleasures which it offers had had time to gain votaries. Oviedo (*vide* note, 'Historia General de las Indias,' 1526,) speaks of smoking among the Indians at Hispaniola. He mentions it as an evil custom, a thing very pernicious, used to produce insensibility; and a friar, who accompanied Columbus in 1494, says they drew up powder of tobacco through a funnel into their nose, which purged them much. Another writer says: 'So much do they fill themselves with this black smoke, that they lose their reason. See what a wicked and pestiferous poison from the devil this must be!' Urban VIII. excommunicated those who took snuff or chewed tobacco in a church. The sovereigns of Persia and Turkey decreed death to smokers. In Russia, the offender's nose was to be cut off; while in Berne it ranked next to adultery, and there was a distinct tribunal for trying this species of offence. The somewhat pedantic and violent *Counterblaste* of our own monarch King James I. is too well known to quote here. He it was who raised the duty from 2*s.* to 6*s.* 10*d.* per lb., which at that time almost amounted to a prohibition of tobacco. Lastly, old Burton gives us his opinion in the following quaint form: 'A good vomit I confess; a virtuous herb, if it be well qualified, opportunely taken, and medicinally used; but as it is commonly abused by most men which take it as tinkers do ale, 'tis a plague, a mischief, a violent purger of goods, lands, health, hellish, devilish, and damned tobacco, the ruin and overthrow of body and soul.'

We now proceed to lay before our readers the evidence for and against the custom of smoking tobacco, premising, however, that the first is almost wholly negative; its advocates admitting that it is an expensive habit, but asserting that it is a pleasurable one, and beneficial to health *rather than otherwise;* while against it we have a mass of very strong testimony, subscribed to by the highest authorities, including the names of Prout, Brodie, Bright, Laycock, Pereira, Orfila, Trosseau, Ranking, and Professor Lizars. Mr. Steinmitz appears to have smoked with success for dyspepsia. His average quantity was eighteen cigars per diem. He states that his appetite, digestion, and health are absolutely perfect; that he is neither bald nor gray; that he never drinks, and is never depressed; has no headache, and enjoys excellent sight; that he is forty years of age, and has lived thus for many years. He admits, however, that occasionally his mouth and tongue were excoriated; and advises those who may have smoked too much to take camphorated spirits of wine, sugar and water. Camphor, he adds, is said to be an antidote

antidote to tobacco. From his allusion to the probability of an antidote being required, it is to be supposed that he regards tobacco as a poisonous agency; and as, in another part, he states that he frequently takes camphor, or sugar and water, it is to be presumed that he has found it needful to resort to the antidote. This is the whole pith of Mr. Steinmitz's personal testimony, and it amounts to this, that he has for many years, and at a great expense, indulged in an excessive taste for a narcotic with amazing impunity. In ten years he must have spent upwards of 1,000*l.* in cigars alone. We have remarked that the evidence against tobacco is of a very positive nature. The great increase among us, of late years, of a particular class of diseases—such as apoplexy, mostly serous (as contrasted with that of seventy years ago, sanguineous), palsy, paralysis; and, again, neuralgia, epilepsy, and insanity—seems to point out the fact that some debilitating influence is busily at work. Whether our increased consumption of narcotics be a cause or a symptom of debility, it equally concerns us to arrest the degenerative process at present undermining our social condition. Mr. Solly speaks of the confirmed smoker suffering excessively from dyspepsia, liver complaint, nervousness, and general atrophy. He considers that the nervous system is soothed at the time, only to be rendered more feeble and irritable afterwards; and adds, that if the habit continues to advance in England, as it has done for the last ten years, that the English character for practical energy will be much deteriorated. Neither does he hesitate to ascribe the enormous increase of general paralysis to the use of tobacco. 'Young smokers are mostly pale and meagre,' says another writer; 'confirmed smokers are generally of bad complexions, and suffer from diseases of the heart and stomach. When deprived of their accustomed dose, they experience the greatest discomfort, irritation, or depression of spirits.' According to Dr. Laycock, they are often troubled with heat, redness, and tears in the eyes, spasm of the orbicular muscle of the eyelid, with photophobia, or intolerance of light. 'Shattered nervous system, premature loss of mental vigour, impaired memory, mental alienation, are too often the well-defined results of excessive tobacco-smoking. These are facts that cannot be ignored when considering the question at issue.'* Dr. Prout says: 'Tobacco disorders the assimilating functions in general, but particularly, I believe, the assimilation of the saccharine principle. Some poisonous principle, probably of an acid nature, is generated in certain individuals by its abuse, as is evident from their cachectic looks, and from the dark and often greenish-yellow tint of their blood. The severe and peculiar dyspeptic symptoms produced by inveterate snuff-taking are well known; and I have more than once

* *Vide* 'Journal of Psychological Medicine,' April 1857, page 179.

seen

seen such cases terminate fatally with malignant disease of the stomach and liver.' It is stated that cancer in the lip is frequently induced by smoking pipes; others, however, maintain that this disease is as common among women as men, which goes far to disprove the assertion. It is, however, certain 'that ulceration of the lip, gums, cheeks, throat, of a very loathsome and disgusting character, has followed the smoking of cigars or pipes that had been used by diseased persons.'* German physiologists have computed that out of twenty deaths of men between eighteen and twenty-five years of age, ten originate in the waste of the constitution by smoking, and that the impaired vision which so early necessitates the use of spectacles among Germans is referable to this practice. In the 'Lancet' we also find it asserted that so fearfully is the tobacco on the Continent adulterated with opium, that smokers are at one and the same time consuming opium and tobacco. It does not admit of doubt, that the cadaverous, ill-coloured, bilious appearance of the American is to be attributed to his generally wretched digestion, arising partly from the haste with which he swallows his food, but mainly from the quantity of tobacco-oil introduced into his system by his constantly chewing and smoking, and from the enormous waste of saliva consequent. As we have before remarked, insanity has been mentioned as one result of smoking tobacco. Against this it is retorted, that female lunatics preponderate slightly over the other sex. But this argument contains an obvious fallacy, which lies in overlooking the important question of hereditary influence. Men become fathers of families, and in proportion as insanity increases among men, it will also among women. The point is therefore, Has not insanity generally increased among both sexes? The laws which regulate the transmission of hereditary taint are fixed and invariable; and madness appears to be especially a malady which descends surely and fatally from generation to generation. Bearing on this, we append an extract from the 'Lancet,' February 14th, 1857: 'In no instance is the sin of the father more strikingly visited on the children than the sin of tobacco-smoking. The enervation, the hypochondriasis, the hysteria, the insanity, the dwarfish deformities, the consumption, the suffering lives and early deaths of the children of inveterate smokers bear ample testimony to the feebleness and unsoundness of the constitution transmitted by this pernicious habit.' It is a generally-received and well-authenticated opinion, that tobacco is a powerful anti-aphrodisiac. In this respect it presents a marked contrast to Indian hemp. Dr. Pidduck states that at the St. Giles' Dispensary, 'leeches were killed instantly by the blood of smokers; that they dropped off dead immediately they were applied. In con-

* *Vide* 'Lancet,' January 31, 1857.

tradiction,

tradiction, however, to this, we must state instances to the contrary to our own knowledge are very frequent. Another argument is brought against the use of tobacco, viz., that it mostly accompanies intemperance of another kind; and that the man who smokes generally drinks also, owing to the excessive dryness of the mouth and fauces, and consequent thirst produced by the action of the drug. This is a serious charge, but does not appear to our mind quite free from flaw. Mr. Steinmitz says emphatically, 'Nicotiana does not love the bottle!' The Asiatics, the Turks, and the French are much more sober nations than we can boast ourselves to be, but they use tobacco in a very much larger proportion; neither could smoking have influenced the hard drinking of our Saxon forefathers, since the custom was then unknown. The truth is, we take it, rather that smoking and drinking are idle and sensual habits, and that the sort of men who do the one are the sort likely to do the other. If the man who smokes is led to associate with the man who smokes and drinks too, the dread of appearing singular, and the false spirit of good fellowship, and the natural force of example, will soon undermine even long-practised habits of self-control. That the immoderate use of tobacco does not entail terrible consequences few are bold enough to question, and we call on our readers to note the striking resemblance visible in the following descriptions made by travellers. First, the *Coquero*, or confirmed chewer of the coca leaf of South America:—

'He betakes himself for days together to the silence of the woods, and there indulges, unrestrained, in the use of the weed. The inveterate *coquero* is known at a glance. His unsteady gait; his dim and sunken eyes encircled by a purple ring; his quivering lips, and his general apathy, all bear evidence of the baneful effects of the coca juice taken in excess.'—*Vide* Von Tschudi.

Again, we have a portrait of the miserable and distorted *Theriaki*, or confirmed opium-eater of the East:—

'A total attenuation of body, a withered yellow countenance, a lame gait, a bending of the spine, frequently to such a degree as to assume a circular form; glassy, deep, sunken eyes, betray the opium-eater. The digestive organs are in the highest degree disturbed; the sufferer eats scarcely anything; his mental and bodily powers are destroyed; he is impotent.'—*Vide* Oppenheim.

Here is the victim of tobacco:—

'Desperate smokers are pale and livid; their teeth are black; their lips blue; their hands tremble; their muscles are without vigour. They are bereft of energy and decision. The mucous membrane of the mouth becomes vascular and swollen; irritation sets in with hæmorrhage. This causes the great number of bleeding stomatitis common among military men.'—Levy, Traité d'Hygiène.

Is there not sufficient resemblance in these graphic pictures of degradation to make a man think twice before he gives way to an enslaving habit which may end so terribly for him? Now we have a great objection to losing our case by overstating it. One man would cure the evils of our age by cheap baths—another by tracts. One says we have too many bishops—another asserts we have-

have too few. One man thinks Sunday concerts would regenerate the people. One proposes compulsory education—another is content with enforced vaccination. Here church-rates are the root of all evil—there dissent is anathematized. Our poor law and our pew rents—Roman Catholic agression, and the adulteration of food—the want of education—and over education, dress, drink, and drainage, have severally been denounced as the crying sin, the chief plague-spot of society. In this way a large amount of unsystematic earnestness has been called into play; but owing to a restricted vision, and the want of what the Germans call 'many-sidedness' of character, it has not accomplished so much good as might have been looked for. We do not, therefore, call for legislative interference—we do not believe that the certainty of penal consequences would prevent men using narcotics, so long as they regarded vigorous health as less desirable than sensual pleasure. A young and thoughtless mind hardly reflects on the consequences of creating for himself a new want, and commencing a selfish and expensive habit which all own to be difficult to relinquish. Aristotle has indeed said that no man chooses the evil instead of the good, knowing it at the time to be so; and abstractedly, and in a certain sense, this is true—for a judgment may be vitiated to that extent when a fleeting, dreamy, sensuous pleasure appears for the moment preferable to any moral advantage. But there is another mental condition recognized by psychologists, the weakening in the powers of choice, ending in total loss of volition. It is well known to physicians, and is exhibited chiefly in the drunkard and the dyspeptic, in the victims of melancholia, and uniformly in those who are slaves to any one pernicious habit. Thus moral causes, no less than physical, entail the same weakness of the voluntary power; the tyranny of habit produces the same impotent lamentations and cries of distress as the terrible phantom hypochondria, or the ghastly avenger *delirium tremens*. Ask the drunkard, the lunatic, the hypochondriac, the slave of tobacco, of opium, or hemp, why he does that which injures him, the response is for ever the same: '*I cannot help it—I can do no otherwise.*' 'Bid a man paralytic in both arms to rub them briskly together,' says Coleridge, 'and that will cure him.' 'Alas!' he would reply, 'that I cannot move my arms is my complaint and my misery.' So far the evidence may be said to apply only to the excessive abuse of tobacco. Let us examine whether it bears on the moderate use, and if so, in what degree. That it is a narcotic in its nature, and in its concentrated form a virulent poison, is confessed by all: that its habitual use has a *tendency* to vitiate the secretions and debilitate the nervous system will hardly be denied;*

* A gentleman noted for his boldness in riding to hounds, assured us that he never smoked on hunting mornings. 'If I take my half pipe of cavendish, I'm that

that its action is detrimental rather than otherwise to the liver and stomach is a well-authenticated medical fact. That whatever causes these results has also a *tendency* to develop a cachectic condition, and materially shorten human life, is a logical conclusion from which we can hardly escape. Rabelais, indeed, affirmed that there are more old drunkards than old physicians: that may be so; but it proves nothing, since there are probably more drunkards, young and old, than there are men in any given profession. That some smokers attain to an advanced age is incontestable; but it is no less true that the majority do not; and that those who accomplish it are rarely free from those diseases to which we have alluded; and in any case their children suffer. 'Such as the father is, such is the son; and look, what disease the father had when he begot him the son will have after him.' *Ut filii non tam possessionum quam morborum sint hæredes sint.* 'When the complexion and constitution of the father is corrupt, then,' saith Roger Bacon, 'the complexion and constitution of the son must needs be corrupt; and so the corruption is derived from father to son.'

It would be idle to recapitulate the long list of eminent names of those who indulged and those who abstained—to urge that Sir Isaac Newton smoked, and Napoleon did not; it is more to the point for each man to consider how far the question bears on his own health, brains, and purse; and whether it is wise and expedient for him to begin a habit, which, it is well to remember, is a most difficult one to relinquish; and the want of which is never felt before it is commenced. It may be said that little of this applies to the poor working man or out-door labourer, who spends his few pence on an ounce of shag, or to the young man of fortune, to whom cigars at 50*s.* per lb. are mere bagatelles; since the first resorts to tobacco often for the sake of staving off the gnawing of hunger; and for the last, if they will waste their time, their health, and paralyze and pervert their intellect—their senseless extravagance does at any rate benefit the exchequer. But it does appeal, and strongly, to those with whom life is earnest—who are willing and anxious to do their work in the world. Above all, it addresses itself to the young men who have, in trades, professions, or in skilled labour, to work for their livelihood as their best necessity—in these days a stern and uphill struggle in the face of desperate and numerous competitors. Is it for them to create a new want—one which is certain to be expensive, craving, and constant; and deliberately bind themselves as slaves to the tyranny of habit? The case of Mr. Steinmetz, we

nowhere at the death that day,' he said; 'it spoils one's nerve.' And an eminent surgeon informed us that he had found it necessary to relinquish the habit of smoking from the tremulousness of the hands which it induced.'

may

may admit, is an extreme one; and few men can, for even a short period, smoke eighteen cigars per diem without entailing consequences too severe to face. But we will suppose a young man, with a salary of 150*l.* per annum, smokes three cigars daily, that will cost about 9*d.* per diem; and that will amount to nearly 14*l.* per annum. In ten years' time the money so squandered will be 140*l.*—a sum sufficient, if well employed, to raise him greatly in any position or sphere—or, again, had it been saved and placed at interest, it would go far towards furnishing a house. That man, then, will have thrown himself some ten years back in accomplishing the natural and legitimate desire of having a house he could call his own. A young fellow smoking cigars, in lodgings, and living on his salary, has not such a bad chance, it may be thought, at twenty; but at thirty-five he assumes a different aspect, and the world regards him with a more critical eye. He has no status in society; no balance at the savings bank; no wife, and little prospect of one; no very settled habits: in short, he possesses only a considerably diminished respectability, combined with a knowledge that the general verdict is already recorded against him, and that friends and foes regard his career as a failure. That the argument in favour of tobacco is purely negative, we have, we conceive, demonstrated; and it is undeniable that hardly one old smoker will recommend any one to commence the custom. 'It's a bad habit, my lad—I wish I could give it up, but I can't,' is the general admission. Again, it is not only an expensive practice, but, be it well remembered, the money so spent is for a purpose purely and entirely selfish. It affords no gratification to wives or children. If a man abstains from smoking in his own house (perhaps a misfortune when the habit is inveterate) the neighbouring public-house or the whist club receives him; and he thus deprives his family of that encouragement, society, and counsel which they have a right to expect. A man may urge truly that his pipe of tobacco costs but little; but to this it may be replied, that the short, black cutty and ounce of cavendish, is the end, not the beginning; that the initiation is longer and more costly in the classes to whom these remarks apply, owing to the foolish vanity of young fellows in the fashion and variety of their meerschaums. In that part of London which corresponds to the *Quartier Latin* of Paris, it would be amusing, if it were not rather melancholy, to observe at the pawnbrokers, among the books, legal and medical, the instruments, surgical and scientific, many a goodly silver-mounted meerschaum pipe, the pride of the most empty-headed of our students.* We have adverted to that

* It should not be forgotten, that whatever money a man expends on cigars, the chances are at least equal that he has purchased wholly or in part some of the abominations referred to in the commencement of this paper.

which

which has been well called the tyranny of habit—incontestably the one to which we all most easily succumb, and which we find most difficult to throw off. The terrible craving, the physical irritability, and the mental discontent experienced by the habitual smoker, deprived of his tobacco, are the same in kind, though less in degree, as what the opium-eater endures under similar circumstances. 'I know it is destroying my liver, but I cannot do without tobacco,' said one patient to his doctor. 'I cannot refute your arguments,' exclaimed the well-known Robert Hall, when presented by Clarke with his pamphlet on the subject; 'I cannot refute your arguments, and I cannot give up smoking.' 'Conceive whatever is most wretched, helpless, and hopeless,' says Coleridge, 'and you will form a tolerable notion of my state.' With this recorded experience before us, who dare assert that from being a votary he may not become a victim? Which of us can trust himself to say to that tide of dreamy, selfish indulgence, 'Hitherto, but no further shalt thou go?' And what is the object aimed at? To procure a temporary annihilation of thought. To condemn for a brief period that brain to cerebral idleness which God has assuredly given us for very different purposes. 'Of what do you think when you smoke?' demanded a traveller of a Turk. 'Of *nothing*,' was the reply. 'Shall we not have all eternity to rest in?' asks one great modern apostle of work. Those who after carefully weighing the evidence come to the conclusion that the excessive and increasing use of tobacco is pernicious, will, as is natural and desirable, endeavour to propagate their views: to recognize the evil, and, calmly regretting the abuse, to preserve silence on that which leads to the abuse would be a false tolerance, a lamentable quietism. A good sentiment, which is allowed to remain inactive, might, for all practical purposes, never exist; and to such Carlyle's eloquent apostrophe is addressed: 'Beautiful cheap gossamer gauze; thou film shadow of a raw material of virtue, which art *not* woven nor likely to be into duty; thou art better than nothing, and also worse.' If it is not possible to make all men act wisely, they could at least be taught that there is a wise way and a foolish one: or shall we continue on our present course until our state will be that so quaintly described by old Burton: 'For now by too much facility, too much liberty and indulgence in tolerating all sorts, there is a vast confusion of hereditary diseases; no family secure; no man almost free from some grievous infirmity or other.' So it comes to pass that our generation is corrupt; we have many weak persons both in body and mind; many feral diseases raging among us, crazed families, *parentes peremptores*—our fathers bad, and we are likely to be worse.'

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ART.

ART. III.—*Robert Owen and his Social Philosophy.* By William Lucas Sargant, Author of 'Social Innovators,' &c. London: Smith, Elder, and Co.

THE strong feelings which are excited when the schemes of an innovator are first propounded; the blind worship of the disciple and the hypercritical contempt of the antagonist, effectually hinder unprejudiced criticism. It is not until time and trial have brought out latent defect, and discovered hidden beauty, that men see the truth amid the error, and, whilst rejecting the innovation, think kindly of the innovator. There is a strange dualism in human nature, the old tale of the shield endlessly repeated. We see one side and unhesitatingly affirm it to be gold, when perhaps the opposite presents, not silver nor even copper, mayhap a conglomerate, 'iron mixed with miry clay.' But time softens down prejudices, thank God! buries personal hatreds, and when death has done his work, we forget the discord of years in the quiet which no passion can disturb, and the old feelings come back again, with the voice and face we used to love. It is so with Robert Owen, the philanthropist and the visionary. Mr. Sargant has put the two before us, if not with brilliancy, with truthfulness; and we must thank him for not sacrificing fact to partisanship, and for not courting popularity at the expense of truth.

The life of Robert Owen serves, in several respects, to throw light upon his philosophy. His half-education, as well as his early success, are clearly discernible in all his sociology. By education we do not mean school-learning, for then the modicum of it which fell to his lot could scarcely merit so high a distinction. The dominie of Newtown, Montgomeryshire, his native place, considered his pupil, at the age of seven, sufficiently advanced in learning to undertake the responsible position of 'assistant master and usher' in the school. Still, though a knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic—the first four rules—is not considered all that is now necessary for an assistant master and usher, Robert was a sharp boy; and during the two years in which he was engaged in tuition, read a great many books, came under the influence of two Methodist ladies, 'who tried to convert him to their persuasion,' indulged in theological discussion, and wrote three sermons.

'In his old age he related with grave simplicity that he kept the sermons until he became acquainted with Sterne's works; that he found among these, three discourses so much like his own "in idea and turn of mind," that fearing to be regarded as a plagiarist, he destroyed his own. Impartial critics will not easily believe that the Welsh child was a formidable rival of the pithy Irishman.'

At the age of nine he went to London, and after staying there six weeks, took a situation with a Mr. McGuffog, quondam [redacted] now draper, at Stamford. Here he was treated [redacted]

ness, learnt much which stood him in good stead in after-life, and had leisure for five hours a-day reading. At Stamford, his passion for memorializing government seems first to have manifested itself; and his fancied success may have done much to confirm his faith in such modes of redressing evil. He addressed a letter to the prime minister, Mr. Pitt, on the subject of sabbath desecration, and a few days after, was pleased to read a royal proclamation, recommending a more strict observance of Sunday.

At the age of eighteen, we find him in Manchester, engaged in the manufacture of mules for spinning, with a partner and a borrowed capital of one hundred pounds; soon after, spinning on his own account, with three mules, and earning six pounds a week. His next step in life was daring, and had it not turned out successful, would have been thought presumptuous.

'Going to his little factory on Monday morning, he was told that a Mr. Drinkwater had advertised for a manager. This gentleman, a rich merchant, had lately erected a mill for the finer sorts of spinning, and was filling it with machinery, having a scientific man, Mr. George Lee, for a superintendent. Mr. Lee was enticed away by the offer of a partnership, leaving Mr. Drinkwater, who was ignorant of the business, in a very awkward position. As soon as Owen heard of the advertisement, he put on his hat, and without reflection applied for the situation. He was only twenty, and his rosy cheeks made him look still less. "You are too young," said Mr. Drinkwater. "Four or five years ago I should have thought so."—"How often in the week do you get drunk?" (the ordinary vice then of Lancashire, and, indeed, of every shire). "I was never drunk in my life," replied Owen, blushing. The answer, and the ingenuous manner, made an impression. "What salary do you ask?" "Three hundred a year." The questioner was astounded; for he had received many applicants that morning, and their aggregate demands scarcely amounted to three hundred a year. Owen declined to take less, and stated that he was making that income by his own business. Mr. Drinkwater asked for proof of this, and receiving it, he made the necessary inquiries as to character, which, of course, met with such replies from Mr. McGuffog and others, as got Owen the situation. The three mules were taken at cost price, and his services were at once transferred to the new mill.'

Here, with five hundred people to overlook, raw material to buy, machinery to construct, and the accounts to keep, his industry, shrewdness, and determination overcame every difficulty: the manufacture was improved, the profits increased, and Owen received an advance of salary, four hundred for the second year, five hundred for the third, and a promise of partnership at the end of the third. This last was not destined to be fulfilled. Mr. Drinkwater preferred a wealthy son-in-law as partner, and offered Owen any salary he pleased to name. The position of manager, however, he would no longer hold, and so left the concern. Several partnerships were now offered to him, and he accepted one in the 'Chorlton Twist Company.'

In a journey to Scotland, he visited New Lanark, and was so struck with the place, that he said to his companion, 'Of all places I have yet seen, I should prefer this in which to try an experiment I have long contemplated, and have wished to have an opportunity

opportunity to put in practice.' Had he then already had his first Socialist dream? The proprietor of the water mills at New Lanark was a Mr. Dale; and having had an introduction to this gentleman's daughter, he visited the mills. Morning walks, with a charming young lady, are exceedingly dangerous for a young bachelor; and Owen having indulged, on several of his Scotch journeys, in this perilous pleasure, fell in love. Still, he had never seen the lady's father, Mr. Dale, and the ruse he made use of to gain an introduction was the turning-point of his life. Had it not been for this, English Socialism might never have had its greatest apostle, and Owenism never existed. He called, on pretence of negotiating a purchase of the mills, supposed to be in the market; but in after consultation with his partners, pretence became reality; the 'New Lanark Twist Company' was established; Miss Dale became Mrs. Owen; and Owen himself autocrat of the mills on the Clyde.

And now we must prepare to see Owen, the philanthropist. Already he has deeply felt the ignorance and misery of many of the factory labourers. He has revolved schemes of improvement. He has learnt lessons on education from Lancaster and Bell. What will he do now the occasion has come? Let Mr. Sargant tell us something of the place itself, and then we may judge what he had to do.

'Hands had to be found to work in the mills: no easy task, because the long hours and the confinement were disgustful to the peasantry. Recourse was had to charitable establishments for a supply of children. As many as five hundred of these were ultimately working together, most of whom had been sent from Edinburgh. . . . . To obtain a supply of adult labourers, a village was built round the works, and the houses were let at a low rent; but the business was so unpopular that few, except the bad, the unemployed, and the destitute, would settle there. Even of such ragged labourers the numbers were insufficient; and these, when they had learned their trade and become valuable, were self-willed and insubordinate. . . . . The pauper authorities insisted that the children, if sent at all, should be received as early as six years old. It was found, or thought, necessary, that these little creatures should work with the other people, from six in the morning till seven in the evening; and it was only after this task that instruction began. The inevitable results followed. The poor children hated their slavery: many absconded: some were stunted and even dwarfed in stature. At thirteen to fifteen years old, when their apprenticeship expired, they commonly went off to Glasgow and Edinburgh, with no natural guardians, ignorant of the world beyond their native village, and altogether admirably trained for swelling the mass of vice and misery in the towns. . . . . The condition of the families who had immigrated to the village was also very lamentable. The people lived almost without control, in habits of vice, idleness, poverty, dirt, and destitution. . . . . Thieving was general, and went on to such a ruinous extent that Mr. Dale's property appeared to be treated on a regular communistic principle. . . . . There was also a considerable drawback from the comfort of the people, in the high price and bad quality of the commodities supplied in the village.'

He began by employing managers who would strictly carry out his principles. The old ones were intractable. He refused to receive any more pauper children. He made such arrangements, that theft was instantly detected: and though actual

punishment

punishment was but little resorted to, the influence of shame, consequent on detected guilt, did its work, and more effectually. Taverns were gradually removed to a distance. The shops were improved; the workpeople supplied with better articles, at a cheaper rate. A species of self-government was established in the village. The good results were soon evident. Success was complete.

In 1809 he laid before the partners a plan for the extension of the concern, and for an infant school. The men of business were sufficiently pleased with the proposal of mercantile extension, but hesitated at the philanthropic innovation. They presented Owen with a silver salver, as a token of their admiration, and allowed him to become the purchaser of the mills for 84,000*l.* He was now joined by two relatives of Mr. Dale. These gentlemen thought only of profit; were vastly more intolerant of change than his previous partners had been; and so hindered the carrying out of his schemes that he was compelled to resign his position. The mills were put up at public auction, and were knocked down to Owen, at 114,100*l.*, to the intense annoyance of his late partners, who had been circulating reports, tending to depreciate the value of the property, with the hope of buying it in again for 40,000*l.* In the new firm, there were seven partners; among whom were Jeremy Bentham the Publicist, and William Allen the Quaker.

The account of the first meeting between Owen and Bentham, given by the former, and reported by Mr. Sargant, is so amusing that we cannot help extracting it.

'He had already heard of the nervousness of the recluse philosopher, at having to be introduced to a stranger; and he was greatly entertained with the preliminary formalities. First, there were some communications with the intimate associates, James Mill and Francis Place; then some letters between Owen and Bentham himself; and at last it was agreed that at a particular hour Owen should visit Bentham's "hermit-like retreat," and that the two should meet halfway upstairs. Hajji Baba and his master could scarcely have made more careful stipulations as to the reception of the great king's embassy. The instructions were carefully observed, the auspicious point was reached by both gentlemen at the same moment. Bentham, in great apparent trepidation, took his guest's hand, and said, in an excited manner, "Well, well, it is all over. We are introduced." They went into the study, and sat down, much relieved by the performance of the arduous feat.'

It is a mercy for us that we seldom know the opinion even our best friends have of us. Mr. Sargant gives Owen's opinion of Bentham; let us place in juxtaposition with it, Bentham's opinion of Owen. Owen says—

'He (Bentham) spent a long life in an endeavour to amend laws, all based on a fundamental error, without discovering this error; and, therefore, was his life, although a life of incessant, well-intended industry, occupied in showing and attempting to remedy the evils of individual laws, but never attempting to dive to the foundation of all laws, and thus ascertain the cause of the errors and evils of them.'

Bentham

Bentham says—

'Robert Owen begins in a vapour and ends in smoke. He is a great braggadocio. His mind is a maze of confusion, and he avoids coming to particulars. He is always the same—says the same thing over again. He built some small houses; and people who had no houses of their own went to live in these houses, and this he calls success.'

The plan of the new undertaking was singularly unique. It was no longer to be carried on as a purely commercial speculation: the profits, after paying five per cent. to the capitalists, were to be employed wholly in educational and philanthropic schemes. Owen already had so won upon the hearts of the people of New Lanark that when he returned, they offered to him a perfect ovation; dragged his carriage along, and illuminated the village.

He was now at liberty to do all his heart could wish. The schools were established; and his theories on education, accurate in the main, were put into practice. His first principle—that education cannot begin too early, seeing it begins at birth—was right: the conclusion to which it led him, as we shall see, was wrong. The children were placed, almost, under a Spartan régime. As soon as they could walk they were admitted to the school; and those who could scarcely grasp the simplest truth were taught to feel it, in signs, and pictures, and gentle words. Had he ever read the 'Republic,' we should have said that from Plato he had learned the early training for the perfect state, and applied it to his schools. Owen became popular. Illustrious visitors crowded New Lanark, and their admiration was unbounded. All the eminent men of the day; the ambassadors from foreign courts; and the late Czar, then the Grand Duke Nicholas, honoured the cotton-spinner with their presence and approval. Her present Majesty narrowly escaped being taken there by her father, the Duke of Kent; who, as long as he lived, appears cordially to have sympathised with, and warmly to have furthered, the educational schemes of Owen. To several contemporaries the honour of the origination of infant schools has been accorded, but there is no claim, we think, so great as that of Robert Owen.

Without following a chronological order, which would compel us to turn to the other and less pleasing side of his character, let us see him again, as a fellow-worker with Howard, Clarkson, Mrs. Fry, and Wilberforce—a worker in the great cause of social regeneration.

At a meeting of Scotch manufacturers held in Glasgow, soon after Owen had entered on his last benevolent undertaking, he proposed that a petition should be addressed to parliament, praying the government 'to take into its consideration the condition of the people employed in the textile mills, with a view to shortening their hours of labour.' This proposition, however, met with little favour. Fearful as was the condition of many of the fact

hands—especially of the young children—Mammon was too strong in the breasts of the cannie Scotchmen. Nothing daunted, he went to London, and communicated with the government on the subject. By his persistency, he got a bill introduced, which in 1819 received the royal assent; and which must be regarded as the first step in that onward march of improvement, in the condition of factory operatives, in which we are still advancing. So far, then, we must give Owen our heartiest approval.

Let us now trace that mental process which transmuted the energetic philanthropist into the dreaming communist and avowed atheist. We have already spoken of the high value he set on early education. He saw, too, that each man is born with a certain organization, and that it depends, in a great measure, on the education what the character will be. From these premises, he deduced the conclusion, that man is irresponsible for his character; that the blessings he may call down upon himself for his disinterested beneficence, and the enormities which may make his name a byword and a curse, are alike to be charged on his organization and his education; and, by consequence, to praise or to punish him is the most irrational thing the human mind can perpetrate. Self-education, self-discipline, and self-sacrifice with him are positive absurdities. Nature, and 'surroundings,' are everything. And this is the fundamental truth in the gospel to regenerate mankind of which he was the self-constituted evangelist. He saw not, that, with such a creed, hope for man was effectually precluded. He believed in no heaven-sent breathing which could stir in the breast of a degraded one some trembling of tenderness, some pulsation of love. He had no explanation to offer of those words of the imperial Hebrew: 'I thought on my ways, and turned my feet into thy testimonies.' He flattered himself he had discovered a truth of which the world till then had been ignorant, when all he offered was a poor rationale of the old heathen doctrine of fatalism. All he could say was, that man was the miserable creature of a blind, omnipotent necessity; a saying which the consciousness of every intelligent being proves a lie.

How, then, can moral advancement be secured? He saw no hope but for the children. These were to be taken from their parents as early as possible: and as education is, to a great extent, the result of example, no inferior example must be seen. We, too, should be glad to see all inferior example disappear; but the question is, How is it to be done? If one part of Owen's teaching is to be taken as the exponent of another, his only hope must be dashed to the ground. He was no optimist. His condemnation of human nature was most complete. In a small volume of essays published by him, entitled, 'The Book of the New

New Moral World,' he expressly states that 'a superior human being, or any one approaching a character deserving the name rational, has not yet been known among mankind. A man, intelligent and yet consistent, in his feelings, thoughts, and actions, does not now exist, in even the most civilized part of the world.' It is for him, then, to tell us whence we are to import these perfect teachers, who are to form perfect characters.

We cannot wonder, then, that, with such views as these, he renounced all faith in Christianity, and, in fact, all faith in God. For several years of his early popularity he maintained a judicious reserve on the expression of his religious views, and acted, as well as wrote, we must say it, a semi-hypocrisy. But at a meeting, on the 21st of August, 1817, held at the London Tavern, he publicly committed himself to atheism: and in the 'Book of the New Moral World,' to which we have referred, he thus expresses himself: 'The religions founded under the name of Jewish, Buddh, Jehovah, God or Christ, Mahomet or any other, are all composed of human laws in opposition to nature's eternal laws.' And then he goes on to trumpet the claims of the unfailing nostrum he was never tired of proclaiming—that man is irresponsible for his character. Such views as these are too contemptible to merit discussion. A man who has no more—we will not say intellect, nor yet moral perception—good taste than to class the abominations of Buddhism, and the sensuality of Mahommedanism, with the transcendant beauty of Christian morality—a beauty winning reverence from its bitterest foes—and, in the face of the wisdom of ages, dare present in its stead a miserable figment of heathendom, is, in this respect, too low for enlightened criticism.

Having laid down the proposition we have already adverted to, that man is irresponsible for his character—that his character is his, despite his will—he does not hesitate to accept the necessary corollary—that to impose any check on the gratification of passion is altogether inhuman. To quote again from 'The Book of the New Moral World'—

'As Nature gives the organization to man, so will Nature best direct when any of the functions of the organization should be exercised. In fact, no other law can be acted upon without injury to the individual and to society. And in proportion as human laws and customs have interfered with the dictates of Nature, in the same proportion has man been forced to become a vicious and miserable animal, and to have the finest and highest qualities of his nature deteriorated.'

Thus does he throw open the flood-gates for an unchecked licentiousness.

How such a doctrine as this must effectually loosen the marriage tie at once appears: and how Owen felt it, may be seen in the following statement: 'He [man in his irrational or present state] has decreed that men and women, whose natures, sympathies, and affections unite them at one time and revel [illegible]

other at another, shall speak and act in opposition to these unavoidable feelings; and thus he has produced hypocrisy, crime, and misery beyond the power of language to express.' In justice to Owen, we must say that he never advocated a community of wives as well as a community of goods, in this, unlike Plato and Campanella. Yet, although he scarcely merited the severe strictures passed on him by the Bishop of Exeter, in a speech delivered in the House of Lords denouncing his system as one of promiscuous intercourse; neither, on the other hand, ought he to be dealt with so leniently as he has been by Mr. Sargant. The facility of divorce, on the ground of any fancied incompatibility, requiring only six months' notice of intent by either party—a system this, which he did really put forth—were it ever to become law, would be the death-blow of domestic purity and family life. The home-relationships, covenantal because types and pledges of 'things in the heavens,' once trodden under foot, the total rupture of society must inevitably follow. With domestic life, social distinctions must fall; and so, as Owen says: 'As soon as man shall be thus regenerated, he will discover that the present classification of society into the various grades of the aristocracy, professions, trades, and occupations, is fit only for man in his irrational or first state of existence.'

These were the doctrines of his new religion, doctrines which, once preached to the world, were to work its moral regeneration, abolish ignorance, vice, and misery; 'enable all to live in superior habitations, surrounded by gardens, pleasure-grounds, and scenery, far better designed and executed than any yet possessed by the monarchs of the most powerful, wealthy, and extended empires;' and establish a state where 'money would no longer be required to carry on the business of life,' and where 'the character of all women would, by a superior, yet natural training, be elevated to become lovely, good, and intellectual.' That this glorious consummation might be wrought out, he lectured in London and in the provinces. He discussed with savans at Frankfort, at Paris, at Aix-la-Chapelle. He sent his tracts and essays to all the courts of Europe. Indeed, his popularity was very great on the Continent; but the friends in England, who had joyfully worked together with him as a philanthropist, now sadly were compelled to leave him. His partners ceased to sympathise with him, and in 1829 he finally retired from New Lanark. It had been a great success, and will always be an honour to his name.

We will not stop to discuss his views on spade husbandry, currency, competition, and machinery. They are all fundamentally wrong, although in the latter particular he has the powerful advocacy of M. de Sismondi in his 'Nouveau Principes d'Economie Politique.' It was evident, that for the actual realization of such a scheme,

scheme, embodying so many particulars, the unostentatious philanthropy of infant schools was quite insufficient; a larger field must be sought. The cotton-spinner had become a state-modeller. We have seen the great particulars of his system, let us look at them in a unity, such a unity, at least, as they were ever able to attain, the unity of an Owenite community.

In dealing with such a community, the contrast at once presents itself between the ideal states of the past, and the Socialist schemes of more modern times; between the Republic of Plato and kindred systems of government of which it may be taken as the type, such as the Civitas Solis of Campanella, the Utopia of More, the Oceana of Harington, on the one hand, and, on the other, the model states of St. Simon, Fourier, and Robert Owen. Their origin is antipodal. The ancient thought of the state as anterior to the individual, and to plan a perfect polity was his aim. The modern, whilst decrying individualism as the remote cause of all the wrongs of humanity, makes it the foundation of his system, by building upon it a communistic paradisaical community. The ancient sought after symmetry rather than possibility. He modelled his ideal State, regardless of its adaptability to the actual. He rejoiced in it as a philosophic harmony. He was no innovator. The modern, with an exaggerated view of the evils of social inequality, and generally ignorant of economical science, proceeds to apply crude theories to existing society, and, whilst intending the possible, is as far from it as the former. He is essentially an innovator.

For the latter, then, a country where society is not deeply rooted, and where revolution is not inseparable from change, is the absolute requisite; and this Owen obtained. He purchased in 1824 an estate, consisting of thirty thousand acres of fertile land, in Indiana, on the Wabash. His colony was styled New Harmony. It was started on thoroughly communistic principles; but these were soon abandoned. An equal distribution of produce in a mixed community is impossible. The industrious and persevering will not share the fruits of his labour with the idle and wayward. Socialism without communism was attempted. But this was only putting off the day of dissolution. The crash came; and Owen returned to England, having lost a considerable amount of his property, but as to his projects, expectant as ever. He again attempted to found a communistic society at Orbiston, on the Clyde. This was to be a village, with the requisite enclosures for agriculture; and buildings for habitations and manufactures erected upon it, in the shape of a parallelogram. In a short time this also failed; the land was sold, and the buildings, which had been put up at a considerable expense, were pulled down and carted away.

We need not follow him in all his smaller schemes. He had only one thought, and to tell that became the business of his life.

For many years his world was a little one; the greater one had forgotten him. It would be painful to trace out the ravages of atheism, and failing powers in the mind of a man who had done so much good. Let us only say, that the determined unbeliever was duped by spirit-rapping, and gave heed to a medium. In 1857, he attended the first meeting of the Association for the Promotion of Social Science, held at Birmingham, and in 1858 at that held in Liverpool. Soon after the latter he died, at the town of his birth, aged eighty-seven.

We have said that his half-education, as well as his early success, may be seen in all his projects. Had his mind been well disciplined by systematic study, it could never have cherished the crude theories, nor believed in the heterogeneous jumble, which it loved and ever enunciated. Had his reading been extensive, he would never have asserted, as original discoveries, the old exploded notions of a bygone day. The tone of his mind was French rather than English, and when his popularity was over in his own country, he was reverenced as a prophet by our restless neighbours. His error was the error of his school, of Fourier, of Emile de Girardin, and of Louis Blanc. His American failure finds a parallel in that of M. Cabet. It was in attempting to regenerate mankind, by trying to destroy that which God had made indestructible, human individuality. Social chaos can never be changed to order and beauty by a social earthquake. Social disease is the aggregate of individual sickness; and it is only by individual cure that the State can be healed. Let pure water, pure air, and the free light of heaven be equally enjoyed by all; let Mammon be prevented from building for the poor the wretched over-crowded tenements which foster a physical and moral malaria; let a sound, not showy, education be provided for the very lowest; let each man be taught 'to fear God and work righteousness;' and then, without the reconstruction of the social organism, without anarchy, and without revolution, the chaos, as at the end of the six days, shall glow in primeval beauty, and the Maker, well pleased, shall say, 'Behold, it is very good.'

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## Art. IV.—THE FOUNT OF TRUE POETIC INSPIRATION.

Ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ.—Pindar, *Olymp.* I. 1.

THE various advantages of water-drinking have been repeatedly discussed and debated in various ways. The physical, medical, and social requirements of man have been reviewed; and while some have contended for the virtues of the pure stream, others have as stoutly maintained the necessity and enjoyment of a stronger and more stimulating beverage.

But

But another aspect of the question remains. Even when we have proved that the material and physical advantages of life are upon the side of the water-drinker, how shall we meet the objection, which some may urge, that the poetic nature of man is allied to the use of wine? It is generally taken for granted that there is some inseparable connection between Bacchus and the Muses; and this notion is supported by the numerous odes, songs, and lays, which poets have written in praise of drinking. There is, moreover, a kind of fellowship in excitement of all sorts; a certain emotional sympathy produces an alliance among persons of sensitive mind; and it often happens that when men are pleasingly moved, they are not very anxious to ask the reason why. Thus the votaries of wine have claimed a freedom from care, and a triumph over the ills of life, which the world has been ready to believe; and the power of poetry to elevate has been recognized by many who could not always approve the precise subject, on behalf of which that power was exercised.

Thus it is that persons, otherwise sober enough, have sung with Dryden:—

'The jolly god in triumph comes,
Sound the trumpets, beat the drums;
Flushed with a purple grace,
He shows his honest face:
Now give the hautboys breath, he comes, he comes!
Bacchus, ever fair and young,
Drinking-joys did first ordain;
Bacchus' blessings are a treasure,
Drinking is the soldier's pleasure:
Rich the treasure,
Sweet the pleasure,
Sweet is pleasure after pain.'

And others have repeated with Burns—

'Wi' tippenny we fear no evil,
Wi' usquebaugh we'd face the devil.'

It were long to recount the various circumstances under which the poets, from Anacreon to Cowley, and from Horace to Burns, have chanted the praises of their favourite god. No time seems unsuited to the worship, no place improper for the service; 'Before the fire, if cold it be; in summer, 'neath the shade;'

'Ante focum, si frigus erit; si messis, in umbra.'

Thus Horace advises his friend Plancus:—

'Sic tu sapiens finire memento
Tristitiam vitaeque labores,
Molli, Plance, mero: seu te fulgentia signia
Castra tenent, seu densa tenebit
Tiburis umbra tui.'* Again,

* 'Plancus, so do thou remember
Still to cheer with balmy wine
All the care and grief and travail
Of this toilworn life of thine:

Again, he tells Varus:—

'Siccis omnia nam dura deus proposuit: neque
Mordaces aliter diffugiunt sollicitudines.
* * * *
Quis post vina gravem militiam aut pauperiem crepat?
Quis non te potius, Bacche pater, teque decens Venus?'*

His chief philosophy is to seize the present hour (*carpere diem*), before the Fates cut short the thread of life:—

'Huc vina et unguenta et nimium brevis
Flores amoenos ferre jube rosae,
Dum res et aetas et Sororum
Fila trium patiuntur atra.'†

Thus he reminds Quinctius:—

'Cur non sub alta vel platano vel hac
Pinu jacentes sic temere, et rosa,
Canos odorati capillos
Dum licet, Assyrioque nardo
Potamus uncti? Dissipat Evius
Curas edaces.'‡

In another place, he contends:—

'Qui Musas amat imparcs
Ternos ter cyathos attonitus petet
Vates: tres prohibet supra
Rixarum metuens tangere Gratia
Nudis juncta sororibus.'§

No doubt most of these odes were set to music, and sung by the young men of Rome. Our knowledge of ancient music is so

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Whether in the throng'd camp, gleaming
With a thousand spears, or laid
On the turf beneath the umbrage
Of thy loved Tiburtine glade.
*Martin's Translation.*

* 'For to him who ne'er moistens his lip with the grape,
Life's every demand wears a terrible shape,
And wine, wine only, has magic to scare
Despondency's gloom or the torments of care.
Who's he that with wine's joyous fumes in his brain,
Of the travails of war, or of want will complain,
Nor rather, sire Bacchus, thy eulogies chant,
Or thine, Venus, thine, ever beautiful, vaunt?'—*Ibid.*

† 'There wine, there perfumes bring,
Bring garlands of the rose,
Fair and too short-lived daughters of the Spring,
While youth's bright current flows
Within thy veins, ere yet hath come the hour,
When the dread sisters three shall clutch thee in their power.'—*Ibid.*

‡ 'Say, why should we not, flung at ease 'neath this pine,
Or a plane-tree's broad umbrage, quaff gaily our wine?
While the odours of Syrian nard, and the rose,
Breathe sweet from locks tipp'd, and just tipp'd, with Time's snows.
'Tis Bacchus, great Bacchus, alone has the art
To drive away cares that are eating the heart.
What boy, then, shall best in the brook's deepest pool
Our cups of the fiery Falernian cool?'—*Ibid.*

§ 'The bard, who is vow'd to the odd-numbered Muses,
For bumpers thrice three in his transport will call;
But the Grace with her loose-kirtled sisters refuses
To grant more than three in her horror of brawl.'—*Ibid.*

scanty,

scanty, that it is very difficult to say whether they were sung in chorus, or by solo performers; but at all events, their tendency was to unite the charms of song with the worship of Bacchus.

Whatever may have been the manner of singing at Rome, we know that in modern times choral singing has been employed in the same service. In the days of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, the poets and musicians of the day combined their efforts to celebrate the praise of wine; and in the tavern at Temple Bar there was a room called the Apollo, in which some verses were inscribed written by Ben Jonson himself. These verses are remarkable, because Ben openly sneers at those who sit 'watering with the Muses.' He boldly maintains that wine is the true fount of poetic inspiration:—

'Welcome all who lead or follow
To the Oracle of Apollo!
Here he speaks out of his pottle,
Or the tripos, his tower-bottle:
All his answers are divine;
Truth itself doth flow in wine.
Hang up all the poor hop-drinkers,
Cries old Sim, the king of skinkers;
He the half of life abuses
That sits watering with the Muses.
Those dull girls no good can mean us;
Wine, it is the milk of Venus,
And the poet's horse accounted;
Try it, and you all are mounted.
'Tis the true Phoebian liquor,
Cheers the brains, makes wit the quicker,
Pays all debts, cures all diseases,
And at once three senses pleases.
Welcome all who lead or follow
To the Oracle of Apollo.'

But the great land of the choral drinking-song is Germany. There the jovial students, with pipe in hand, and *schoppen* of beer before them, chant the praises of wine. Nor must we suppose that the mere carnal love of drink is the prevailing motive. Friendship and choral song are the bonds of union. It is a pity that what begins in poetry should ever end in debauchery.

The constant theme of Rhine and wine is thus celebrated:—

'Am Rhein, am Rhein, da wachsen unsre Reben,
Gesegnet sei der Rhein!
Da wachsen sie am Ufer hin, und geben
Uns diesen Labewein!

'So trinkt, so trinkt, und lasst uns allewege,
Uns freu'n und fröhlich sein!
Und wüssten wir, wo Jemand traurig läge,
Wir gäben ihm den Wein.'* Another

* 'The Rhine, the Rhine is gladdened by the vintage,
All honour to the Rhine!
Upon his banks the vineyards bloom and give us
This all-refreshing Wine.

'So

Another poet, proposing the regeneration of society, declares that all the evils of life would be removed, if the world were placed under a Wine Government, according to the following scheme:—

'Beim grossen Fass zu Heidelberg,
Da sitze der Senat,
Und auf dem Schloss Johannisberg,
Der hochwohlweise Rath;
Der Herrn Minister Regiment
Soll beim Burgunderwein,
Der Kriegsrath und das Parlament
Soll beim Champagner sein.'*

Anon, we are warned against a timid participation in Bacchic excitement:—

'Nippe nicht, wenn Bacchus Quelle fliesset
Aengstlich an des vollen Bechers Rand,
Wer das Leben tropfenweis geniesset
Hat des Lebens Deutung nicht erkannt;
Nimmt ihn frisch zum Mund,
Leert ihn bis zum Grund,
Den ein Gott vom Himmel uns gesandt.'†

The reasons assigned why we should drink at every season are whimsical, but not much more so than those which are often urged in earnest:—

'Im Herbst da muss man trinken!
Da ist die rechte Zeit:
Da reift ja uns der Traube Blut,
Und dabei schmeckt der Wein so gut,
Ja, im Herbst da muss man trinken.

'Im Winter muss man trinken!
Im Winter ist es kalt:
Da wärmet uns der Traube Blut,
Und dabei schmeckt der Wein so gut,
Ja, im Winter muss man trinken.

'Im Sommer muss man trinken!
Im Sommer ist es heiss:
Da kühlet uns der Traube Blut,
Und dabei schmeckt der Wein so gut,
Ja, im Sommer muss man trinken.

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'So drink, so drink, and let us now together
In song and friendship join!
And did we know a poor down-hearted brother,
We 'd give that brother—Wine.'

* 'Round the Big Tun at Heidelberg,
There let the Senate sit,
And on the hill, Johannisberg,
The Court of mighty Wit:
The Lords and Ministers well steeped
In Burgundy shall be,
The Parliament shall drink Champagne
So generous and free.'

† 'Sip not, with anxious caution, at the brim,
When Bacchus' self bestows his glowing flood;
Who tastes by drops, and dares not enter in,
The power of life hath never understood;
Drink with ardent soul,
Drain the flowing bowl;
A god presents us with this heavenly good.'

Im

'Im Frühling muss man trinken!
Da ist 's nicht heiss nicht kalt:
Da labt uns erst der Traube Blut,
Da schmeckt der Wein erst doppelt gut,
Ja, im Frühling muss man trinken.'*

As we have hinted, the excitement of the choral drinking-song must not be confounded with a mere physical love of drink. No doubt the two sensations are liable to blend together, to beget one another. But in the old worship of Bacchus there was one remarkable characteristic, namely, that enthusiasm formed an essential part of it. There was a desire of escaping from self into something new and strange, of living in an imaginary world. Hence probably it was that the Greek drama arose out of the worship of Bacchus. Another point worthy of notice is the striving for individual freedom, and the endeavour to rise, even for a moment, above the outward ills of life. The man who seems superior to the fetters of this mortal existence, indulges himself in this fancied advantage. Nay, further, in minds of another cast, there is a desire for a freedom more than that of the imagination; it is an effort to be freed from the shackles of logical consistency. And thus the Persian poet Hafiz, says:—

'Ask not, "What the use
Of drunkenness can be?"
From the chains of intellect
Drinking sets thee free.'

Thirdly, we have the philosophy, if we may so term it, which dwells upon the shortness of life, the certainty of death, and the wisdom of enjoying the passing hour.

Such sentiments find their most frequent expression in lyrical compositions, and especially in those choral songs which among the Greeks were called *dithyrambic*. The dithyramb was an enthusiastic ode to Bacchus, which had in early times been sung at convivial meetings by the drunken revellers, but was, at a later period, executed by a regular chorus. Its character was always,

* 'In Autumn man must drink!
That is the proper time:
The grape is ripe, we quaff his blood,
And then the wine smacks very good,
Yes, in Autumn man must drink.

'In Winter man must drink!
In Winter it is cold:
Then the grape warms us with his blood,
Then the wine smacks so rich and good,
Yes, in Winter man must drink.

'In Summer man must drink!
In Summer it is hot;
Then the grape cools us with his blood,
Then the wine smacks so fresh and good,
Yes, in Summer man must drink.

'In Springtime man must drink!
'Tis neither hot nor cold;
Then cheers us first the grape's rich blood,
And then the wine smacks doubly good,
Yes, in Springtime man must drink.'

like that of the worship to which it belonged, impassioned and enthusiastic. The extremes of feeling, rapturous pleasure, and wild lamentation, were both expressed by it. Archilochus says, that 'he is able, when his mind is inflamed with wine, to sing the dithyramb, the beautiful strain of Bacchus.' Thus the dithyramb was capable of representing every variety of feeling excited by the worship and mythology of Bacchus.

We have admitted that the excitement of the drinking-song is not to be confounded with intoxication in the vulgar sense of the term; and we may add that a love for poetry of this kind is often cherished by those who are not mere sensualists. Nay it often happens that the student, in the solitude of his own chamber, allows his mind to be carried away by an enthusiasm which he would not accept in its grosser forms.

But perhaps this very fact has led to a popular error, and has accustomed many of us to suppose that there is some intimate connection between Bacchic enthusiasm and poetic inspiration. Ben Jonson, as we have seen, presses wine into the service of Apollo, says that it is the true poetic liquor, and, in short, the source of inspiration. But we shall find that, strictly speaking, Apollo presided not so much over poetry in general as over the music of the cithara, and that for the origin of epic poetry we must look to the Muses of Mount Helicon, and to the Pierian springs.

It is of considerable importance to understand this epithet 'Pierian.'

The most remarkable circumstance in the accounts which we have received of the early Greek minstrels, is that several of them are called Thracians: the Thracian minstrels are constantly represented as the fathers of poetry. When we come to trace more precisely the country of these Thracian bards, we find that the traditions refer to Pieria, a district to the north of Thessaly, and the south of Macedonia. Whether from migrations, the pressure of hostile tribes, or from other causes, it is certain that these Pierians must have dwelt about the Boeotian mountain of Helicon; this we find both by traditions in the various cities, and by the agreement of local names (Leibethrion, Pimpleis, Helicon, &c.). In accordance with this we find on Mount Helicon the worship of the Muses, and the Pierian springs on that mountain.

'It is an obvious remark,' says K. O. Müller, in his "Literature of Ancient Greece," 'that with these movements of the Pierians, was also connected the extension of the temples of the Muses in Greece, who, alone, among the gods are represented by the ancient poets as presiding over poetry, since Apollo, in strictness, is only concerned with the music of the cithara. Homer calls the Muses the Olympian: in Hesiod, at the beginning of the "Theogony," they are called the Heliconian, although, according to the notion of the Boeotian poet, they were born on Olympus, and dwelt at a short distance from the highest pinnacle of this mountain, where Zeus (or Jove) was enthroned; whence they only go at times

times to Helicon, bathe in Hippocréne, and celebrate their choral dances around the altar of Zeus, on the top of the mountain. Now, when it is borne in mind that the same mountain, on which the worship of the Muses originally flourished, was also represented in the earliest Greek poetry as the common abode of the gods, it seems highly probable that it was the poets of this region, the ancient Pierian minstrels, whose imagination had created this council of the gods, and had distributed and arranged its parts. Moreover, their poetry was doubtless not concerned merely with the gods, but contained the first gems of the epic or heroic style.'

It is well known that Homer, whenever he alludes to poetic inspiration, always makes reference to the Muse, of whom he speaks in the singular number. If, then, we admit that the Muses were the deities who presided over poetry, we may find it instructive to examine their character, and the nature of their worship. The doctrine of symbolism lies at the foundation of the old Greek mythology; and those who choose to apply this doctrine to the persons, habitation, and haunts of the Muses may derive valuable suggestions for future meditation. We do not, however, lay any great stress on this point, because we can adduce positive evidence that the worship of the Muses was expressly without wine.

Still it will be necessary to state the traditions, in order that the reader may judge for himself. And, first, as to Mount Helicon. Plutarch cites the following legend, descriptive of the character of the two principal mountains in Boeotia:—

'Helicon and Cithaeron were two brothers, but very different from each other in temper and character. The former was mild and courteous and dutiful to his parents, whom he supported in their old age. Cithaeron, on the other hand, was covetous and avaricious: he wished to obtain all the property of the family for himself. To gain this object, he slew his father, and afterwards treacherously threw his brother down a precipice; but he himself was at the same time carried over the cliff by the force with which he impelled his brother. After their death, these two brothers were, by the will of the gods, changed into two mountains which bore their names. Cithaeron, by reason of his impiety, became the abode of the Furies; but Helicon, on account of his gentle and affectionate disposition, was chosen by the Muses as their favourite haunt.'

'The natural features of these two mountains,' says Wordsworth in his "Greece," 'are, as might be expected, in harmony with the mythological narrative. The dales and slopes of Helicon are clothed with groves of olive, walnut, and almond trees: clusters of ilex and arbutus deck its higher plains; and the oleander and myrtle fringe the banks of the numerous rills which gush from its soil, and stream in shining cascades down its declivities into the plain between it and the Copaic Lake.'

Thus Helicon was the favourite haunt of the Muses, who are called by Hesiod and Pindar the 'Heliconian maidens;' and here was the earliest seat of poetry in Greece Proper. At its foot was Ascra, the residence of Hesiod. The eastern slopes of the mountain abounded in springs, groves, and fertile valleys, while the western side was more rugged.

It was the eastern or Boeotian side which was especially sacred to the Muses, and contained many objects connected with their worship. Ascending from Ascra was a sacred grove of the Muses, and on the left of the road, before coming to the grove, the scho-

brated fountain of Aganippé, which was believed to inspire those who drank it, whence the Muses are sometimes called Aganippides.

At some distance above the grove, was the famous fountain of Hippocréne, so renowned in song as the source of poetic inspiration. These two fountains supplied the streams called Olmeius and Permessus, which, after uniting their waters, flowed by the Haliartus into the Lake Copais.

Another part of Helicon also sacred to the Muses, bore the name of Mount Leibethrium, where there were statues of the Muses, and two fountains, called Leibethrias and Petra, resembling the breasts of a woman pouring forth water like milk.

Hence Hesiod says, in the opening passage of his 'Theogony':—

> 'Of Heliconian Muses let us sing,
> Who haunt Mount Helicon, the hill divine,
> And round the violet-coloured fountain dance;
> Or round the altar of Almighty Jove.
> And having bathed in water of Permessus,
> Or Hippocréne, or the divine Olmeius,
> They institute their dance and tuneful choir,
> Upon the highest peak of Helicon.'

The classical was not the modern idea associated with the word 'fountain.' The Greek word κρήνη or κρουνός is a well-spring or well-head, whence the πηγαί or streams issue. The word πηγή is used (though rarely in the singular) in the same sense of well-spring; but the plural πηγαί denotes the rills, brooks, or streams, which form the sources of rivers.

Therefore by fountains we are to understand the well-springs which give rise to rills or brooks; and these rills, in turn, flowing down the mountain-side, not without occasional waterfalls or cascades, made their way to larger streams, and so became rivers. Such were the fountains of the Muses, in which they bathed; such were the rills which served as the emblems of poetic inspiration.

For the Muses were originally regarded as the nymphs of inspiring wells, near which they were worshipped. They bore different names in different places, until the Thraco-Bœotian worship of the nine Muses spread from Bœotia over other parts of Greece, and ultimately became generally established. As we said, the worship of the Muses points originally to Thrace and Pieria about Mount Olympus, whence it was introduced into Bœotia; in proof of which we find that the names of the mountains, grottoes, and wells, connected with their worship, were transferred from the north to the south. Hence the fountains Aganippé, and Hippocréne on Mount Helicon, were called the Pierian springs. Near Mount Helicon, Ephialtes and Otus are said to have offered the first sacrifices to the Muses; and it is very curious to observe that these sacrifices are expressly stated to have been made without wine.

wine. The libations (or drink-offerings) to the Muses consisted of water and honey, or milk and honey. The proof of this is given by the Scholiasts in their notes upon passages which have reference to the worship of the Furies, to whom, as we have seen, the neighbouring mountain of Cithaeron was dedicated.

For example, upon the words *νήφων ἀοίνοις* in Sophocles, (Œdipus Coloneus, v. 100,) the Scholiast says: 'For libations to them (*i. e.* the Furies) are made not with wine, but with water, and their libations are called sober (or wineless, *νηφάλιαι*);' and he adds: "Polemo tells us that sacrifices to some other deities are made without wine, writing thus: "Now the Athenians in matters of this kind are very careful, and observant of religious duties; hence they offer sober sacrifices to Memory, to the Muses, to the Dawn, to the Sun, the Moon, the Nymphs, and the Heavenly Aphrodité."'

Further on, in the same play, v. 473, when Œdipus asks what libation he must offer, the reply of the chorus is: 'Water and honey: but add no intoxicating drink,' (*μὴ δὰ προσφέρειν μέθυ*), upon which the Scholiast remarks that the 'deities are worshipped without wine' (*ἄοινοι γὰρ θεαί*). The same fact is noticed by Æschylus, in his play of the 'Eumenides,' where Clytemnestra, speaking of the service which she has rendered to the Furies, says that she has often worshipped them at the midnight hour, offering 'wineless drink-offerings, sober propitiations, and banquets celebrated by night on the hearth of fire:'

> *χοάς τ' ἀοίνους, νηφάλια μειλίγματα,*
> *καὶ νυκτίσεμνα δεῖπν' ἐπ' ἐχάρᾳ πυρὸς,*
> *θύσων ὥραν οὐδένος κοινὴν θεῶν.*

Now we must remember that each god had his favourite animals, which he liked best as sacrifices; some gods preferred oxen, others sheep, and others goats. In sacrifices made with fire, while the flesh was burning upon the altar, wine and incense were thrown upon it, and prayers accompanied the solemnity. But in sacrifices made without fire, or unbloody sacrifices, as they were sometimes called, the libation or drink-offering played an important part. To some deities the libation was of pure wine; but to the Muses no such offering was presented. The pure Maids of Mount Helicon bathed in the Pierian spring, and received offerings of water or milk, and honey.

We recommend the following points for consideration, not wishing to carry the doctrine of symbolism too far, but still desirous of contrasting the picture with that inspiration which is sometimes held forth as arising amid the fumes of wine. By the old legend, the slopes of Helicon were typical of a mild and gentle disposition, suited to the genius of poetry; the Muses themselves, the presiding goddesses, were represented as pure and refined maidens; Helicon, the hill of the Muses, was remarkable for springs,

springs, rills, and waterfalls; the water of the Pierian springs (Aganippé and Hippocréne), was believed to convey poetic inspiration to those who drank it; the Muses were represented as continually bathing in the streams of Mount Helicon; and it is expressly stated that the sacrifices to the Muses were offered without wine. To this we may add that Mount Parnassus was likewise sacred to them, with the Castalian spring, near which they had a temple.

We have now, at all events, cautioned our readers against the error of mistaking one department of poetry, which, however intense, is not of the highest kind, for the whole range of poetic composition; and we have hinted that inspiration of a better order may be found elsewhere. On the whole, this article is intended rather as indicating a new field of inquiry, than as exhaustive of the subject. Many branches of the investigation are replete with interest: the principles and the practice of the best poets might be passed in review; Milton and Wordsworth might be compared and contrasted with Ben Jonson and Robert Burns. Those who have read Shakespeare, without special reference to this question, would doubtless be surprised to find how many curious passages in his dramas have a direct bearing upon the point of our inquiry; and the admirers of Milton, in revising the pages of 'Paradise Lost,' might feel a new pleasure in marking those passages wherein the poet expresses a decided opinion in favour of abstemious living. His 'Comus,' a grand Temperance Ode, as we term it, has hardly been sufficiently studied with a view to profiting by the moral lesson which it inculcates. That poem has furnished delightful occupation to the musician and the painter; it may be made still more valuable to the moralist. One good hymn often teaches more sound divinity than folios of the commentators.

We suggest to our readers, both male and female, that it is worth while to examine the classic English poets, from Chaucer to Wordsworth, in order to observe their allusions, (1) to the true origin of poetic inspiration; (2) to the use or abuse of wine; and (3) to the praise of water: and we propose to follow out that branch of inquiry upon a future occasion.

For the present we commend the subject to their attention, reminding them of Pindar's aphorism, that 'Best is water;' and to the ladies we would give a single hint (for a word to the wise is enough), that, if they only reflected how the worship of wine has stolen away the devotion which is far more due to themselves, they would easily understand the symbolic truth of the mythological doctrine, that the sacrifices to the Muses should be wineless libations.

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ART.

ART. V.—1. *Seed-Time and Harvest of Ragged Schools; or a Third Plea, with new Editions of the First and Second Pleas.* By Thomas Guthrie, D.D. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 1860.

2. *Punishment and Prevention.* By Alexander Thomson, Esq., of Banchory. London: Nisbet and Co. 1857.

3. *On Juvenile Criminals, Reformatories, and the Means of rendering the perishing and dangerous Classes serviceable to the State.* By Joseph Adshead. Manchester. 1856.

4. *Reports of Ragged School Union.*

5. *Dr. Wichern and the Rough House.* In 'Good Words' for July, August, and September. 1860.

RAGGED schools have now existed a sufficiently long period to prove their success. They have been in more or less active operation during nearly twenty years, and have passed through their reformatory ordeal so many destitute and delinquent juveniles as to establish them among the philanthropic institutions of the age. We can now examine their history and reason upon their results, without being considered Utopian. What science has done with the wreck upon the sea-shore in transforming the outcasts of the ocean into valuable chemical substances, useful in the industrial arts, philanthropy has performed with the outcasts of society. The children of the drunken and the criminal, uncared for by their parents, and too long disregarded by the community, have, by means of ragged schools, been transformed into honest and upright characters, a blessing to themselves and to society. No philanthropic movement of the present day has wrought such results in so short a time, at such small expense, and on so extensive a scale. In those towns and cities where the system has been carried out in a way at all likely to meet the formidable evil with which it had to contend, the effects are now visible in the streets, in the police-courts, and in the prisons.

Less than twenty years ago things were very different in streets, police-courts, and prisons. Juvenile delinquency was an alarming evil, rapidly increasing, and threatening to defeat all attempts at the reformation of the gaol and its occupants. Prison statistics showed that there was an annual supply, from the ranks of the young, of between 20,000 and 25,000 to our criminal population. Public thoroughfares presented at every step some ragged urchin soliciting charity. Police-courts had a large proportion of their cases from these mendicant children, many of whose heads scarcely reached as high as the dock in which they stood to be tried. In London, some 30,000 under sixteen years of age belonged to this class; and if the same proportion were applied to other large cities and towns, it would give a quarter of a million who were being

trained to a life of beggary or crime,* and supplying constant occupants for gaols, penitentiaries, and convict settlements, consuming a vast amount of public money in their punishment every year, and becoming a mass of moral corruption sufficient to destroy a country. The law punished them, and levied taxes to pay the cost; but few cared for the youths whose life-habits were forming, or thought that prevention of crime, by the reformation of the criminal, would be better than punishment.

The *causes* of juvenile mendicancy and delinquency were various. *Ignorance* has been proved to have a very close connection with crime. Ninety per cent. of all prisoners could not read or write at all, or could do so in a manner so imperfect as scarcely to deserve credit for an ability to read. There were very few of the juveniles who had been taught. Mr. Horace Mann showed, in his valuable remarks upon our last census, that there were, in 1851, no fewer than *one million* of children not at school, who ought to have been there. These not being occupied with any good, for the most part, were in daily danger of forming habits of evil, and of becoming vicious. *Vagrancy* also added a considerable proportion to the juvenile delinquents. The children of those who had no industrial pursuit, or only the semblance of one, and whose migratory habits were ill-calculated to foster industry, generally became addicted to petty thieving. Our readers will scarcely anticipate the following fact, relative to one of the causes of juvenile delinquency. The Rev. J. S. Brewer, for many years chaplain to St. Giles's Workhouse, London, makes this declaration in one of the 'Practical Lectures to Ladies,' delivered some time ago:—

'Turn to the police reports in our newspapers, or only watch for yourselves the boys and girls who join in the disorders of this metropolis, and fill our prisons—no longer prisons to them—and you will see how imperative it is that something should be done to rescue them. THEY ARE MAINLY THE PRODUCE OF THE WORKHOUSE AND THE WORKHOUSE SCHOOLS. Over them society has no hold, because society has cast them out from all that is humane. They have been taught to feel that they have nothing in common with their fellow-men. Their experience is not of a home, or of parents, but of a workhouse and a governor—of a prison and a gaoler, as hard and rigid as either.'

Separated from domestic influence, inheriting the indolence, and mayhap the vices of their parents, and taught by incompetent instructors, they became an easy prey to temptation when sent forth to earn their own bread. Recent years, we believe, have witnessed considerable improvement in the management of work-

* Mr. Mayhew draws attention (in his 'Great World of London') to the fact, that the proportion of juvenile criminals in London is nearly double that in the rest of the kingdom. The number of persons in England and Wales under 17 is 7,056,699, and the number of criminals under that age 11,739, giving 166 criminals to every 10,000 of the population; but in London the persons under 17 number 839,057, and the criminals under 17 are 3,496, which is equal to 46 in each 10,000, or more than 2½ times as many as in the whole country.'—*Thomson*, p. 159. This refers to the convicted criminals only.

house

house children, and especially in their education. Since Government Inspectors have regularly visited these schools, and since education has risen in importance, the teachers of workhouse children have ceased to be mere inmates of the house, or even returned convicts. What could be expected of the unfortunate youth in unions when under the instruction of a pauper? Yet such was the case. And in one poorhouse school, an infirm old man, himself an inmate, and a *returned convict*, taught forty or fifty children! *Illegitimacy* sent its supply of neglected children to swell the ranks of the mendicant and criminal juveniles. *Heartless* parents, whose improvidence or vice led them to desert their offspring, were, as they are still, the means of adding to the number. *Drunken* parents, more than all others, crowded the streets with vagrants, who were often reduced to the necessity of stealing, when they could not beg their bread. On this point, the following is the testimony of a competent witness, the Rev. Dr. Guthrie, in his recent book:—

'This opens up a dreadful view; and I should fail in my duty if I did not state broadly that most of these children owe their ruin to drink—to the dissipated habits of their parents. Intemperance is the horrid Moloch, the ugly, blood-stained idol to which so many young victims are annually sacrificed. Drunkenness, directly or indirectly, supplies our ragged schools with scholars, and gaols with prisoners, and our poor-houses with by much the largest number of their tenants.'

By this cause alone thousands upon thousands of children have been deprived of a happy and comfortable home, of the affection and care of parents, of the advantage of a common education, and of the very necessaries of life. Fifty-eight per cent. of youthful offenders are the offspring of drunken, and eighteen of ignorant and negligent parents. Can we wonder that they deemed friends, society, and God against them? Where love never fondled youthful hearts, and parental care made no provision for their daily wants, and where society spurned them from its door, it was not strange that criminal habits should take root, or that these neglected children began to live by plunder, deception, and begging. Or, still further, do we account it awful, that those who had no shelter but some common stair or shed, and no bread but what they wrung from charity or got by theft, should prefer at times the cell of a prison as a covering for their homeless heads, and the bread and water secured to them there, to the miseries which their freedom brought to them in the streets?

But society paid dearly for this inhuman treatment of children whom their parents drove out of the sacred circle of home. To permit so many youth to be trained up as criminals; to allow them to practise their thefts; to submit to the losses caused by their depredations, and to the cost of their punishment, was a great error in a Christian people. It was more than bad economy. It was

cruelty to our common flesh and blood. It was sin against our common Father in heaven. The annual cost of plunder in Liverpool is said to be not less than 700,000*l.* a year. The revenues of thieves are enormous. The following are authenticated data of the gains of fifteen individuals in a course of years:—

| | | | | £ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Richard Clarke | during a career of | 6 years | 2,820 |
| 2 | John Clarke | „ | 5 „ | 500 |
| 3 | Edward Clarke | „ | 3 „ | 1,650 |
| 4 | Ellen Clarke (O'Neill) | „ | 2½ „ | 1,550 |
| 5 | John O'Neill | „ | 9 „ | 1,450 |
| 6 | Thomas O'Gar | „ | 6 „ | 300 |
| 7 | James O'Brien | „ | 3½ „ | 1,400 |
| 8 | Thomas McGiverin | „ | 7 „ | 1,900 |
| 9 | Thomas Kelty | „ | 20 „ | 8,000 |
| 10 | John Flanagan | „ | 14 „ | 5,800 |
| 11 | John Thompson | „ | 5 „ | 1,800 |
| 12 | John Bohanna | „ | 6 „ | 1,500 |
| 13 | J. Shawe | „ | 3 „ | 600 |
| 14 | W. Bukley | „ | 7 „ | 2,100 |
| 15 | Sarah Dickenson | „ | 3 „ | 630 |
| | | | | £32,000 |

One of these was seven times in prison, and was caught fifteen times more, but not convicted, by reason of insufficient evidence. The following are the statements of three years' work in public thieving of large sums only, by Flanagan:—

1838—39.

| Value. £. | Where Robbery Committed. | From whom. |
|---|---|---|
| 20 | Concert, Liverpool | A gentleman. |
| 15 | Theatre, Liverpool | A gentleman. |
| 11 | Zoological Gardens | A lady. |
| 30 | Coach-office, Liverpool | Proprietors. |
| 46 | Auction, Broughton Road, Manchester | A lady. |
| 30 | Auction, Cheetham Hill, Manchester | A lady. |
| 15 | Auction, Pendleton, Manchester | A lady. |
| 21 | Manchester | Till of liquor vault. |
| 50 | Manchester | Till of a public-house. |
| 11 | Leek, Stafford | A shopkeeper. |
| 85 | Hanley races | A gentleman. |
| 49 | Northallerton fair | A drunken farmer. |
| 12 | Liverpool packet | A passenger. |
| 18 | Liverpool packet | A passenger. |
| 30 | Liverpool packet | A passenger. |
| 45 | Horncastle fair | A lady. |
| 17 | Leeds fair | A butcher. |

1840—41.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 10 | Lincoln fair | A gentleman. |
| 14 | Lincoln fair | Captain of a boat. |
| 10 | Spalding fair | A farmer. |
| 11 | Horncastle fair | A maltster. |
| 10 | Liverpool races | A gentleman. |
| 16 | Liverpool races | A farmer. |
| 17 | Chester races | A lady. |
| 11 | Manchester races | A lady. |

1841—42.

1841—42.

| Value. £. | Where Robbery Committed. | From whom. |
|---|---|---|
| 10 | Manchester theatre | A lady. |
| 70 | Bury fair | A cattle dealer. |
| 250 | In street at Manchester | An officer. |
| 15 | Knutsford races | A jockey. |
| 30 | Doncaster races | A publican. |
| 18 | Nottingham races | A butcher. |
| 14 | Derby races | Unknown. |
| 13 | Crowle, Lincoln | A publican's wife. |
| 12 | Caistor, Lincoln | A farmer. |
| 11 | Market Rasen | A gentleman's servant. |
| 60 | Brigg fair | A farmer's wife. |
| 21 | Louth, Lincolnshire | A coachman. |

This is but a specimen of what the criminal youth of our land were being trained to do. Regular schools for training them to robbery from the person existed in London. Mr. Vanderkiste, in his 'Six Years in the Dens of London,' a book published eight years ago, states that one man had actually passed *five hundred* youth through his special instruction in the art of thieving. But punishment was also costly. Every man in gaol costs the community between 30*l.* or 40*l.* a year, and each one who is transported costs, ere the expenditure is terminated, some 300*l.* There is, besides, the large outlay required for prisons, police, and judges. Yet it is scarcely twenty years ago since a few individuals began to arrest the evil, and make an effort to prevent crime by the reformation of the dangerous and depredatory Arabs of the streets.

It is not to be forgotten that some attempts had been made at an earlier date. JOHN POUNDS, the cobbler of Portsmouth, stands in the front rank as the *Founder of Ragged Schools.* He was a native of Portsmouth, and was born on 17th June, 1766. Till disabled, he laboured as a shipwright; but afterwards pursued the more sedentary occupation of mending shoes. Having a decrepit nephew, he attempted to teach him while he pursued his handicraft; but as it was solitary for his scholar to learn alone, Pounds gathered a few ragged children to share his humble instructions. He had small means, yet he did not weary. His stock of class-books was old handbills and tattered volumes. His scholars were the worst boys Portsmouth could afford—boys who learned their lessons for the sake of the hot potato with which he bribed them. His apartment was scarcely four yards square. Yet with all his disadvantages, John Pounds rescued from misery, blessed with a good Christian education, and saved to society, in the course of his life, no fewer than *five hundred* boys. A similar attempt was made in Weimar by another philanthropist. He occupied a much higher position in society than Pounds. He was a councillor of the Prussian embassy at Weimar, a lyric poet, and an accomplished

*littérateur*. Yet as the illustrious FALK contemplated the ragged, dirty, wretched children who were the *débris* of the battles of Jena, Lutzen, and Leipsic, he bethought him of a plan by which they might be transformed into honest men and useful citizens. In 1820, he had three hundred of them dependent on his own means, which a few liberal friends supplemented. He taught them to read, and to learn trades, and to build the house in which they resided. He sent forth many into the community fitted to work for their bread, and to give the example of a good life.

ROBERT YOUNG, the founder of the Philanthropic Society, began to care for the children of criminals in the year 1788. 'He took,' says Mr. Adshead, 'in succession four small houses at Hackney, for their reception, and placed in each a mechanic or artisan to instruct them in useful labour.' Captain BRENTON founded the 'Children's Friend Society' for the reformation of juvenile offenders, but the system pursued did not succeed well. The institution at Redhill, which arose from the efforts of Mr. Young, passed many youths through its training; seventy per cent. of whom have been saved from a vicious and criminal career. Much of its success in late years is due to the excellent Secretary, now Inspector of Reformatories, the Rev. Sydney Turner.

But it is to the enlightened and patriotic Sheriff WATSON, of Aberdeen, that the present system of ragged schools is indebted for its career of benevolence. His position as Sheriff-substitute of a large county—an office somewhat akin to that of a recorder in an English town, with this difference, that he requires to be resident—his position as Sheriff-substitute gave him ample opportunity of observing the amount of juvenile mendicancy and crime prevailing in Aberdeenshire. He framed a scheme for clearing the streets of beggars, and prisons of juvenile delinquents, by means of an Industrial Feeding School, which was opened in 1841. There were then in Aberdeen 280 children, under fourteen years of age, who subsisted ostensibly by begging, but chiefly by petty thefts, and of these, 77 had, during the previous twelve months, been committed to prison. He commenced with the limited number of sixty, who received food, and instruction in reading and handicraft during the day, and who resided in their own homes at night. In Edinburgh, that large-hearted philanthropist, as well as ardent patriot and most eloquent divine, the Rev. Dr. Guthrie, became the pleader of the ragged. In the year 1847, he issued his first 'Plea,' which touched the tenderest feelings of the citizens of the Modern Athens, as well as of many others elsewhere by the pathetic description of juvenile misery which it afforded. He showed that there were in Edinburgh, at least a thousand children ragged, destitute, and criminal, for whom no man cared; and he solicited aid to establish ragged schools to provide for their wants, and to prevent

prevent them from becoming adult criminals, to prey upon society in future years. His appeal met with a generous response, and the provision for the children of the dangerous classes in Edinburgh is almost equal to Aberdeen—two cities which surpass all others in extent of remedial measures and success in this labour of love. Many more benevolent individuals in various parts of the world were raised up to take this movement by the hand, among whom may be mentioned, with distinguished praise, Miss Carpenter of Bristol, the Earl of Shaftesbury, Mr. Rushton of Liverpool, the Rev. Sydney Turner, Dr. Wichern of Hamburg, M. de Metz at Mettray; M. Ducpetiaux of Brussels, and Mr. Pease of New York. Schools now arose in every city and town, until they have spread over this land like a network, and afford an asylum for many a neglected child. At length they impressed the Government, and special Acts of Parliament were passed for England and Scotland to place reformatories instead of prisons for the criminal youth. The Committee of the Privy Council also for some time gave liberally to the support of voluntary ragged schools, though we regret to state that this grant has been greatly curtailed, without, as we think, sufficient cause. An attempt was made, in the late session of Parliament, to call attention to this anomaly, and to secure more liberal aid to a movement so calculated to promote public good, and save the exchequer of a great annual outlay.*

Very many towns yet need to have the system of ragged schools more thoroughly wrought, in order to prevent juvenile crime and vagrancy. It may therefore be well to glance at the results already obtained, especially in those cities where the plan has been fully carried out. It may stimulate others to bear their part in public benevolence and social reform, if we can point to decided success in Aberdeen and Edinburgh, in London and Bristol, in Hamburg and New York.

And first of all, let us take Aberdeen, where the industrial feeding schools had their origin, and of which we have a full account in the valuable work of Mr. Thomson of Banchory. The school was opened in 1841 with sixty scholars. The work done for the first six months averaged a pound a week. The expenditure was 149*l.* 15*s.* 4½*d.*, or 4*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.* for each boy; but deducting the earnings, the average expense for twelve months was 7*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* This was a greater cost than in subsequent years. The following table will illustrate this:

* This question was discussed in a very earnest manner at Liverpool, two years ago, by the indefatigable Miss Carpenter of Bristol. We are glad to observe that, at the meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science at Glasgow, being held as we go to press, the Rev. Dr. Guthrie has a paper on this very important subject. Mr. Thomson of Banchory, Sheriff Watson, and others are producing, at the same time, statistics [illegible] of ragged schools. We anticipate much good from these accurate [illegible]

INDUSTRIAL FEEDING SCHOOLS IN ABERDEEN.

| Year. | Average Attendance. | Average Total Cost. | Food. | Earnings of Each. | Net Cost. | Got Employment. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | £. s. d. | £. s. d. | £. s. d. | £. s. d. | |
| 1841-42 | 36 | 8 6 8 | 4 11 0 | 0 14 6 | 7 12 2 | .. |
| 1842-43 | 52 | 6 8 0 | 4 10 4 | 1 2 8 | 5 5 4 | .. |
| 1843-44 | 45 | 5 12 0 | 4 1 0 | 1 4 0 | 4 11 0 | .. |
| 1844-45 | 52 | 6 0 0 | 4 0 0 | 1 10 0 | 4 10 0 | 17 |
| 1845-46 | 49 | 6 0 0 | 3 8 6 | 1 10 1 | 4 9 11 | 22 |
| 1846-47 | 66 | 5 17 10 | 3 14 0 | 1 16 4 | 4 1 6 | 14 |
| 1847-48 | 66 | 5 18 9 | 4 1 9 | 1 14 9 | 4 4 0 | 28 |
| 1848-49 | 64 | 5 10 7 | 3 15 7 | 1 7 6 | 4 3 1 | 18 |
| 1849-50 | 61 | 5 7 2 | 3 10 6 | 1 17 4 | 3 9 10 | 14 |
| 1850-51 | 64 | 4 18 5 | 3 1 3 | 1 14 4 | 3 4 1 | 7 |
| 1851-52 | 72 | 4 5 10 | 3 0 0 | 1 5 10 | 3 0 0 | 12 |
| 1852-53 | 66 | 3 11 5½ | 3 0 6 | 1 0 6 | 2 10 11½ | 8 |
| 1853-54 | 61 | 4 3 8½ | 3 0 6 | 1 1 1 | 3 1 7½ | 11 |
| 1854-55 | 53 | 4 7 9½ | 3 0 0 | 1 0 9 | 3 7 0½ | 14 |
| 1855-56 | 65 | 3 17 3½ | 3 4 8 | 0 15 8 | 3 1 7½ | 17 |

Besides this school there was one for girls, established in 1843, since divided into two, of which one bears the honoured name of Sheriff Watson. The annual cost for each girl is 1*l.* less than that of a boy. It was manifest, notwithstanding these efforts, that the evil was not yet fully reached. Hence, under authority of the Local Police Act, a *Juvenile School* was opened, to which were conveyed all children found begging. No fewer than seventy-five were apprehended in the course of one morning by the police. The average attendance from 1845 to 1856 has been 88, the average total cost per head 4*l.* 4*s.* 10*d.* The average earnings have been 4*s.* 9*d.*, making the net cost 4*l.* 0*s.* 1*d.* The success of these led to a fourth institution, the *Child's Asylum*, for the very young criminals.

The effects of these schools upon the commitments became very soon apparent. In 1841, 61 juveniles were committed to prison in the city of Aberdeen; in 1851 there were only 8. They rose to 43 in 1856, owing to some deficiencies and other causes. Instead of the 280 children begging and stealing, a mendicant child is scarcely seen in the streets of Aberdeen. For the sum of 4*l.* a year, during a course of five years, a child is prepared to take a respectable place in society. 20*l.* are all that is needed for preventing a youth becoming a criminal, while it takes 300*l.* to punish and banish him! This fact is an overwhelming argument for the system of ragged schools, and for the full use of the power —which is permissive, not imperative—conferred by the Acts of Parliament on magistrates to send all delinquent children to reformatories. In the words of the first report of the Aberdeen Child's Asylum Committee in 1851:—

'Society has surely the right to guard itself against the evil practices of these neglected

neglected children; and having the right, it ought also to have the power; but if such power exists, it seems very difficult to tell in whose hands it is vested. The child convicted of theft is whipped or imprisoned; but if he stole to appease the cravings of hunger, which his worthless parent failed to satisfy, it is clear that chastisement has not fallen upon the proper party, and that the really guilty has profited by the vices prompted by his culpable neglect, while the whole cost has been defrayed by the public.

'It was said by the late Mr. Rushton, stipendiary magistrate of Liverpool, that he had ascertained that ten such children under fourteen years of age, had cost, in apprehension and imprisonment, upwards of 600*l.*, and with so little effect, that all of them were then in prison, and one, only about ten years of age, lay under sentence of transportation for seven years.

'The remedy for these enormous evils appears simple and obvious. Let the committee or the magistrates be empowered to send all such mendicant children to the schools of industry, at the expense of the parent or the parish, and let the worthless parent be punished if he neglects the sacred duty of maintaining his child, which at present he is allowed to do with impunity.'

Aberdeen having set the good example, other cities and towns followed. Dundee began a ragged school in 1846, Edinburgh and Glasgow in 1847. In the Scottish capital the work has been done with some degree of thoroughness. Dr. Guthrie's influence, example, and appeals induced many to take a share in the reform of youth, and several schools, besides the original one with which the reverend gentleman's name is associated, have been vigorously supported. Dr. Guthrie has recently informed the public of the results of the efforts made under his own eye. Availing himself of the opportunity of republishing his first and second pleas, he has added a third, as eloquent, pathetic, and impressive as the others, in which he records the harvest of the former seed-time. We are thus presented with a complete argument for the system of benevolent operations expressed by ragged schools.

There were, as we have already noticed, at least one thousand destitute or delinquent juveniles in the city of Edinburgh in 1847. In 1848, the first year of the ragged schools, there were 552 committed to prison between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years. The numbers attending ragged schools were 378, of whom 210 were at Dr. Guthrie's. An analysis of the condition of those received at the original school gives the following facts:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Fatherless, with drunken mothers | 63 |
| Motherless, with drunken fathers | 57 |
| Both parents utterly worthless | 77 |
| Known as children of thieves | 69 |
| Believed to be so | 130 |
| Who have been beggars | 232 |
| Who have been in gaol | 18 |
| Who have been in the police-office | 57 |
| Who were homeless | 27 |

Of these nearly 200 were under eight years of age. The expense of each was 4*l.* a year. In the school they were clothed and fed, and instructed in the ordinary branches of education, and in some trade. What, then, have been the effects of this economical effort to improve the condition of the children of the 'dangerous classes

in Edinburgh?' *Juvenile mendicancy* has been almost put down in the city. Various efforts had in vain been tried to effect this. 'Now,' says Dr. Guthrie, 'the juvenile beggars are all gone: the race is extinct. What has become of them? They are not mouldering in the grave, the last refuge of wretchedness; nor are they pining in prison cells, turning the weary cranks, and cursing those who have dealt them out nothing but neglect and punishment. They are off the streets and in our schools. Once no care was taken of them, and no provision made for them; therefore a humane public, supplying them with money, fostered a system much more ruinous to those that got than costly to those that gave. Their vocation is gone. If any now solicit charity, the answer is not money, or a rough repulse, or a curse, but—"Go to the ragged school." . . . In our school, where they are all busy as bees, sharp as needles, bright as the morning, happy as the day is long, I never hear them sweetly singing their little hymns but I seem to listen to the voice of angels and the song of Bethlehem, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men."'

The following table, furnished by the governor of the gaol, will afford an answer in relation to *juvenile crime*:—

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| In 1848 | the juvenile prisoners | between 14 and 16 | years of age were | 532 |
| 1849 | " | " | " | 440 |
| 1850 | " | " | " | 361 |
| 1851 | " | " | " | 227 |
| 1858 | " | " | " | 138 |
| 1859 | " | " | " | 130 |

This is a very marked difference. The effects on *society* are not less striking:—

'Since our doors were opened in 1847,' says Dr. Guthrie, 'besides many who received a partial education, and not a few whose parents, rising into better circumstances, removed them to higher schools, not less than FIVE HUNDRED children have left our walls to play their part in life. They are playing it well. Considering the great disadvantages of their outset in life, we have to state as a marvellous, as well as most gratifying result, that as large a proportion have proved themselves honest, industrious, useful members of society as any other class can show. Yon gallant boat that plies between the wreck and the shore, and on which, as she rises to the swell of the sea, all eyes are intently fixed, is but an image of our schools. If our work has not the splendour that surrounds brave deeds, it boasts a better and more enduring glory. It has saved the perishing from a wreck worse than the stranded ship's—from a fate far worse than the bubbling groan and brief struggle of men whelmed in the deep. It is pre-eminently a Saviour-like work. We go to seek the lost. And five hundred children saved shows how Heaven has smiled on our efforts, and what a promising field ragged schools open up for Christian benevolence. Nowhere else can labour and money count with such certainty on meeting with an ample reward.'

Another very striking fact is supplied by our eloquent author. It is the *economy* of ragged schools:—

'It seems like lowering a noble cause to introduce the consideration of money to plead for it, on the score of economy. It is a great stoop to come down from the

the lofty heights of religion, pity, humanity, justice, and mercy, to pounds, shillings, and pence. Yet I can demonstrate that ours, the kindest and holiest, is also the cheapest policy. It has been calculated, as I have already stated, that every child, left to grow up into a criminal, costs the country, on an average, not less than 30*l*. Let us suppose that but one-half of the five hundred, whom this single school has saved, had run a career of crime; they would have involved the state in an outlay of 75,000*l*. Now, during the twelve years of its existence, our school has cost some 24,000*l*.; the amount, therefore, saved to the country is just the difference between that sum and 75,000*l*.—that is, 51,000*l*. But make a much more probable supposition, that at least two-thirds of these children would, but for our school, have developed into full-blown criminals, then, besides rescuing them from a life of crime and misery, we have saved the state in actual money, a sum, in round figures, equal to the difference between 24,000*l*. and 96,000*l*.'

It must have given all the joy he describes to this devoted philanthropist, and his generous constituents and fellow-labourers, to meet no fewer than 150 old scholars who accepted an invitation to a tea-party in Edinburgh. They were all genteelly dressed, all self-supporting, many married, and all well doing. 'It was a sight worth living for: it was our harvest home.' It was indeed; and the man who was mainly instrumental in gaining that glorious issue is worthy of the highest laurels which a grateful country can bestow. But these are not the deeds for which royalty reserves her stars. Their record is on high, and their recognition will be by a more exalted Monarch, who, as He bestows his meed of praise, will say, 'Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto ME.'

In England ragged schools have been making rapid progress; but they have not so fully met the necessity in any locality as in those two cities concerning which we have been recently furnished with such full returns. London has institutions for 'the children of the perishing and dangerous classes' of various kinds—refuges, where upwards of 500 are clothed, fed, and educated; about 100 week-day schools, with 15,000 scholars; 120 week-night schools, with nearly 10,000 scholars; 130 sabbath-schools, with 17,000 scholars; 85 industrial classes, with 3,500 scholars, making a total of at least 30,000 actually under instruction.

The results of these efforts for good are most encouraging, and of a nature corresponding with those referred to in the preceding pages. Scattered over the ragged-school magazines, the reports of the Reformatory and Refuge Unions, and of the shoe-black brigades, are details of the deepest interest. The industry, honesty, and piety of the shoe-blacks do them the highest credit, and afford an unanswerable argument to those who still refuse their sympathy or aid to a movement which has wrought so many reforms. The letters received from those who, after passing through the ragged schools, have emigrated to the colonies, give a like [illegible] testimony.

The establishment of reformatories by Gov[illegible]

step in advance for the treatment of delinquent juveniles. There are now twenty such institutions in England, and nearly as many in Scotland, all in accordance with the Acts of Parliament. Much is due to the labours of the philanthropists who assembled in Birmingham in 1851, whose influence aided the passing of the Acts. This has been followed up by the institution, in 1856, of a REFORMATORY AND REFUGE UNION, whose annual reports present most interesting facts, fully corroborative of all that has been said in favour of prevention instead of punishment.

On the Continent similar benevolent efforts have been made during late years on behalf of the ragged and criminal children of large towns. There are two institutions whose fame has become world-wide, chiefly through the rare powers and earnest characters in their respective founders. We refer to Mettray and Hamburg, where M. de Metz and Dr. Wichern have wrought such wonders in philanthropy. We shall confine our attention to the latter in the small space now at our disposal. Dr. Wichern began his work on a very small scale in the old Rauhe Haus (Rough House), near Hamburg. He had two objects in view—training young men and women for the office of social reformers, and actually attempting the desired reform of the criminal youth. He first began with the children: twelve of whom were admitted in the end of December, 1833.

'They varied in age from five years up to eighteen; their variations in vice were not so great, for they were uniformly bad. Eight of them were illegitimate; four were under the influence of criminal and drunken parents; one lad of twelve was known to the police by ninety-two thefts; one had escaped from prison; one had sinned till he had become imbecile; they were all thoroughly wild; lying and stealing was their second nature. They were poor street wanderers, such as you may see in London on the dreary winter nights, crouching in doorways and under bridges; little heaps of rags with perhaps bright, hungry eyes, that sparkle on you with a kind of savage fear. They used to sleep on piles of stones or on steps; only, said one, the stars awoke me in winter, for they looked down on me so clear and white. There was a shameless, false, little beggar among them, a poor thing deserted by his mother, and who had risen to be the leader of all the street boys in his neighbourhood, and a notorious plague. There was a boy who had been treated like a beast, and naturally lived like a beast; his so-called adopted parents had bought him for 13*l.*; the woman was an idiot, the man a coarse drunkard, and under them he lived till he was eighteen: no wonder he came shy, full of mistrust, naked within and without. A boy of twelve declared positively that he believed no God, much less a Saviour, no resurrection, no judgment. He had once laid violent hands on himself, and, when angry, he threatened that he would run himself through with a knife; frightful fits of passion seized upon him, culminating in one which lasted twelve hours, and during which four men could scarcely hold him. Before he came he used to be chained at such times.'

The very worst boys in Hamburg were in Wichern's Rauhe Haus; but love won them, patient training reformed them, and Christian instruction led them to the Saviour. Four of the twelve settled respectably in Hamburg, four elsewhere, and two went to sea. The faith and prayer and labour of the master triumphed.

Wichern

Wichern had soon his hands full. He therefore entered upon his arranged plan, dividing his boys or girls into families of twelve in separate houses, with a superintendent, four brothers—unpaid, training for reformatory institutions, and a young candidate of theology in each. There are now twenty houses, surrounded by fifty acres of land, and containing 395 boys, with 114 girls. Moral purpose and Christian influence mingle with all instruction, whether of book or of handicraft. Printing is carried on to a great extent. Agriculture employs some, shoemaking others, baking another party, and various industrial arts the remainder. Many have gone forth from the excellent discipline and order of the Rauhe Haus to take respectable places in society. Of the first 200 who left, 145 are doing well, 10 are mediocre, only 22 are bad, while 23 have been lost sight of. Since the commencement, nearly 200 brothers have gone to labour in other establishments, and many theological candidates are now in the parochial ministry, or in the mission-field, highly valued and greatly blessed.

Among all the institutions for the reformation of degraded youth none ranks higher than Dr. Wichern's. It has attracted the attention of persons in high social position all over Europe; it has influenced all similar institutions which have been established on the Continent; it has aided to revive religion as well as to diminish crime and promote order, by means of the Inner Mission so closely linked with it; it has promoted a healthy religious literature, much of which is printed and published at the Rough House; and it has taught a grand lesson of what faith and prayer and energy can do.

The ragged-school system has practically developed some great principles of social amelioration. It has shown that prevention is better than cure; that the reformation of the young is more certain than of the old; that there is every advantage to society by educating, at the public expense, those who are neglected by their parents; and that the best instruction is when secular knowledge and the useful arts are blended with Christian teaching and daily worship of God. Under this loving and godly influence the worst youths have been reformed, and have been sent out to the world with an ability to read and write, a fitness to work for their bread, and a love to God and man glowing in their renewed breasts. By greater liberality from a Christian public, and more resolute endeavours to leave no destitute children uncared for; by greater compassion in the magistracy, who will send the young delinquents brought up for crimes to the reformatory instead of the prisons; and by wiser legislation on the part of the State to shut up incentives to and new facilities for drunkenness, ragged schools would speedily transform, by the blessing of Heaven, the wretched and mendicant and delinquent youth of our

honest, happy, sober, and pious citizens, and hasten the consummation so devoutly to be wished, when begging, drunkenness, and crime shall be almost extirpated.

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ART. VI.—1. *Report of Parliamentary Committee on Intemperance.* 1834. J. S. Buckingham, Chairman.
2. *Report of Select Committee on Public-houses.* 1854. Right Hon. C. P. Villiers, Chairman.
3. *Hansard's Debates.* Session of 1860.

FEW investigations are so barren as those pursued by parliamentary committees. Day after day during the session do members of the House of Commons spend hours in examining witnesses upon questions of various national interest, and at last, with a sigh of relief that the labour is concluded, the chairmen of the committees present to the House reports to which nobody listens, and these, with the rest of the inquiries, are consigned to the honourable oblivion of blue books. All this exhausting labour, so loudly complained of to constituents, and conducted at an enormous national expense, is intended to furnish desired information to Parliament upon which discreet and safe legislation may be founded. It practically affords information to nobody but to the parties immediately concerned and interested, and to some adventurous student who has courage enough to search for the ore which may be extracted from the mountain of débris which, like the slag of an iron furnace, grows up during the heats and refinements of a parliamentary session. Such is the apathy of members to any but party claims, or to the immediate necessities of foreign or domestic politics, that a suggestion to refer any question to a committee is always considered as a pleasant mode of placing it on the shelf. Rarely, indeed, has the most deliberate and exhaustive inquiry ordered by the House resulted in practical legislation.

The various committees which from time to time have reported upon drunkenness, or the laws affecting the trade in strong drink, have presented no exception to this rule. Session after session, from the earliest period of parliamentary records, has the House of Commons been called upon to discuss, in some shape or other, the troublesome question of public-houses. Sometimes bungled in general debate, at others sent up stairs to a committee as inconvenient, a general sentiment has been expressed that 'a comprehensive measure' ought to be introduced to relieve the House from this constant nuisance; but no one has ventured to embody the suggestions offered in a bill. The committee which, under Mr. Buckingham's presidency, sat in 1834, reported to the House upon 'the importance of directing the attention of the Government

ment to various ameliorations, and especially to the introduction "early in the ensuing session," of some general and comprehensive law for the progressive diminution and ultimate suppression of all the existing facilities and means of intemperance, as the root and parent of almost every other vice.'

But no legislation followed. Probably the conclusions were too much allied to common sense, and the suggestions too logical, to recommend themselves to a modern House of Commons, one of the peculiar characteristics of which is, to allow no measure to pass without the introduction of sufficient personal crotchets to mar the symmetry of the construction, and to render difficult the understanding and execution of the act. Nor has the committee which, twenty years later, presented its report through Mr. Villiers, been treated with any greater consideration. The elaborate suggestions offered have not again been referred to; and the present year would, in all probability, have passed away without any disturbance of the unsatisfactory *status quo*, but for the necessity which lay upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer to provide channels for, and, if possible, to increase the consumption of the French wines admitted by the new treaty.

But now the ice has been broken. No one—certainly not a licensed victualler—expects that the legislation of the last session will be final. There is an evident disposition on the part of leading statesmen to deal with the whole question of license laws, and it is not likely that many years will pass without a radical and complete change. It is therefore of some importance that temperance reformers should examine and understand the position in which they are likely to be placed, and agree upon the policy they should pursue in the advancement of their principles.

The dissatisfaction of all parties with the beer-house system has grown and developed constantly during the thirty years in which that system has exercised its debasing influence. Alongside of this feeling has also sprung up a distrust of the system of magisterial license, and a desire to break down a monopoly which, in the new era of mercantile competition, appears peculiarly hateful and injurious to ardent free-traders.

Between the adherents of these two opinions, there is a necessary antagonism which must probably render the adoption of either alternative difficult. In connection with the former a powerful organization among magistrates, especially of the West Riding, promoted, in 1857, a measure which, under the hands of Mr. Hardy, was submitted to the House of Commons. The second reading was, however, refused by a majority of 213 to 180, the debate turning exclusively on the points we have indicated. The scope of the suggested measure was to withdraw from the excise the power to grant, simply for purposes of revenue, licenses to sell

beer,

beer, and to confer on the magistrates the same discretionary power with reference to these, which is confided to them as to the sale of spirits. The obvious intention was to bring the whole trade under a uniform system—a most important advantage—and that system one of magisterial restriction.

At the time of this division the writer took an opportunity of pointing out that it must be regarded as conclusive of the conditions under which the temperance battle must be fought. It was evident that public feeling had condemned the license system under the magistrates, and that the real contest lay between those who advocated the right of public opinion to dictate even the entire prohibition of the trade, and those who were inclined to leave it to be governed solely by the ordinary operation of supply and demand. Recent events have abundantly confirmed our opinion. Mr. Gladstone's Wine Licensing Bill was avowedly intended as a commencement of anti-magisterial legislation, and an ammendment, moved by Mr. James, in favour of the retention of magisterial power, was negatived by 154 to 117.

Mr. Villiers's committee, to which we have already referred, was appointed on the motion of Mr. Brown, the representative of South Lancashire, and a magistrate holding the opinions in favour of free trade prevalent upon the Liverpool bench. There is no doubt that the opinions of Mr. Villiers and other members of that committee, underwent very considerable modification during the course of the sittings, but it is undoubtedly in the direction of the conclusions of that committee, that the opinion of the House of Commons is rapidly drifting. These suggestions are summed up in the report of that committee as follows:—

'Resolved—

'That no intoxicating drink shall be sold without a license.

'That there should be one uniform license for the sale of intoxicating drinks.

'That such licenses shall be issued by the magistrates at sessions holden for that purpose.

'That it shall be open to all persons of good character to obtain such license on compliance with certain conditions, and the payment of a certain annual sum.

'That every person, previous to obtaining a license, should himself give bond, and find two sureties to be bound with him, for the due observance of the law and conditions upon which the license shall be granted.

'That the lowest amount to be paid for a license should, in rural parishes and small towns, be 6*l.*; in towns or parishes exceeding 5000, and not exceeding 10,000 inhabitants, it should be 8*l.*; and that above 10,000 the price should be increased 2*l.* for every 5000 inhabitants; but that in no case should the price exceed 30*l.*

'That in case of any conviction for breach of the law or condition of the license, the sureties should be at liberty to give notice of the withdrawal of their names as sureties, at the next licensing sessions after the date of such notice.

'That, in large towns and populous places, there should be appointed inspectors of public-houses, and all places of public refreshment and entertainment, as in the case of common lodging-houses, and that such inspectors should constantly visit and report upon the condition and conduct of all such houses and places.

'That in all cases of drunkenness, and riotous or disorderly conduct, such inspectors should, if necessary, have power to call in the assistance of the police.

'That

'That in all cases of trading during the hours prohibited by law, or selling liquors without license, the persons found actually present should be deemed guilty of the same offence, and should be liable to a penalty not exceeding half of the penalty which may be imposed upon the proprietor.

'That all coffee-shops, temperance hotels, shell-fish shops, and similar places of public resort, should be required to be licensed for their respective purposes, and should be subject to be visited and reported upon in the same manner as public-houses; and that the amount to be paid for every such license should be 2*l.* per annum.

'That any person selling intoxicating drinks without being licensed for their sale, should be subject to a penalty, to be recovered before the magistrates, not exceeding double the amount required by law to be paid in that locality for a license to sell intoxicating drinks.

'That such publicans and beer-shop keepers as are already licensed should not be required to find sureties, nor to pay any higher scale of duties than they are at present required to pay, and should be entitled to the renewal in every respect as at present; but should be visited and reported upon by the inspectors of public-houses, and should be subject to the same police regulations as are proposed with regard to future licenses; and in case of conviction of any offence against the law, should be brought in all respects under the new rules.

'That, with the exception of the hours of from one to two o'clock P. M., and of from six to nine P. M., all places for the sale of intoxicating drinks should be closed on Sunday, and that on the week days all such houses should be closed from eleven o'clock P. M. until four o'clock A. M.'

We propose now, therefore, as a question of vital interest to temperance reformers, to examine these suggestions, and ascertain, if possible, their probable influence, so as to indicate the course which temperance men may advantageously adopt when they come to be submitted to Parliament.

To a temperance reformer, the license law is not, as such, acceptable. It is valuable only so far as it is restrictive, and it is sustained, and even tolerated, by them for that reason only. It is undoubtedly vicious in principle and partial in administration. No financial blunder can be more disastrous than to derive revenue from the demoralization of the people. It may be and is said that articles of luxury may fairly be taxed in preference to articles of necessity, and that taxation, by increasing the price of spirits, is itself restrictive of consumption. But, on the other hand, stands the fatal and overwhelming disadvantage of allowing to the national exchequer, and therefore to the government, a pecuniary interest in the trade in drink and in its extension, which necessarily ranges on the side of drink consumption, all who are interested in the easy and immediate increase or maintenance of the national finances. No doubt can be left on an impartial mind, after perusal of the evidence taken before Mr. Villiers's committee, that favouritism has much to do with the granting or withholding of licenses. So far as the metropolis is concerned, it is matter generally notorious, that houses retain their licenses year after year in which obscenities of all sorts are known to be carried on, and which are the recognized resort of thieves and bad characters of all sorts. Even respectability is not insured by the magisterial sanction to the license. In many large places the worst class of

houses are licensed houses, arising, not only from the power they possess to keep open all night while beer-houses must close, but from the variety and efficiency of their means of temptation. Nor is it by any means certain that the magistrates have used the discretion intrusted to them with any very materially restrictive results. It is an important fact, that during the last seven years, public-houses have increased in number from 89,963 to 93,066, or an increase of 3,103, while beer-houses, for which no magisterial sanction is needed, have only augmented from 42,726 to 43,435, or an addition of 709. But, further, the influence of the license law upon public opinion and upon the magistrates themselves is eminently unfavourable. People imagine that a business expressly sanctioned must be highly respectable. The license gives moral weight to the trade in drink, and the magistrates who grant the certificate are rendered, as it were, partners in the whole matter. They become unwilling to impeach their own creation. Nothing can be more absurd than the memorial system adopted on the occasion of applications for license in the hope of influencing the decision of the bench. Not a clergyman or ratepayer who signs a publican's memorial, but must be considered as responsible for the mischief the license may afterwards cause, and thus in all its ramifications—with the government, among the magistrates and the people, the license law is always operating to bring within the involvements of interest or responsibility all classes of the community.

The suggestions of the committee in some respects would obviate these objections. The liquor dealers would find themselves under real instead of an illusory restraint, and the fear of losing the license, or even (as the committee suggests as better than fine) of being compelled to close for a limited period, would exercise an important influence over the mind of a publican. The closing would also affect the interest of the brewer or distiller, so frequently the owner of the house, and compel him to be careful in the selection of his tenants.

If it should turn out—we fear it would not—that the operation of the suggestion of high rates of payment for licenses would be restrictive of the number of the houses above the restriction of the magistrates, the whole scheme would be better than that now existent; but we cannot but look with alarm upon an open trade in drink. There is an undoubted connection shown by experience between drunkenness and the amount of drinking facilities. The object of any legislation should, in our opinion, be to diminish rather than increase those facilities. Apart from this, however, there are many valuable features in the suggestions of the committee.

The advantage of uniformity of law with reference to all classes of

of houses would be gained here equally with Mr. Hardy's plan. But the safeguards indicated are far more complete than those at present enjoyed. The provision of sureties, the appointment of inspectors charged with the special duty of supervision of public-houses, the restriction of sale on Sunday, and the closing at night, are all most important advances upon our existing position. With these, and the additional advantage of simplification which uniformity of license would place in the hands of opponents of public-houses—the odium now attaching to beer-houses being then equally associated with the whole,—the efforts of temperance men in influencing the legislation would be much more powerfully felt. But notwithstanding all this, our inability to decide the question, whether high license would insure fewer houses, and our strong conviction that no other benefit could compensate for the terrible results of increased and open trade, we cannot express approval of the report of 1854.

But a practical question rises before the temperance reformer as to his future political tactics. Neither the present system nor that suggested by Mr. Villiers can be entirely satisfactory to him. What can he do, that, whatever modification may be introduced in either, his views may have a fair legislative representation?

In this Review we have from the first advocated the right of the people, if they please, to exclude altogether the sale of drink, and we have laid before our readers suggestions which have been offered as to the mode by which this right may be enforced. The votes of the inhabitants of any district might easily be taken as to that district, as is done in other permissive acts, and a power of veto would thus be obtained far more valuable than that exercised by magistrates.

We are endeavouring to explain the position in which, as practical politicians, we may hereafter stand. The question is not what we desire, not what we ought to have, but what, under the exigencies of the situation into which we may be forced, can be done to mould the circumstances in favour of our views and not against them? We believe the true tactics of temperance reformers to be, to resolve, that in ANY measure adopted by Parliament, this permissive power shall be introduced, and we regard it as the special work of the political temperance agitation to induce statesmen of Mr. Villiers's school to adopt this alternative. The license system is not upheld, as we have said, by us, nor is Mr. Villiers's scheme objectionable to us, provided only the prohibitive power be given to the people. Prohibition has always been contended for by us as the expression of public opinion; we ask for it in no other sense, and we shall be content if we obtain the machinery, by means of which public opinion may consolidate itself into the shape of law. If our anticipations be well founded, and a

large majority of Parliament regard with favour the suggestions of 1854, it must clearly be the wisest course, not to resist the victorious opinion by supporting the present system of magisterial veto—a system very objectionable—but to use every effort to engraft upon the new system such a complete check, and such a power of absolute prohibition if desired by public opinion, as may render it almost if not entirely satisfactory.

It is difficult to foresee any objections to so reasonable a proposal. It may be contended that the objection of revenue interests in the trade would be as valid in reference to the new and amended scheme as to the present. Licenses would still in proportion to number increase the exchequer balance, and it would be unlikely that government would consent to give the people a right to disturb their financial arrangements, when sanctioned by the House of Commons. But this objection may be obviated. In the 'Economist' newspaper of the 25th August last, an interesting paragraph describes a curious practice existing in France in reference to taxes arising out of wines and spirits. Whole districts and communes, it appears, are permitted to compound with the government for the amount of revenue estimated to be due from them in respect of these taxes, and then to raise the money among themselves in such manner as they may see fit. Such a practice has no parallel among ourselves, but that is no reason why it should not have, while it is easy to believe that districts might find it very profitable to raise the means of government by some other plan than the wasteful one of creating pauperism and crime and other charges upon the state for the purpose.

Irrespective of any exercise of the power given to the people, the existence of such a power would be itself a great safeguard against misconduct. The increased value of the license, it is anticipated, would operate upon both tenant and owner, to prevent such misconduct as might result in its suspension or forfeiture. How much more would it be a restraint to know, that the nuisance of an ill-conducted house might so rouse the indignation of a district as to destroy the value of the public-house property in that district altogether. Owners would themselves become inspectors of their houses, and even where prohibition might not be adopted within the district, we should have as little occasion as possible given for the growth of a hostile public opinion, when that opinion would have the power to embody itself into a law exiling the traffic altogether.

We might follow out the argument at length but we forbear. We have merely thrown out a few brief hints which may be further developed in the future. In the view of the increased importance assumed by temperance agitation during the past few months, its substantial recognition in quarters hitherto indifferent,

different, the complete demonstration of the emptiness of the boast of publican political power, everything looks hopeful. It must not be, however, that the long-threatened 'comprehensive measure' upon the license system can find the temperance reformers unprepared. The grievances of the present system which require to be remedied are of the most serious kind, and Parliament and statesmen incur a grave responsibility in delaying to deal with them. Still graver is the responsibility of those who would neglect so to inform and educate public sentiment, not merely on the personal relations of the temperance movement, but on the national requirements of the citizen and law-maker in reference to the great social evil of the liquor traffic, that when the opportunity offers, an adequate and successful struggle may be made for the right. We write for those who would persevere to the end, not for those who, having put their hand to the plough, turn back.

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## ART. VII.—THE EARLY SOCIAL STATE OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

IN this day of reformatories, when such careful provision is made for the bodily comfort, mental growth, and moral culture of our criminals, as to provoke the pungent satire of our social censors, it is well to look at the picture of their treatment, exhibited by the past.

Eighty years ago a person, styled Duncan Campbell, Esq., stood before a Committee of the British House of Commons. He was announced as the 'Contractor for Convicts.' 'Will you please to give us the result of your experience?' said the chairman.

The gentleman then proceeded to give the following particulars: He had for twenty years taken prisoners off the hands of the paternal government, and paid for these British chattels at the rate of five pounds a head; and he assured the gentlemen of the Committee that it had been by no means so profitable a trade as some had supposed. One seventh of his bargains had died upon his hands, and for the rest he had done his best in disposing of them to the English settlers of the American colonies. For ordinary men he got no more than ten pounds; and for women, unless young and attractive, but eight or nine. Artisans realized a higher figure; fetching in the market, especially if well skilled and docile, twenty and even twenty-five pounds each. To balance this profit, he was obliged to give the old, halt, and lame in for nothing; and, too often, to his sorrow, he had to pay premiums to get rid of them, should they, unfortunately, survive the perils and hardships of the voyage.

Not one of the honourable members made a remark upon the barbarity and unchristian character of this sale of their fellow-countrymen. It was a matter of course. Even he who bought them was as reputable, in the eyes of society then, as those who pay for other licenses now.

But a difficulty had arisen with the Home Government. These colonists, who had purchased the slave criminals, were in open rebellion against the producing market, and the goods could no longer be forwarded to them. What was to be done? In spite of the terrors of the Plantations, crime had gone on; and the gaols were crowded, in spite of pestilence from their disgusting condition.

Sir Joseph Banks now propounded a scheme. He had been on a voyage, a few years before, with Captain Cook. In 1770 they had discovered a country which had been called New South Wales. It would, in his opinion, be an excellent place to which these disturbers of the peace could be sent. It was quite at the antipodes, and so the English would not [illegible] with them again. It [illegible]

away from any settlement of Europeans, and so the chance of escape was hopeless. On the other hand, the country was beautiful, and the climate agreeable. At any rate, two or three hundred might be sent as an experiment.

Objections were raised. Those who did not mind selling them in America, were shocked at expatriating them to so wild a region of savages at the other side of the globe.

Yet what else could be done with the unhappy wretches, thus festering in loathsome prisons, which resounded with shouts of brutal vice, and the fruitless wailings of less-hardened ones? Botany Bay was the decision. Even in that day the wheels of authority moved with proverbial solemnity, so that 1787 came before the fleet could sail.

We pass over the dreary eight months' voyage, and bring the party to anchor January 18th, 1788. The strange land was before them, with its bright, warm sky, its forests of eucalypti, its groves of palms, its shrubs of harsh-leaved plants laden with flowering beauties. But Botany Bay was only suited for the hermit lover of the wilds of nature; and the harbour of Port Jackson was selected for the settlement.

Let us look at the new comers. There were 558 male prisoners and 228 female. To guard these were 212 marines. They disembarked from the transports, and constructed rude cabins of wattle and dab. Formal possession was taken of the land. Governor Phillip made an oration upon the occasion, and earnestly counselled the convicts to behave themselves well in their new home. Grateful for their preservation on the long voyage, and full of buoyant hopes for the future, the officials terminated the proceedings of the inauguration of the colony by a hearty dedication of themselves and projects to the god of the heathen—Bacchus. So unhallowed an initiation was quite appreciated by the criminal transports; and the superstructure of vice and intemperance was worthy of such a foundation of immorality. Judge Burton, of Sydney, afterwards exclaimed, 'How different might have been the effect upon the minds of many of the poor convicts, if the day of their first landing in a new world had been solemnly invoked, as the beginning of a new life under God, by an act of confession and prayer!'

Before taking up the social exponents of that early colonial age, we will glance at some points of general history, which influenced the moral phases of the community.

For the first few years great suffering was experienced from the want of food. Although seeds had been taken out, yet the general spirit of reckless improvidence, tardy industry, and miserable misgovernment, prevented that prompt attention to agriculture which would have saved much subsequent trouble. The loss of the 'Guardian' storeship would not have been felt so long and bitterly had proper discipline been maintained, and prudent counsels been regarded. As it was, a reduction of even one-half the usual allowance caused a dreadful mortality. Men were seen attempting labour in the field, feeble from exhaustion, and almost as free from dress as the natives about them.

The introduction of many ignorant and long-neglected fellow-subjects, after the Irish Rebellion of 1798, did not improve the political aspect of the new colony. Plots were repeatedly being brought to light. Insubordination increased, and morals were even brought to a lower ebb. Some of the Irishmen got it into their heads that a settlement of whites existed three or four hundred miles to the south-west of Sydney, and numbers started off for it. Although many were brought back, and got lashes for their absence, the discovery of skeletons in the bush for years after, told the fate of the rest. A rush once took place among the same class of people for China, which was thought not far away. A rebellion among the Irish convicts arose from a report that the French were about to land. This tale sprang from the simple circumstance of an old Scotch wife retailing to her beer-drinking customers her dream about the French coming to the camp.

At an early period grants of land, of thirty and fifty acres, were made to freed prisoners, who became dignified with the name of settlers, and who were located at Rose Hill, Parramatta, some twenty miles from Sydney, and on the fertile banks of the Hawkesbury, at a greater distance from the port. Liberal aid was rendered by Government, in grants of seed and tools,

tools, the use of bullocks for ploughing, stores till the crops appeared, and purchase at a remunerative rate afterwards. But it was found that this weak dependence upon the authorities, together with the frightful appetite for drink, produced a feebleness of effort, and a deficiency of energy, which told as mischievously upon the individuals, as upon the general condition of the colony.

A few free settlers arrived about a dozen years after the settlement of Sydney; but it was a long time before any considerable number visited so distant a station. A dozen Scotch families came in Governor Hunter's reign, and were located at Portland, becoming the nucleus of a thriving people. Generally, however, the free emigrants sank to the level of society about them, and were besotted and idle. As late as 1833, while the bond, above twelve years, were 17,588, the free, including the emancipists by servitude, were only 21,845.

As an illustration of the general improvident character of these landed proprietors, the following may be given. When Governor Phillip left his charge in 1792, he kindly gave each married settler, from the public stock, a ewe for breeding, and to others such goats as could be spared. Instead of preserving these valuable gifts, procured with such trouble and expense from Britain, most of the parties either killed them at once for a rich repast, or sold them to the officers.

Squatting soon showed itself the great business of the prudent. At one time no regulations existed, and then a half-a-crown rent was charged for every hundred acres. With the system of large free grants of land came the great era of progress. A man received an amount proportionate to his cash in hand, or stock in possession. It was said that among the claimants the clerical squatters were foremost; but their demand, according to their flocks, was so formidable that an especial order had to be issued by Earl Bathurst, that no clergyman should be entitled to more than 1250 acres grant. It is obvious that this class of men would have greater chance of success, less from their habits of business than from their temperance and intelligence.

As may readily be supposed, the government was essentially despotic. An officer was appointed as the prosecutor for the crown, called the Advocate-General, who, not being a lawyer, but usually a military person, had to depend upon the more technical knowledge and legal talent, in difficult cases, of some convict, who had perchance been a clerk in some solicitor's office in England. Occasionally an advocate, upon being remonstrated with upon some decision being more than usually absurd and tyrannical, would indulge in violent abuse of the individual complainant, and expressions of contempt for the genius of law itself. As the appointment was from the crown, the governor himself was unable to remedy this incapacity or injustice by a removal of the judge. When it is added that too frequently such adjudications were given under the influence of intemperance, and from men notorious for their immoralities, the condition of justice in those good old times may be fully appreciated.

The jury was composed of officers of the military force, whose sympathies were not to be supposed to be on virtue's side, if we regard the lives they led. When, in the extension of freedom, the jury list included others of the emancipist class, the reader may naturally suppose that their findings would be of a lenient sort, according to the saying, that 'fellow-feeling makes us wondrous kind.' We are not left to conjecture on this head. In Britain, the acquittals average seventeen per cent. of the accused; in New South Wales, of the period now spoken of, they amounted to fifty per cent. A thief in Sydney had, therefore, three times the chance of escape that he would have in London.

The press suffered in that age of irresponsible government. Space forbids enlarging upon this very interesting subject, else we might speak of the gagging system, which so long prevailed. The censorship was stricter than that of France or Austria, and the punishment of the offending printer severe and summary. Occasionally the mode of exhibiting the displeasure of the authorities was mean and disreputable. Thus, Mr. Hall, of the 'Sydney Monitor,' had mildly and respectfully criticised some act of Gov[illegible] Darling. Soon after, he applied [illegible] the usual terms, for a lease of [illegible]

land, on which to depasture some cattle. The general refused the application on the avowed ground of the editor's opposition to Government. Further, to trouble the scribe, he took from his service a printer, who happened to be a convict, and, therefore, under the authority of office. Mr. McArthur in council, recommended Governor Darling a mode of quieting the interference of the press. He would have a stamp act enforcing the payment of one shilling for each printed copy issued. General Darling, however, thought this too harsh a measure to be adopted. The first paper brought out in New South Wales, was the 'Sydney Gazette and Advertiser,' which appeared March 6th, 1803, by order of Governor King. Upon an oval device, ornamented with rude drawings of implements of husbandry, were the words, 'Thus we hope to conquer.'

When the press appeared as the exponent of the prisoner class, it was sometimes prostituted for the maintenance of, or connivance at, improper practices, and a low tone of moral feeling. It was to remedy this evil that Dr. Lang, the chivalrous advocate of liberty, but the stern denouncer of social wrongs, undertook a crusade against a party, whose principles he regarded as a curse to the colony, and a shame to literature. And if, in the vehemence of attack, he occasionally forgot the dignity of a gentleman, and the charity of a Christian, we must remember the provocations which existed, the character of his assailants, and the condition of society, rightly to appreciate the position he assumed.

Convictism lost some of its more repulsive aspects, as far as public opinion was concerned, when wealth was accumulated by those who had borne the badge of servitude. The great landowners and flockmasters were emancipists, while many merchant princes and city magnates were of the same class. Governor Macquarie, whose dynasty was between 1810 and 1821, thought to encourage the emancipists by bestowing upon them favours not sanctioned before. He admitted some to his table, and raised a few to the magistracy. Those arrived free were indignant at this extension of patronage; but they were laughed at by the new aristocracy, and called, scoffingly, 'The Pure Merinoes.' One clerical magistrate, the Rev. Mr. Marsden, could not meet the newly elected justices, and resigned his office. General Macquarie's successor, Governor Brisbane, on the other hand, held the reins of government too tightly, and with much nobleness of conduct, exhibiting too often that severity of rule which caused part of his régime to be denominated 'The Reign of Terror.'

By some strange official neglect there were prisoners who brought over to New Holland the very gold and jewels, for the abstraction of which they had been transported. The man who robbed the Bank of Stirling, for instance, is said to have thus carried out property to the amount of a thousand pounds; the judicious employment of which removed him from the necessity of hard labour and degrading treatment, and enabled him to invest to advantage.

While discipline was so lax that every encouragement seemed given to the indulgence of disorder, the severity of the code was equally apparent, however irregular its exercise. Capital punishment was not uncommon for petty thefts. But flogging was the favourite mode of punishment. Did a man forget to touch his hat when passing an official, he received twenty-five lashes. Had he been said to have returned an improper answer to his master, or neglected obedience to his order, lashes became the order of penalty. In November, 1800, a case of absconding came before the Sydney bench. An extract from the sentence is given:—That they 'do sentence Matthews, as a principal, to receive 1000 lashes; Moore, Galvin, and Saunders, 500 lashes; Francis Allen to hard labour, with an iron collar, at Newcastle; W. Blake, free from servitude, 200 lashes and three years' hard labour,' &c. At another time a bench, of which the chaplain was a member, ordered a man to be severely flogged every morning till he should confess where goods were secreted, supposed to have been stolen by him. After receiving as much as could be borne, he was, in the event of continued contumacy, to be sent to Port Macquarie, where prisoners were very roughly treated. A man, who had wounded a woman with whom he cohabited, was sentenced to 700 lashes, one-half to be given at a time. A woman, convicted of aiding a thief, had

had her head shaved, and was clothed with a canvas frock, on which the letters R. S. G. were painted—Receiver of Stolen Goods.

The distinctions of society were thus marked. The English born were Sterling; and the Colonial youth were Currency or Cornstalks. Those who had legal reasons for being forwarded to the colony were Legitimates; while those not so favoured by the law of the mother-country were styled Illegitimates. The new comers, among the convicts themselves, were Canaries, from the yellow dress they were condemned to wear.

The moral character of the primitive population of New South Wales can be easily imagined to occupy no dignified position. And how could it be otherwise? The historian of England and Scotland would give us no favourable view of society at the period of the early transportation; while the annals of suffering, endured by the pioneers of Methodism, would exhibit our lower orders as ignorant, brutal, and depraved. The police arrangements then had not the present Scotland Yard perfection. The Dick Turpin heroism of the road is now exchanged for the slinking meanness of the thief, from the constant apprehension of a detective's touch. Men were accustomed, at that time, to carry their bravado to the scaffold, and smile from Tyburn upon the cheering sympathisers with their dashing deeds. With so demoralized and brutal a commonalty, we can be surprised at no depth of vicious artifice, and bestial criminality among the selected convicts from such a class. Place such a congregation of evil-doers together, as at Sydney; supply them with the great provocative to vice—strong drink—and withhold opportunities of moral elevation and religious restraint; and then we have a community which, for the open exhibition of wickedness, may be considered one of the worst the world has seen. And yet, strange to say, in that very colony, so originated and sustained, there is now a development of social progress, moral appliances, and religious fervour, which may truly class it with some of the most virtuous of nations.

That our estimate of the depravity of that period may not be supposed without ground, we give certain testimonies of others. Barrington wrote sixty years ago, 'They were too callous for anything human to reform.' Governor Bligh told the committee of the House of Commons that, 'from the habits of the people in that colony, prostitution was extremely common;' and, again, 'In the beginning there were two-thirds of illegitimate children.' Dr. Cunningham, referring to the frequency of perjury, asserts, 'A dollar and a pint of rum were currently stated to be the prices fixed at the outset for witnesses of this description, till competition broke up the monopoly, and admitted of purchasers at a more equitable rate.' An early minister adds, 'All those ties of moral order and feelings of decency, which bind society together, are not only relaxed but almost extinct.' Bishop Broughton speaks of 'highly respectable persons, residing near a church, not only neglected to require their convict servants to attend the church, but suffered them to spend the Lord's day amidst scenes of drunkenness and debauchery. Nor was that all. It has been further proved that that day by some masters was actually made a day of labour, and some other day allowed as an equivalent.'

The first Wesleyan minister in New South Wales thus, in 1815, describes the state of society: 'Many in respectable situations riot in all the crimes of which their depraved natures are capable; several live in adultery either with other men's wives, or with women to whom they were never married; and this example is practised by persons in various ranks of society. I suppose one half at least of the colony is thus circumstanced. I was the other day taking a list of the children of a public school, and, inquiring about their parents. I learned from the mouths of the children that full one half of their parents cohabit in this way. The children are brought acquainted with it while young, and grow up in it.'

Drunkenness was the great vice of the day, and the active agent in the crimes and miseries of the colony. The narrative of such wrongs may well surprise the English reader; but the more recent immigrants of Australia, who behold so improved a state of things, would be almost equally surprised at the detail. Excepting at the rushes of the diggings, and to those in their very worst circumstances, there is no parallel existing.

As has been stated, the four

of New South Wales was laid in drink. The introduction of liquor by the sailors from the ships, who sold the same to the convicts for food and clothing, was the beginning of evil. Some died from exhaustion through thus parting with their rations. Thefts were common. Even a sheep was stolen that was reserved for the governor to celebrate the Prince of Wales's birthday. The people became so lazy through this vicious habit, that only punishment could make them perform their light tasks. The farm of a free settler was neglected. Religion was wholly forgotten. Corruption seemed universal.

Among the fruits of disorder appear the losses of property. When, in 1798, the settlers complained of their ruinous condition, the debts which burdened them, and the necessity of help from the king's store, Governor Hunter told them that all their trouble was occasioned by intemperance. When again, in 1799, the Norfolk islanders sent a similar memorial, the following official answer was returned: 'From the nature of the complaint, the governor is led to suspect that the same rage for traffic, and an intemperate indulgence in those destructive gratifications which have so effectually ruined many of the most forward and promising settlers of New South Wales, have reached Norfolk Island. He urges them not to be led away from their real interests by speculative ideas, or a desire of indulging in dangerous gratifications, squandering the whole produce of their hard labour in trifles, or in scenes of dissipation, which must eventually end in their complete ruin.'

The early tales of sorrow from this source of mischief are like those ever and everywhere to be found from the same cause. It would be idle to tell of those whose death, from violence or accident (so called), was occasioned by drink. A couple of topers challenged each other. They retired from Sydney to a wood for uninterrupted contest. They were armed with rum bottles. One drank himself to death on the spot, and the other was nearly gone when discovered. A married pair had quarrelled and fought in their intoxicated state. The wife, then stepping into a boat, overbalanced herself and was drowned, her husband being unable to render assistance. The bereaved buried the body a few yards from his door. The historian Barrington, adds, 'To complete the measure of his iniquity, but a few days after, he was sitting at his door, with a bottle of rum, drinking one glass and pouring another on the grave, till it was all gone, declaring, at each libation, how well she loved it when alive.' The same writer describes the usual operation of drink at a harvest in December, 1799. 'At the conclusion of the harvest,' he says, 'a slight disturbance took place among the Irish convicts at Toongebbe. Each man and woman who had been employed, having received a small quantity of spirits and water, which was ordered to be given them, its first effect was cheerful pleasantry, but it terminated in a riot; a circumstance by no means uncommon with these people.' He elsewhere calls spirits 'The forbidden fruit of New South Wales.'

The traffic in drink was so extensive as to be almost universal. There was established, in short, a thorough rum currency, the medium of exchange. The Rev. Dr. Ullathorne states that the three first magistrates were appointed to pay rewards, 'in gallons of spirits or money,' to those who had destroyed native dogs. In his examination before the House of Commons in 1811, Colonel Johnstone gave this evidence: 'As far as my observation went, the traffic was universal; officers, civil and military, clergy, every description of inhabitants, were under the necessity of paying for the necessaries of life, for every article of consumption, in that sort of commodity which the people who had to sell were inclined to take.' Captain Kemp bore similar testimony: 'The governor, clergy, officers, civil and military, all ranks and descriptions of people, bartered spirits when I left Sydney, in May, 1810.' The rum hospital was another curious exponent of the times. Governor Macquarie, from benevolent motives, was anxious to erect an asylum for the diseased about him, and he wished to do it at little or no cost to the treasury. A plausibly-clever expedient was hit upon. Any party who would undertake to construct the building, according to specifications, should have the exclusive monopoly in rum for four years. Messrs. Wentworth, Blaxcell, and Riley, three leading citizens, undertook the work, and profited by it. Dr. Lang might well say, however, 'In providing, therefore, for the physical

physical health of the colony, Governor Macquarie was actually overspreading the whole surface of its body politic, in a moral and spiritual sense, with "wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores."'

The government, from the very first, sought to place some restraint upon sale in drink. In 1794, we read of stills being destroyed, and their owners punished. Permits were the only medium for obtaining liquor from the vessels in harbour; but it was soon seen that the quantity of liquor sold far exceeded that represented by the permits. Those who for some time held the exclusive possession of permits were the officers of the New South Wales corps, the supposed guardians of the lives and property of the colony. Governor Hunter struggled in vain against this evil influence, and wrote home about recalling such a disorderly band, who were the patrons of all evil. These gentlemen, it is said, kept their convict mistresses engaged in the outside traffic, so that they might have wholesale and retail advantage. Virtually holding the authority of the state in their hands, they derided the efforts of the governors to arrest their evil course. Nothing short of a revolution could bring matters to a crisis.

The license system was introduced into New Holland under peculiar circumstances. Notwithstanding the reiterated orders and even entreaties of the first governor, drink was introduced clandestinely and sold. The *morale* of the servants of the crown could not withstand the temptation of bribes to forego their duty, and of interest to share in the plunder. Sold anywhere and everywhere covertly, some restraint existed in the necessity of preserving an outward decorum, to avoid the direct action of the law for the offence. Fancying, as modern statesmen have done, that the introduction of a less exciting beverage would gradually displace the use of the stronger, Captain Phillip, in 1792, licensed a house for the sale of porter. But, as a practical illustration of the thorough impracticability of the measure, let us turn to the testimony of a reformed convict of that time: 'A license was granted for the sale of porter, but, as spirits were introduced, it in fact became a public-house, with its usual accompaniments, drunkenness and idleness.' The benevolent intentions of the officer were thus frustrated.

The governor thought the license system would be a restraint upon the drinking habits of the people. Where the government is strong enough to maintain its own authority, and really confine the sale to such houses, an advantage is gained; for experience clearly proves that intemperance is in every place proportioned to the facilities for sale. Yet when the habits of a people are corrupt, and the public guardians of the law will not or cannot make that law respected and obeyed, the mere nomination of certain licensed houses will be no check to the disposal of alcoholic liquors. This we know from our own observation in the outside rushes of the Victoria diggings, where, in the absence of proper legal restraint, the indiscriminate sale is practised, and the greatest debauchery and misery are the consequences. It was determined, then, to try in Sydney the orthodox system of public-houses. In an order of the day, the governor, in most earnest and even pathetic terms, calls upon his officers everywhere to sustain his authority, and to assist him in his exertions to stop that species of traffic from which, as he truly observes, 'the destruction of all industry was to be expected, and no good could result.'

The mode in which action was taken will appear from the following passage in the work of Barrington, the celebrated transported pickpocket of London, whose description of life at Botany Bay is graphic and true. 'To prevent, if possible,' says the author, 'the indiscriminate sale of spirits, which, notwithstanding all orders, prevailed, the governor thought granting licenses to a few persons might have a proper effect. Ten selected persons had licenses granted them for twelve months by three magistrates. They were bound in penalties of 20*l*., and found two sureties in 10*l*. However, from the frequent intoxication which great numbers had been for some time seen in, there was reason to suspect that a greater quantity of spirits had been landed from the different ships than permits had been obtained for.'

In plain language, the system proved to be a failure. But, as some advantages were derived from the government recognition and protection of such houses, applications grew and multiplied. Then, as the free-trader of 25*l*., each for these licenses was found to be an easy mode of

sanction to such institutions was so extended, that we wonder not at the language of a visitor to Sydney. 'A great variety of taverns of an inferior description, and tippling houses of no mean amount are liberally strewed throughout.' Even the gaoler was permitted to have a house opened right before the prison door. Not only did the gentlemen of the New South Wales corps take a part in this thriving business, but, as Dr. Lang asserts, 'Most of the non-commissioned officers of the corps had licenses to sell spirits.' And still, although the government declared that the liquor of unlicensed salesmen should be seized, and their houses pulled down, illegal traffic appeared as abundant as ever.

Harassed and thwarted on all sides, by a people sunk in sensuality, and by officers of the law who aided and abetted the evil, our early governors sought, by what would be deemed arbitrary measures, to stay the social plague. Not only were stills found on private premises seized and destroyed, the very tenements of the contraband dealers pulled down, and particular places, and those under severe restrictions, permitted to sell, but in some instances the arm of the law appeared positively and absolutely to prohibit any sale whatever. Even the distinguished Mr. Wentworth, of Sydney, one of the ablest statesmen of Australia, and the very patriarch of colonial politicians, was forced by the circumstances of the settlement to declare, that drink was not only the cause of crime, but that the 'only chance of their improvement lay in absolute privation of drink.'

But to history again. In 1798, the farmers petitioned the governor about their unfortunate position. Two magistrates were sent to report upon their case, and the governor declared that he was resolved to adopt every means in his power to afford them relief. 'To begin which,' says a writer of that day, 'he found it necessary to shut many public-houses, which, when permitted, were meant as a convenience to the people; but he saw they were the chief cause from which many confessed their ruin to have sprung.'

Another historical sketch. About the year 1801, intelligence was brought to Government House, that the settlers on the Hawksbury river, the chief seat of agriculture, were so besotted with drink, and so lost to a sense of their own interests, in their devotion to dissipation, that they were absolutely permitting the season to pass without even sowing their fields. What was to be done? It is held by some political economists that the executive should on no occasion interfere with the exercise of trade, much less prohibit the use of any article of consumption. But how did Governor King act? The fate of the unhappy farmers themselves would have moved him to compassion; but he had the interests of a whole community confided to his charge. To leave the Hawksbury settlers to perish by their folly would be cruelty; but to permit the whole colony to suffer from famine through the folly—this would be madness. To appeal to the moral natures of these wretched drunkards, who could not withstand the temptation of the grog-shop, while tearfully alive to their miserable condition, would be simple waste of words. To appeal to their selfishness, by a representation of the starvation awaiting their neglect, would be equally futile. The governor wisely calculated that, as the public-houses caused the supply of that which was destroying the people, their removal would stay the evil. He could not take the farmers from the drink, but he could try to keep the drink from the farmers. An order, therefore, was issued that no liquors be sent to 'that profligate district,' under severe penalties. More than this, reliable officers were sent through the Hawksbury country, who took measures, prompt and certain, absolutely to prohibit, for a certain time, the sale of any intoxicating drinks which might be already in the district. The result was as might be supposed. Starved into surrender, the sobered farmers yoked their teams, got in their seed, and saved themselves and the colony from famine.

Though, in that early day, they could get up a theatre, they could not manage to build a church. Even when a church was erected, it was a very rude affair, and cost but forty pounds, though this was all out of the chaplain's pocket. The officials yet contrived to build an observatory at once; but the urgent state of public matters, some how or other, always prevented them setting the prisoners church building. Had these gentlemen themselves

selves ever attended service in the sun, they would have thought of their own convenience constructively.

Such, in fact, was the singular indifference to the religious wants of the convicts, that the fleet was on the point of sailing before any one thought of a chaplain; and when it was mentioned, there was some difficulty in appointing one. Nominally, Sunday was set apart as free from compulsory labour; although a singular passage occurs in one of the old records of the colony:—'So incorrigible were some of the convicts, particularly those of the gaol gang, that they were ordered to work every Sunday on the highway for a punishment.' Odd people they, in those primitive times, to give lessons in morals by doing without a church, and compelling sinners to break the Sabbath, by way of leading them to improved habits of virtue. These inconsistencies rather struck the Spanish visitors in 1793, especially as exhibited by the leading Protestant nation. The Spanish captain expressed great surprise at seeing a complete establishment, and no church; and quietly observed, that his people, in founding a settlement, first erected a House of God, and then set about putting up their own. When however, the Rev. W. Johnston put up his wattle and dab church, of sticks and mud, it did not remain long, being wilfully set on fire by some of the prisoners. The government then interfered, as it became a question of discipline, cleared out a store, and compelled, for a time, attendance twice on Sunday.

The general indifference to religious duties is shown by a writer of 1800: 'It now became too obvious that, instead of employing the Sunday in the performance of those duties for which that day was set apart, it was passed in committing every vile act of dissipation.' The magistrates were repeatedly urged by government to use their influence to prevent the opening of public-houses during the hours of service. A letter addressed from Sydney in 1814, thus describes the community: 'Long accustomed to idleness and iniquity of all kinds, here they indulge their vicious inclinations without a blush. Drunkenness, adultery, sabbath-breaking, and blasphemy are no longer considered even as indecencies.' Well might Bishop Broughton complain, when alluding to the general depravity: 'One great cause of such a state of things was an overwhelming defect of religious principle in the community.' It was no unjust and unnatural accusation brought against the government, described in a Report of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts: 'It was reasonable to expect that the government which compelled these poor exiles to leave their native land of Christian hope, and to take root, against their will, in that dark land, would have supplied them freely with the means of religious instruction.' Judge Burton, of Sydney, indulged in some very warm expressions upon this culpable neglect of duty.

Whatever patronage religion received there, it was entirely confined to one denomination of Christians. Though many convicts were from Ireland and Scotland, no provision was made for ministers of their creeds; while for those from England, but one form of worship was recognized. When the Wesleyan Conference appointed the Rev. Samuel Leigh to New South Wales, in 1814, Dr. Adam Clarke wrote to the British ministry for their permission. If he were to go as a schoolmaster, government would grant him a salary of 50*l*. But when Lord Sidmouth was told that in the double capacity of minister and schoolmaster they wished him to be recognized, the only reply was, an order sanctioning him as a schoolmaster. When he landed, he paid his respects to the governor, who said, 'I regret you have come here as a missionary, and feel sorry that I cannot give you any encouragement in that capacity.' However, by walking humbly, acting under the chaplain, and carefully following his own counsel to the Conference, 'of course the preacher should not be radically a dissenter,' he was permitted to go unmolested.

An unfortunate priest did not succeed so well. In his hurry to leave England, in 1818, he directed that his official papers, when signed, should be forwarded by the next vessel. When, however, he landed without his permit, a hue and cry was raised. For a time he concealed himself; but, being discovered, he was lodged in gaol for a day or two, and then quickly hurried on board a ship to see Old Eng[illegible] again. The priest, however, l[illegible] his only legacy, the wafer; [illegible]

crowds of Irishmen used reverently to come. Dr. Ullathorne, now a R.C. bishop in England, thus refers to the incident: 'It was remarkably beautiful to contemplate these men of sorrow round the Bread of Life, bowed down before the Crucified, no voice but the silent one of faith, not a priest within ten thousand miles to offer them that pledge of pardon to repentance, whose near presence they see and feel.'

A Presbyterian came next, a man of a different spirit from that of the gentle Wesleyan—a sturdy Scot, and one of a most determined character. He rushed at once upon the monopoly, as his ancestors had done upon the knightly ranks at Bannockburn. He would find himself quarters. And when the governor spoke with some dignity about the exclusive rights of the Establishment, and the readiness of that Church to grant toleration, Dr. Lang rather rudely said that he would take toleration from no church, but that it was a part of the constitution. Unable to get aid for his building, he wrote home, and went home, and so succeeded.

But this unpleasant state of things lasted until Governor Bourke's Act of 1835. This declared all religious bodies equal in the sight of the law, and grants were to be made to each in certain uniform and equitable proportions, and according to the amount of attendance at church, with the contribution of those attending. Since that period there have been less of those religious contentions which disgraced the earlier times.

Although liberal grants were made to the clergy from the first appointment, the poor schoolmaster was little regarded in New South Wales. The children were sometimes tended by a female, and then by an infirm male convict. Upon solicitations from the clergyman to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the liberal sum of twenty pounds was promised per annum;—that is, ten pounds a year each to the two teachers so recommended. Orphan schools were established by the colonial government. These were less for the reception of orphans than for the offspring of crime. Subsequently, the British government took the extraordinary course of making over one-seventh of the unsold lands of New South Wales to the Church of England, for church and school purposes. But repenting of their order, two years after, they revoked the grant. Gradually the claims of the children were heeded, and adequate provision, on a liberal basis, was made for their instruction.

The condition of woman in that early period of social degradation must be the subject of our last inquiry.

Poets have long and truly sung of the charms of beauty; of the chain of roses by which we of the rougher sex are so willingly bound; of the sweet attractive grace, by which the virtuous female rules the heart, and guides the ways of man. But were Homer, Petrarch, Byron, Burns, condemned to live with the outcasts of Britain on the sandstone shore of Port Jackson, their lyres would have dropped from their hands, and their enrapturing fancies ignominiously fallen, as the vain hero from the chariot of the sun. Poetry and Botany Bay have no indissoluble an association. The sweet retreats by the mirroring waters of those matchless coves; the soft airs, which played about the flowers of that southern Eden; the still moonlight, which slept in the palm groves, and silvered in coolness the sands which had glowed in the sun; all these excitants of poetry, and active agents with the tender passion, existed in vain for such a people, in whom a life of sin had checked the rise of emotions of virtuous and exalted joys.

Fain would we retire from the thankless work of portraying female vices; but historical faithfulness forbids us halting here. It is, however, most gratifying to know that so unpromising a soil has given birth to a race of maidens, whose household excellencies and personal attractions are rivalled by their modest demeanour and virtuous deportment. It is not our office here to show the processes of this progressive development, but to state the fact. We now turn with sorrow from the smiling light of the present to the groaning shades of the past.

When first landed, Captain Collins, afterwards Governor of Van Diemen's Land, tells us, they were, as a community, given up to the wildest disorder. The sexes had been separated on board; but the want of accommodation, and still greater want of discipline and moral proprieties in the officers, threw men and women together in most shameless licentiousness.

ness. Then came the cry for marriage, as the only remedy for these irregularities. The people were urged to pair themselves without delay. But few questions were asked as to the existence of prior ties in the mother country, and their affirmation of the non-existence of such obligations was generally accepted, for want of proof to the contrary, and from a desire to place some restraint upon these unchristian, nay, inhuman revels. The torch of Hymen illumined the forest of this new world; but the attendance of the Graces and Virtues was dispensed with for the occasion. About three years after particularly, and much earlier generally, a love of change begot grave doubts as to the legality of these unions; and many men and women of tender consciences separated, to form new and more satisfactory ties, though of a frailer nature. So extensive was the spread of these scruples, and so disastrous the effects of such sensitiveness of morals, that in 1791 the governor issued out an order declaring the absolutely binding character of the colonial knot; which, though not made in a church, or even, perhaps, with due legal and religious celebrations, must be regarded, and should be regarded, as 'all right.' This was done, as Captain Collins says, 'as a check upon the erroneous opinions that were formed of Mr. Johnstone's (the clergyman) nuptial benediction.'

We are bound, however, to confess, that in spite of these ill-sorted marriages, and the bonuses given to those who contracted them, the majority preferred freedom from even the sham of restraint: for the historian of New South Wales declares, 'Neither marrying nor giving in marriage was thought of in the colony.' By far the majority of the officers of government lived in open concubinage, and set an example of promiscuous viciousness.

A very lax system prevailed for many years in the shipping of these unfortunate women. They were not then, as of late years, placed under the care of a respectable matron, and every prudential means adopted for their separation from the officers and crew of the vessel, the authority over them being only in the hands of the matron and the medical officer, with checks and counter checks, at home and in the colonies, upon their judicious control: on the contrary, they were herded together without the semblance of moral training or restraint, and permitted to mix with the sailors under the most shameless circumstances. Nay, such was the official neglect of this promiscuous intercourse on board ship, that it got a defender, in print, of one who, as surgeon, was sent out in charge of a lot of them. This was written as late as 1826, and gives a fearful exposition of the cruel indifference of government, and even the disgraceful oversight of a Christian people. These, then, are the terms in which this government officer, this medical guardian of female convicts, ventures publicly to express his opinion: 'Formerly, they lived promiscuously with the seamen on the voyage out, and the voyage was certainly brought to a close more harmoniously than now, and, strange to say, with greater benefit to the reformation of these females, for the time at least, when the rules of decency were not outraged in the intercourse.' (!!!) Again, he adds, 'They thus became initiated in the moral principle of personal attachment, unknown to them before.' We cannot wonder that such a defender of gross sensuality should be an apologist for the disgusting libertinism of the captain and his crew: 'Poor Jack,' writes he, 'is planted in a perfect garden of temptation, when among, probably, a hundred of such fair seducers.'

Even on the voyages which he himself conducted, he scruples not to avow that he ridiculed some of these women out of their methodistical notions, and that he persecuted one who would persist in reading the Bible, out of sheer hypocrisy, as he tells us. He chooses to say: 'I have observed that all the moralising and philosophising classes among them are drunkards.' He thinks that 'mowing up the women in penitentiaries seldom produces any other than mere outward show.' He advocates setting the women free, upon their arrival, to do as they like; 'taking care to punish them for drunkenness or common prostitution.' He is quite merry at the expense of a few colonial friends of virtue, who would restrain the erratic habits of these wretched women, and most benevolently assures the reader of his book that 'our colonial females may be said to be sacrificed to the fanciful speculation of preserving an

morality among our depraved English importations.' Thank God, that such speculations were practised, that our currency lasses were kept from immoral contact, and that the outward exhibition of vice was restrained! The same miserable writer, Dr. Cunningham, delighting in giving the worst possible representation to the female character, sports with the subject of free emigration of women, and delighted himself with the story of the 'Twelve Apostles,' sent out by some religious society, and who certainly were very notorious for their impropriety, and so obtained their sobriquet. They were placed on board ship, without supervision by the benevolent but unheeding ladies, and fell a prey to the dissolute sailors. Our doctor gloats over this depravity in these words: 'A goodly proportion of that chosen band being found in a matronly way by the reverend inspector who visited them on arrival.'

Who, after this, can wonder at the foul condition of early female society, with such disgraceful officers as their guardians? Who with heart to feel can help weeping over the fallen daughters of Britain, thus left, like rudderless vessels, to drift upon the rocks of destruction; or rather, like helpless barks in the hands of the wicked, led and plunged onward upon those serried barriers? How much harrowing misery and heaven-darkening crime might have been avoided had British Christians, at least, while not unmindful of their sable, pagan sisters, had some thought and prayer for their own countrywomen, thus launched upon a sea of flame! It was not alone the fate of the moral lepers of the streets thus cast from their midst, but those young creatures who, impelled by want to quit the competitive haunts of the old land, were exposed, unfriended, to the fiercest temptation. We wonder not to read of one who, so late as in 1831, beheld the city of Sydney swarming with prostitutes, the fruit of early female free emigration. They had to pass through a fire to a fire.

But to return to our sad story of the early times of the convict women of New South Wales. When, in progress of time, emancipists and free settlers got homes in farms or business places, servants became necessary. The government had, therefore, one way of disposing of the poor creatures now. Immediately upon their arrival they were hired out to those who would take them. Having ourselves resided for several years in a convict country, and obtained servants from the prison ships, we can speak of the old assignment system. With many advantages, it had its defects. If a man had permission to hire a girl, she was bound to go. Upon the character of the party, therefore, depended her peace and moral condition. In too many cases the hiring of such women was but concubinage. As early as 1810, Governor Macquarie mourned over the evil.

We cannot go on with this dreadful tale. Justly as our indignation may be excited at the conduct of Christian men permitting such a lazar-house of moral filth to exist so long in the midst of a civilized community, we must restrain our feelings in the reflection that even now, in the land of Bibles and churches, the favoured Britain of light, the horrors and defilements of intemperance are seen and acknowledged by good men with a sigh and a shudder, but without the movement of a finger to relieve the country of such a curse. We have presented before the reader a story of the past, a truthful detail of crime and sorrow in the penal settlement of New South Wales. But this refers to an epoch now past and gone. A better day has dawned. Religion has there a resting-place and home. Science and philosophy are there recognized. The fane of piety and the gallery of the arts flourish there. Temperance holds its high and noble festivals there. But here, in this centre of greatness and goodness, have we not still an amount of dishonest criminality, drunken shame, and licentious bestiality, which fills us with loathing and disgust, but which should stir up the devout to prayer, and the earnest to labour, and so turn us, with blushing cheeks and tearful eyes, to look inward, even from the spectacle of shame exhibited in the early social state of New South Wales?

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ART.

# ART. VIII.—RECORD OF SOCIAL POLITICS.

THE past quarter has been full of social incidents and fraught with political interest. At home and abroad events and movements of unusual portent have commanded the earnest attention of the politician and the publicist. Our sphere of observation is chiefly social and domestic, yet we cannot altogether overlook the march of great events in the political arena and among the nations of the earth. From our neutral stand-point we cannot discuss the state or party questions that may be involved in topics and complications abroad. Our function is not to debate or to advocate, but merely to state some of the more prominent facts and acts of the passing hour. Selection and brevity are imperative, or we should be glad to extend our summary, and to dilate upon some of the points as they pass before us.

Our relations with China are not at all satisfactory, and a gloomy foreboding is felt as to the result of the diplomatic and military manœuvres being carried on against that ancient and unique nation.

Indian politics are being complicated by a retrograde policy of fiscal measures, based upon anti-free-trade principles. This uncommercial, and we may now say un-English system, has been introduced by Mr. James Wilson, the ex-editor of the 'Economist,' and quondam friend of the anti-corn law leaguers. Whether the scheme will be carried out fully or materially modified has yet to be seen. Cholera has carried off the great minister of finance in the council of India, Mr. James Wilson, who died of that fearful disease at Calcutta on the 11th of August last. Sir H. G. Ward, Governor of Madras, died of the same malady but a few days previously.

From Syria we have had a series of horrible communications announcing the most fiendish atrocities and brutal butcheries that the annals of civil war ever contained. European intervention has at last stimulated Turkish officialism to energetic action, in order to repress and avenge the barbarities committed by the Druses and other lawless tribes upon the Christians of Lebanon.

In Italy great and absorbing eventualities are being wrought out, as with the force of fate and the certain step of a foreseen destiny. In that classic land of genius, art, and early civilization, where liberty has so often struggled, triumphed, and been stricken; where poets and painters, priests and potentates, have given historic interest to every foot of land—thither all eyes are turned to watch and wait the evolution of events so grand that the nations are spell-bound in their contemplation. The name and fame of one brave man, his daring heroism, his unselfish policy, his generosity, patriotism, magnanimity, and dauntless spirit attract volunteer armies to his banner. He wins battles without blows; takes fortresses without a siege; enters Naples without troops; and, unless foreign potentates intervene, seems destined to establish Italy as a free and united kingdom, almost without bloodshed! In strategy a Napoleon, in patriotism a Washington, in 'pluck' a Wellington, Garibaldi is the Cromwell of Italy and of the nineteenth century.

England, France, Austria, Prussia, and the other European powers, large and small, have been intently looking upon this grand Italian drama, wherein General Garibaldi stands out as the master and the minister of events which promise ere long to culminate in liberty to a down-trodden people, who have been ruled over by tyrants more cruel than Nero, and more vile than Cataline! Will Hungary and Poland, and other down-trodden peoples, receive a new impulse and power? and will they also come forth from the house of bondage to join the communion of free and independent states? Italy free! That will be a fact that will strike terror to other despots besides Francis II., and will send an electric thrill of joy, and call forth aspirations beyond Italian boundaries. But we must not forecast the European future; we can but point to the pregnant events of the present moment, and echo the glad shout, *Viva l'Italia una!*

American politics are assuming a deep interest as the presidential contest culminates to its issues. On this occasion the conflict will be sharp and probably decisive, as between the democratic slave-holding party on the one hand, and the republican friends

of freedom on the other. The candidate most likely to be elected, Abraham Lincoln, is the chosen of the friends of freedom. He is a most devoted and tried friend of liberty and equality for all races, colours, and conditions of men. He is also an earnest and consistent temperance reformer, and his influence will be cast in favour of liquor prohibition. Neil Dow speaks of him as 'a thoroughly reliable friend' of the temperance cause, and anticipates that his advent to office will be a triumph and a great gain to the movement.

The 'long-winded session of parliament' has come to a close, its sittings having been protracted to the end of August. It has aimed at much but has accomplished comparatively little.

Mr. Gladstone's pet measure, the Wine Licences Act, has been extended to Ireland. The measure was earnestly resisted to the last, and but for the unaccountable pertinacity and energy of the finance minister it would have fallen through or been rejected. It was carried only at the last hour of the session, eight peers speaking strongly against it, and not one, except the government mouthpiece, to say a word for it. But it seems that some state necessity had decreed that Ireland must also be 'soberised' by extended drinking facilities. Lord Denman recorded a spirited protest against the pernicious measure. The Wine Bill for Scotland, under pressure of 'time,' was withdrawn for the present; but as most of the Scottish members voted in favour of the English Wine Act, it is to be feared that they are too far committed to Mr. Gladstone's policy to retreat. The evidence and report of the royal commission on the Scottish licence system have been laid before Parliament and printed in two ponderous volumes. What will be the practical outcome thereof it is not easy to forecast. The Sunday liquor traffic prohibition is favourably reported of, and Mr. Gladstone's free wine licence scheme is recommended for Scotland! This latter point seems to have been appended through some special influence or representation from the government, there being nothing in the evidence taken by the commissioners, or in the terms of the commission itself, to warrant such a gratuitous and fallacious recommendation.

The new Wine Licence Act contains a number of restrictive provisions, which if faithfully and energetically enforced will not be without practical value. The two clauses 39 and 40 have an important bearing upon the sale of all intoxicating liquors. The one severs the connection of complicity between the publicans and the police, and the other provides imprisonment for drunkenness.

The clauses are as follows:—

'39. Every person licensed to sell wine, spirits, beer, cider, or any other fermented or distilled liquors by retail to be drunk or consumed on the premises, who knowingly harbours, or entertains, or suffers to remain in the place wherein he carries on his business, any constable during any part of the time appointed for his being on duty, unless for the purpose of quelling any disturbance or restoring order, shall for every such offence be liable to a penalty not exceeding twenty shillings.

'40. Every person found drunk in any street or public thoroughfare, and who while drunk is guilty of any riotous or indecent behaviour, shall, upon summary conviction of such offence before two justices, be liable to a penalty of not more than forty shillings for every such offence, or may be committed, if the justices or magistrate before whom he is convicted think fit, instead of inflicting on him any pecuniary penalty, to the House of Correction for any time not more than seven days.'

Were these two clauses acted upon with integrity, they would do much to redeem the bad character and evil influence of this unfortunate act. But, alas! no one ever expects that the protective provisions of a licence act will be carried out. Indeed, the system is so vicious and rotten, that were such provisions faithfully carried out, it would tumble to pieces through its inherent badness. Hence these restrictive features of the law are allowed to become dead-letters.

As a set-off to the reduction of duties on wines we may give Mr. Gladstone credit for having enhanced the spirit duty to 10*s.* per gallon, not only as a fiscal measure, but on moral grounds, as clearly intimated by the chancellor. A new Spirits Act, with 203 clauses, has also been passed, its provisions coming into force on the 1st October, 1860. It has stringent provisions against supplying spirits to be unlawfully retailed, and having in possession spirits not duty paid; against retailing or using spirits in gaols; against hawking or selling spirits in unlicensed places.

A new colliery act has also received the legislative and royal sanction, one of its objects being to protect the morals and the wages of the working

working miners, by prohibiting the payment of wages in proximity to places where intoxicating liquors are retailed.

'The Nuisances Removal and Diseases Prevention Act' of the past session affords another instance of social legislation in the direction of 'Meliora.' Wells, fountains, and pumps, provided under the 'Public Health Act,' 1848, or otherwise, are to be vested in the local authority, who may cause wells to be digged, and fountains or pumps to be provided for the use of the inhabitants of the place, keeping them in good condition and free from pollution, and open to the use of the inhabitants. Any person guilty of polluting any such well, fountain, or pump, is to be fined a sum not exceeding 5*l.* upon summary conviction.

'An Act for Preventing the Adulteration of Articles of Food or Drink' claims our notice and sympathy. It enacts that 'Every person who shall sell any article of food or drink, with which, to the knowledge of such person, any ingredient or material injurious to the health of persons eating or drinking such article, has been mixed, and every person who shall sell as pure or unadulterated any article of food or drink which is adulterated or not pure, shall for every such offence forfeit and pay a penalty not exceeding 5*l.*, together with costs, &c.' Public Analysts are to be appointed, and purchasers of articles are to have them analysed on payment of a sum not less than 2*s.* 6*d.*, nor more than 10*s.* 6*d.* The certificate of the analyst is to be received as evidence. Justices, at their discretion, may also employ the public analyst to test articles of food and drink.

'An Act to Amend the Law concerning the making, keeping, and carriage of Gunpowder, and Compositions of an Explosive nature' is another measure passed by the recent session. It contains a clause (16) that enacts a penalty, not exceeding 5*l.*, for doing any act in any mill, &c, tending to cause explosion. Another clause (22) enjoins a like penalty for smoking, &c., on board vessels loaded with gunpowder, or permitting the same.

In all these acts, and various others, the legislature evince a wise and humane regard for the health, morals, and life of the lieges; and there cannot be a doubt but the time will come, and ere long, when our senators, who are now but beginning to understand the first principles of a true social science, will see that it devolves upon the state, as an incumbent and inexorable duty, to repress, abate, and abolish, the liquor traffic, as being a public nuisance, a cause of disease, a source of temptation, social corruption, disaster, death, and havoc, far beyond any other and all other causes combined.

The Saturday half-holiday movement is making some progress in the metropolis; though we regret to observe that, so far, it is but a Saturday early-closing move, and has not yet become generally adopted. In Manchester, the metropolis of the north, so often sneered at as 'Cottonopolis,' the warehouses and offices, with many of the retail places of business, close from one o'clock on Saturday afternoon. It will be well when London and all the large towns of England (and the small ones too) adopt this excellent system. Man cannot live by labour alone; but requires relaxation and rest from his toils, in order to the due development and conservation of his physical health and moral stamina.

Cremorne Gardens are in the market, and a prospectus has been issued for the formation of a 'Royal Cremorne Garden Company (Limited).' The proprietor, it is said, has realized an ample fortune; and he now wishes that the results of his philanthropic labours may be shared by others. The prospectus is adorned with the name of Lord Henry Gordon, Sir George Duckett, Bart., Theophilus Clive, Esq., and John Simpson, Esq., with power to add to their number from the shareholders, to direct the company. Mr. Simpson estimates that 20 per cent. profits will be realized; but the merits of the speculation are set forth as consisting in the fact (query fiction?) that these gardens tend to ameliorate the condition of the people in a social, moral, and religious point of view; and that the company is sure to command and receive the attention of the public! The readers of 'Meliora' will make their own comments on such unblushing attempts to insult and outrage every sense of moral decorum and religious sentiment. If such infamous places as Cremorne are to be tolerated and upheld, it is far better that they belong to private speculators than to public companies.

The newspaper press of the country

is at last being informed as to the real facts connected with the drinking habits of the people in the wine-shops of France. The disclosures of M. Jules Simon have dissipated the darkness and misconception of sagacious editors and social reformers, in regard to 'continental sobriety' and 'light wines.' The 'Standard' says, 'It is a little startling to find the other favourite theory [of Mr. Gladstone,] that light wines and temperance go together, also destroyed under the weight of inexorable facts.' The readers of 'Meliora' would have been 'startled' had the facts supported a theory so manifestly flimsy and fallacious. It is to be hoped that Mr. Gladstone, as a wise and honest statesman, will, in future, make his temperance legislation harmonize with the logic of 'inexorable facts.' He may then hope to do something on behalf of national sobriety worthy of his great name and lofty ambition.

The 'National Association for the Promotion of Social Science,' is holding (as we go to press) its fourth annual congress in the city of Glasgow, under the presidency of the Right Hon. Lord Brougham. Every friend of social science and amelioration will watch its proceedings with absorbing interest. Next quarter we shall hope to record the results of the congress; in the mean time we earnestly exhort every reader of 'Meliora' to do his utmost in the domestic, social, and moral sphere of his being to promote the cause of education, temperance, and philanthropy, remembering that no true and noble man 'liveth to himself.'

## Art. IX.—LITERARY REVIEWS.

*Harry Birkett. The Story of a Man who helped himself.* By the Author of 'Liverpool Life.' London: Tweedie. 1860.

This story is without a plot, and makes no attempt at fine description or eloquent writing. It is a very commonplace tale very plainly told. It is, nevertheless, a little work of great value, and likely to be of good service to the cause for which it has been prepared. Harry Birkett was the son of a drunken father, but of an excellent and Christian mother. He was early taken under the guardianship of a sagacious Scotchman, who taught him how to help himself. The way in which this was done, the trials through which he passed, and the happy result, are presented in succession. The work is well adapted to young men about to start in life.

*The Reaction between Churches and the Civil Government.* A Lecture by F. W. Newman, Professor of Latin in University College, London.

That religious sentiment ought to influence public law is plainly enforced in the Scriptures; but it is not fully believed, or acted upon, by governments. Mr. Newman has set forth this duty in a very clear and forcible manner. Though we cannot agree with all that he has said, yet we indorse the statement that 'to shelter the weak in mind from excessive temptation is as much a duty of society as to rescue the weak in body from attack.'

*The Scientific Basis of the Temperance Movement.* An Address to the Medical Students of Glasgow University. By James M. M'Culloch, Esq., M.D., Dumfries.

This lecture is characterised by Dr. M'Culloch's usual decision and courage, lucid argument and plain counsel. If the medical profession abjured strong drink, what a blessing would result to the land!

*True Womanhood. Memorials of Eliza Hessel.* By Joshua Priestley. Second edition. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1859.

This biography is in its second edition, which it fully merits. 'The grounds on which this volume invite public attention,' says the author, 'may be stated in few words. Miss Hessel's history illustrates how a young woman, with only ordinary advantages, may effect great self-improvement, and diffuse a joyous and quickening influence in the social circle. By aiming earnestly at the cultivation of all her powers, and the practical recognition of all her relationships, she exhibited a combination of excellencies too generally dissociated.' Amply fulfilling these grounds, Mr. Priestley's

Priestley's heroine does exhibit 'true womanhood' worthy of the study of her sex. It is vastly superior to female biography in general. Miss Hessel was a person of good sense, strong mind, poetic tastes, and ardent sympathies. Those who peruse her biography, can scarcely fail to derive great benefit from the bright and encouraging example so admirably set before them.

*The English Universities and the English Poor.* Three Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge. By the Rev. Thomas J. Rowsell, M.A. Cambridge: Macmillan & Co. 1859.

BROAD church views attached to high church claims characterise these sermons. They contain some excellent matter, and overflow with a generous sympathy. There is a hearty recognition of the Church's duty to the poor by the training up of right men at the universities, to preach among the people the bread of life. The lay element is also earnestly called for. He says: 'Many may live in cities or villages where they can originate or second all kindly efforts to improve the sanitary state of the people; and it is no slight work of good to remove some of those causes which undermine the commonest morality of a population.'

*Good Company; the Commercial Room and the Bottle.* By John Burns, ex-Traveller, Lecturer to the South Wales Total Abstinence Association. London: Tweedie.

THERE are evidences in this lecture of considerable ability in the author to advocate the Temperance cause.

*De l'Association dans ses rapports avec l'Amelioration du sort de Classe Ouvrière.* Par Ed. Ducpetiaux, Inspecteur-Général des Prisons et des Établissements de Bienfaisance, Membre de l'Académie Royale. Bruxelles: Hayez. 1860.

ANYTHING concerning social science from the pen of M. Ducpetiaux must secure attention. He has been for many years a most enthusiastic social reformer, and deeply interested in the question which relates to the improvement of the working classes. His fame and his high position give great weight to his views, and render them very valuable and useful to those who would fain aid their fellow-men, but who know not how to do it. The pamphlet before us deserves a fuller notice than we can at present bestow upon it; but we advise our readers, who know the French language sufficiently well, to procure and peruse this small work. It was read at one of the sittings of the Classe de Lettres in the Royal Belgic Academy on the 11th May last. The following question had been put for discussion: 'What are the useful and practical applications of the principle of association for ameliorating the condition of the working and indigent classes?' M. Ducpetiaux did not think the question sufficiently well understood, and for the purpose of enlightening the minds of persons who ought to be interested in the matter, he drew up his 'Memoir.' Though within a space of forty-six pages we could scarcely expect the subject to be discussed at great fulness, yet the chief points are touched upon with much philosophic wisdom and accurate information. In an appendix nearly as large as the text, various details are skilfully handled. Questions affecting the morality, industry, and happiness of the working classes are discussed by the pen of a practical sociologist.

*The Temperance Spectator.* Published monthly. London: Horsell and Caudwell. August and September.

THIS serial deserves well of the temperance public. It takes a high position, and treats questions affecting this department of social science with much philosophic skill and practical power. The information, argument, and dissertation contained within the monthly number make it superior to any periodical of the kind with which we are acquainted.

*Temperance of Wine Countries.* A Letter by E. C. Delavan, Esq., of Albany, New York. Manchester: United Kingdom Alliance.

A MORE enlightened observer and a higher authority on this question could not be found than in the veteran temperance reformer, Mr. Delavan. His observations go directly in the teeth of the arguments of those who profess to favour the introduction of French wines for the purpose of sobering the people of England. Let all who think as [illegible] of Mr. Delavan [illegible]

*Teetotalism: The Christian's Duty.* A Sermon preached at St. Botolph's Church, on behalf of the City of London Temperance Association, by the Very Rev. Francis Close, D.D., Dean of Carlisle. London: Partridge and Co. 1860.

THE Dean of Carlisle has spoken out on the ethics of teetotalism. He regards it as the duty of a Christian. In the sermon before us this point is argued and applied with great force. The Dean may not take his stand upon the same foundation as some of the advocates of abstinence, but his view of the duty of good men in relation to it is the same. We may not agree as to the physiology of temperance, or as to the duty of abstinence from alcohol in the abstract, but as a condition-of-England question it is, in the Dean's opinion, so plainly a duty of every Christian man to join, support, and extend the temperance reformation, that there must be much guilt in those who from prejudice do not examine the matter, or from fancied notions of their liberty, or their health, refuse to abstain: to such he says, in the language of his text, 'Neither be partakers of other men's sins.' When Mrs. Wightman advanced in her social reform among the butchers and other working men of Shrewsbury, she arrived at the conviction that she could no longer 'be a Christian and not a total abstainer than she could be a Christian and a drunkard.' This is strong language, but it is the earnest utterance of a self-denying philanthropy. The Dean informs us that 'Few people have any idea of the extent of the evil, nor had I myself at one time. Happily, I was thrown into a new position in the Church of God, or I should probably never have joined this movement had I remained where I was. I respected the men who carried it on; but at that period the enormity of the evil did not strike me. When I moved northward, and was thrown where now I have the happiness of labouring amongst the industrial classes—amongst those noble fellows whose limbs and sinews are the main strength of the country—I studied their character, and entered their homes and families, and, in many instances, I found their bodily and mental vigour withered and dried up by this cursed drink,—then I thought something must be done, and *I must take my part in this great movement—I must do what I can to urge it forward.*'

The Dean is a thorough Prohibitionist. 'It is,' he says, 'a singular fact that hundreds and thousands of drunkards and drinkers in Glasgow, Greenock, in my own city of Carlisle, and in the manufacturing districts, thousands and tens of thousands have signed the petition for shutting up the public-houses. There are some who think that such a measure would cause a disturbance; but if they were all shut up to-morrow morning, I would undertake to keep the peace of the town. . . . Oh, brethren! believe me, you will do very much for your country and generation if you join with us; and I believe the time will come when many who are now opposed to it will be the warm advocates of a Permissive Maine Law, which will not only stretch out the hand of might against sin, but close those doors of temptation and infamy.'

*Observations on Street Railways.* By George Francis Train. Addressed to the Rt. Hon. T. Milner Gibson, M.P., President of the Board of Trade. Second Edition. London: S. Low and Son. 1860.

WHAT America with its modern streets and business has accomplished for the more expeditious conveyance of passengers through the crowded thoroughfares, Mr. Train, very properly argues, England ought to do and must do. He has inaugurated the era of street railways in this empire, by the opening of the first at Birkenhead a short time ago. He has every confidence in the success and extension of his invention. In a letter to the President of the Board of Trade he announces this dictum in the first page: 'The age of omnibuses in crowded cities has passed.' The pamphlet, despite its boasting, will be read with interest by all who desire information on this coming change. We wish Mr. Train triumphant success, and we have no doubt that ere long we shall see and enjoy his commodious cars on the streets of London instead of those close boxes where passengers now are stowed, and crushed, and associated with all manner of people. 'Success in Birkenhead,' says Mr. Train, 'is success in all the cities of Europe.'

*Phinehas;*

*Phinehas; or, Scripture Paramount* London: Partridge and Co. 1860.

UNDER this Old Testament name, the small but dogmatic book comes out to stay the plague now infecting divines and geologists as to the supposed antiquity of the earth. The author professes very profound reverence for Scripture, and very little regard for scientific truth—as if between the word and works of God there could possibly be any discord. There may be difficulties in their reconciliation; but we are not yet arrived at the period in the progress of science to pronounce on what is to be the ultimate relation of the two theologies—natural and revealed. How can any man be listened to who lays down the following titles to chapters of his work —'The supposed great antiquity of the earth is contradicted by Scripture;' 'The supposed proofs of the earth's antiquity very debatable?' It is not the first time that the Bible has been brought into ridicule by its friends. It is true that 'Scripture is permanent;' but it is also true that the Bible does not fix the antiquity of the earth. If controversialists have nothing more to say than the author of this *brochure*, they had better be silent.

*Poems.* By Morgan de Pembroke. London: A. W. Bennett. 1860.

THERE is a faultless rhyme in these poems; but the author might have been satisfied with the 'Poets' Corner' in the Sentimental Journal, until his muse had gained maturity. Yet there is evident ability to set to ringing verses the thoughts of his soul. The mechanics of poetry, however, do very little to make the poet.

*The Way Home; or, the Gospel in the Parable;* an Earthly Story with a Heavenly Meaning. By the Rev. Charles Bullock, Rector of St. Nicholas, Worcester. Third Edition. Edinburgh: Strahan and Co. 1860.

WE are glad to see this little work in a cheap form circulating by thousands. It discusses with singular felicity, and applies with considerable force, the lessons taught in the touching parable of the Prodigal Son. The author exhibits powers eminently fitting him to become a public instructor in an earnest active age like the present. He clothes his theme with interest and beauty, invests it with grace and momentous importance, and fixes it closely upon the reader's mind. The anxious inquirer will find good counsel, and sound instruction administered in a most affectionate and skilful manner in this exposition. Without at all being tedious, he has drawn forth fourteen chapters from the parable. Each, however, stands apart, though fitting in to the whole. On the Prodigal's derangement there are some most excellent and suggestive thoughts; and of the elder brother there is a sound and satisfactory exposition.

*England and Missions.* By the Rev. F. Bosworth, M.A., of Bristol. London: H. J. Tresidder. 1860.

THIS sermon was preached before the Baptist Missionary Society, and is replete with arguments admirably wrought out, and information most philosophically applied, which give it a high place among sermon literature. Its earnest evangelism and philanthropy breathe in every page, and pass from the discoverer as read into the reader's soul.

*The English Universities and the English Poor.* Three Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge. By the Rev. T. I. Rowsell, M.A., Incumbent of St. Peter's, Stepney, and Chaplain to the Duke of Sutherland. Cambridge: Macmillan & Co. 1859.

MR. ROWSELL was the select preacher to the University for November, 1859. He resolved to press upon the members of the halls of learning — many of whom might afterwards enter upon the sacred office, and all of whom would have their influence—the claims of the poor throughout the land, and especially in our large towns. 'Surely,' he says, 'if in any part of our country and church we have a right to hope for serious and profound care and painstaking, now that we are convinced of this great spiritual destitution, it is at Oxford and Cambridge; and it will be readily understood, that if our poor and labouring people could know that our most thoughtful and learned bodies were employing time and talent, and flesh and blood, to open up wider roads of sympathy, and so prepare a highway for our God, they [redacted] and we all [redacted] more [redacted] tion[redacted]

Taking, as the foundation of his sermons, the miracle of the loaves and fishes, Mr. Rowsell shows how Christ adapted himself to the necessities of men; and how He employed his disciples to aid in his work of sympathy and ministration. There are throughout these discourses a manliness of tone and a Christian solicitude for the real welfare of the humblest of the people: a clear statement of the duty, both of clergy and laity, to devote themselves to the blessed work of doing good, and an earnest appeal to young men to dedicate themselves to this missionary labour at home. Amidst so much that is valuable and impressive, we regret to meet with a boastful churchism in these excellent and elegant discourses.

*Sects in Syria; or Notices of the different Forms of Religion professed in Syria and Palestine.* By B. H. Cowper. London: Tresidder.

In the estimate of the author, as stated in his preface, his pages are 'the merest compendium, and claim no honour on the score of profound and critical research.' It would have been better, we think, if we had been spared all the subdivisions, and the hair-splitting of his alphabetical list appended to the pamphlet. We have much information, but gathered together with evident haste, and scarcely worth doing up in a pamphlet.

*The Principles and Practice of Vegetarian Cookery, founded on Chemical Analysis, and embracing the most approved methods of the Art.* By the Author of 'Fruits and Farinacea the proper Food of Man.' London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1860.

To those interested in cookery this must prove an invaluable book, while to those who are vegetarians it affords abundant recipes for food without once resorting to the butcher or the fishmonger. Mr. Smith founds his cookery upon the principles of chemical science; and those who conform to his directions cannot fail to provide most palatable and nutritious dishes. One is almost surprised at the luxurious style of living which a vegetarian provides for; but our author nevertheless remarks that all 'operations in cookery should be conducted with the greatest possible attention to cleanliness, neatness, elegance, and economy. The food of man, as provided by nature, is agreeable to the senses of sight, smell, and taste, and all artificial preparations should be calculated to produce similar results. An elegant taste, however, will be more rationally employed in rendering a plain, wholesome, and nutritious dish inviting, than in embellishing trifles, custards, and other rich productions, which are more likely to create indigestion than to satisfy a natural appetite.' We commend this book to our readers as complete, scientific, and satisfactory.

*The Comparative Properties of Human and Animal Milks.* By M. A. Baines. London: Churchill. 1860.

*The Practice of Hiring Wet Nurses.* By the same.

In our last Number we stated that these pamphlets were issued by the Ladies' Sanitary Association; but we have since observed that they are not so. The first on the list is a very able and admirable paper read before a medical audience at the Hanover Square Rooms last February. The subject is of more consequence than the general reader will anticipate, and deserves to be considered at length.

# Meliora.

ART. I.—1. *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of America in* 1799—1804. By Alexander von Humboldt and Aimé Bonpland. Translated by Thomasina Ross. 3 vols. London: Bohn. 1852.

2. *Cosmos: or, Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe.* 5 vols. By A. von Humboldt. Bohn. 1845—1858.

3. *Views of Nature; or, Contemplations of the Sublime Phenomena of Creation.* By the same. Bohn.

4. *Alexander von Humboldt:* a Biographical Monument. By Professor Klencke. Translated from the German by Juliette Bauer. London: Ingram, Cooke, and Co. 1852.

5. *The Life, Travels, and Books of Alexander von Humboldt.* With an Introduction by Bayard Taylor. New York: Rudd and Carleton. London: Low and Son. 1859.

'WHO is the Baron von Humboldt, that you present him to me with so much *empressement?* I have never heard of him,' said the young Emperor of Austria a few years ago to the King of Prussia. 'Not heard of him!' exclaimed the king, 'why he is the greatest man since the Deluge!' We do not suppose any of our readers are so ignorant as the Kaiser Francis Joseph, when the name of Alexander von Humboldt is mentioned, —a name which, for the most part of the present century, has possessed a cosmopolitan fame. Nevertheless, as he has lately passed away from the living, and well-nigh half a century after his early honours were won, many may wish to possess a succinct account of his life, travels, and contributions to science, in order to estimate his character and worth. Hero-worship has in him one of its noblest objects. Devoted to science from his earliest years, cultivating it in almost all its departments, enriching it in an unusual degree by his personal discoveries, classifying it beyond any previous attempts, and popularizing it by a series of splendid writings, he occupies one of the most conspicuous niches in the Temple of Fame. If he be not the greatest man since the Deluge—a panegyric of royal affection which even the votaries of science will fail to echo—he has more than any other made the 'Cosmos' which we inhabit the pedestal of his memory. 'His mind,' it has been said, 'was so admirably balanced

ment was so various, and yet so complete in every department of science, that his true greatness is not so apparent as in the case of those who have risen to eminence by devoting themselves to some special study. Perfect symmetry never produces the effect of vastness. It is only by studying the details that we comprehend the character of the whole. Humboldt, however, may be termed the father of physical geography, and the suggester, if not the discoverer, of that system of the distribution of plants and animals which opens to our view another field of that Divine Order manifested in the visible world. He strove to grasp those secrets which, perhaps, no single mind will ever be able to comprehend—the aggregate of the laws which underlie the mysteries of Creation, Growth, and Decay; and though he fell short of the sublime aim, he was at least able to say, like Kepler when he discovered the mathematical harmonies of the solar system: 'O Almighty God, I think Thy thoughts after Thee!'

ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT was the second son of a major in the Prussian army, and was born on the 14th of September, 1769, the *annus mirabilis* for eminent men. In that year a constellation of celebrities first saw the light: CUVIER, the most eminent naturalist, the first zoologist of modern times, and who left to France the finest osteological collection in the world; NAPOLEON and WELLINGTON, the great generals of warfare, on whose movements the destinies of empires depended; CHATEAUBRIAND, the soldier, diplomatist, and *littérateur*, whose chequered fortunes and brilliant writings achieved his fame; MEHEMET ALI, the Napoleon of the East; Marshal SOULT, warrior and statesman, whom even his enemies respected; TURNER, the most distinguished English landscape-painter; Sir MARTIN ARCHER SHEE, whose brush has preserved to us the faces of so many illustrious men; Sir JOHN MALCOLM, not the least of Englishmen in India; and others of less magnitude. Humboldt's place of birth was Berlin, though his childhood was chiefly spent in the old castle of Tegel, about three leagues to the north-west of the capital, where his father resided. He had a brother William, two years his senior, in whose fellowship he pursued his youthful studies, and who also rose to a high place among philosophers. Nature is prodigal of beauty around the castle, and art had considerably improved the landscape; so that the first page of the book sowed the desire in Alexander's mind to see the whole volume. Education had, however, first to come. At that period new methods of instruction were being developed. The study of natural science was claiming a place among the classics and the metaphysics of the schools. Major von Humboldt embraced the idea in the education of his sons, and secured for their tutor Joachim Heinrich Campe, chaplain to the Prince of Prussia's regiment at Potsdam, one who was abler

abler to teach boys than men. Possessed of a ripe and varied scholarship, which won for him after Klopstock the rank of the second philologist and critic of German style, he added to it a love of nature which made him edit 'Robinson Crusoe,' and write the 'Discovery of America.' Though he only remained at Tegel for a year, and left when Alexander was but seven years old, his influence over the youth was permanent, and his friendship a lasting joy. He was succeeded by Christian Kunth, who bestowed special care upon his pupils, studied their minds, and directed their education in a way most likely to meet their tastes and capabilities. He led the eldest into philology and the other into natural science, while he mingled the studies of both in so skilful a manner as to give each an interest in his brother's favourite pursuits. He cultivated body as well as mind, and often gave his boys a holiday excursion with himself, now on the bosom of the Lake Tegel, now in the woods and fields, or to the fortress of Spandau, in the vicinity, or to the city of Berlin. He thus secured much affection while he did great good. His pupils never forgot him in their future career. To him they trusted their property when they were far from home on voyages of discovery in the New World, or in antiquarian researches among the ruins of classical glory in the Old.

The Major von Humboldt died in 1779, but Kunth continued with the boys, and accompanied them to Berlin, where he superintended their studies. In 1776 they went to Frankfort-on-the-Oder, and in 1788 entered the University of Göttingen. There were in that famous seat of learning some eminent professors, whose influence contributed much to mould such minds as Wilhelm and Alexander von Humboldt. EICHHORN occupied the chair of Theology, HEYNE that of Archæology, and BLUMENBACH was the professor of Physiology and Comparative Anatomy. Under such teachers the youths made rapid progress; but Alexander derived the greatest stimulus from the son-in-law of Heyne, George Forster. He had sailed round the world with Captain Cook, and had written a history of the voyage in which he was naturalist. He began a new era of scientific voyages, 'the aim of which was to arrive at a knowledge of the comparative history and geography of different countries.' To him Humboldt gave this testimony more than fifty years after his death: 'George Forster was the first to depict in pleasing colours the changing stages of vegetation, the relations of climate and of articles of food in their influence on the civilization of mankind, according to differences of original descent and habitation. All that can give truth, individuality, and distinctiveness to the delineation of exotic nature is united in his works.'

The stories of adventure and of scientific pursuit told [redacted]

Forster aroused anew in Alexander von Humboldt the desire to travel to see the variety of nature in the New World, and he set himself diligently to prepare for the enterprise which his imagination had sketched. While not attending lectures or conversing with Forster, he was in the university museum pursuing researches and making experiments—'to-day in the laboratory among its vials and crucibles, testing acids and gases, or in the botanic gardens, theorizing over tropical plants and trees; to-morrow in the anatomical room, surrounded by casts and models; and many a long night in the observatory unwinding the dances of the stars.'

University life ending in the autumn of 1789, he commenced the study of a science then quite new, which promised to open up many a secret of the past creation—geology. The writings of Werner, the foremost man of mineralogical science of his time, and who 'raised the art of mining into the science of geology,' were eagerly perused by Humboldt. His geology was crude, and his theories empirical. He traced all rocks to water, and reasoned for all the world from a few facts seen in his own neighbourhood. But he was the pioneer of the science which is now so famous. Werner being in Freiburg as director of the mining academy, and where he had a cabinet of 100,000 mineral specimens, Humboldt was induced to go there to study the metallurgical sciences. He afterwards undertook a journey with the same object, in company with Forster. Their route lay along the Rhine, through Holland to England. So careful had been the traveller's eye that he was able to publish in the course of the same year 'Mineralogical Observations on some Basaltic Formations of the Rhine,' designed to prove the neptunic origin of the mineral.

Until 1795 he filled the office of general director of mines in the principalities of Bayreuth and Anspach, and added greatly to his scientific acquirements. But desire for travel and for extended research led him to resign. Various circumstances conspired to frustrate his intended journeys; but he was not easily to surrender his hope. Availing himself of every new scientific discovery, providing all useful instruments, and forming the acquaintance of like-minded friends, he sold his estate and got ready to leave. The European war well-nigh defeated his scientific tours. He wished to go to Italy, but it was then the theatre of Bonaparte's victories. He determined to go to Upper Egypt, but political events forced him to abstain. The battle of Aboukir lost to the French the free communication to Alexandria. A way to Africa was promised by means of a Swedish frigate, and Humboldt, along with M. Bonpland, a most distinguished young student of science, went to Marseilles to await the arrival of the vessel. Two weary months passed away, when the sad intelligence of the *frigate's* injury in a storm led him to abandon his hope. Besides, warlike

warlike disturbances had commenced in Tunis in that epoch of national commotion. After wintering in Spain, and making many scientific observations, Humboldt was presented at court, and received permission to go to the tropical regions of the New World. The long-formed design was practicable at last. It was not without difficulty, however, that our hero and his companion Bonpland could get on board the corvette 'Pizarro,' which was to convey them. The English fleet were blockading the port of Corunna. At length they got their instruments on board, weighed anchor, eluded the cruisers, and were in the open sea.

To a man so full of science as Humboldt, every new hour even on the wide sea brought new scenes and experiences. The voyage was rendered interesting by scientific observation. He studied the electric sparks emitted from the medusæ. The rain of shooting stars which startled his view was anxiously watched and commented upon, and so were the shoals of flying fish. Sea-winds were studied and measured, and sea-weeds suggested many inquiries. The temperature of the atmosphere, its difference on sea and land, and the causes of the difference, were thoughtfully and accurately discussed. The blueness of the sky led him to philosophize upon the changes on the ocean-sky, and he became the first naturalist who made scientific observations on the colours of the sky in equinoctial seas. He watched the rising and setting sun, and used the instrument invented by Saussure for measuring the blueness of the sky and the colour of the sea. The moisture of the atmosphere, the electricity and attraction of the magnetic needle, were also chronicled by the indefatigable student of nature.

On this voyage they sailed by Teneriffe, and the captain of the 'Pizarro' had orders to stay as long as the philosophers wished. Humboldt was particularly desirous to ascend the Peak, and to make observations on its formation which might be useful to the science of his affection. Its peculiar formation, its extinct volcanoes he hoped would answer questions which had long puzzled his mind; and he was not disappointed.

The ascent was a hard toil in the brief period of their sojourn. Nevertheless, Humboldt and Bonpland reached the edge of the crater, and, besides making researches on the ashes of an ancient fire beneath their feet, enjoyed the magnificent prospect which was now spread out before their eye. They were more than 12,000 feet above the level of the sea. Between them and the shore were five distinct zones of vegetation. The region of *grasses* was nearest to the sugar-loaf; but there were only a few lichens to cover the scorious and lustrous lava, yet a violet rose on the slope, 8,500 feet from the sea. The next zone had tufts of *retama*—a plant loaded with flowers which adorn[illegible] hollowed out by the torrents, and diffused the[illegible]tain air.

It is a species of broom, and grows to the height of nine or ten feet. In the midst of a wide sea of ashes this plant forms beautiful oases, on which the goats which run wild on the Peak may be seen to browse. Next, the zone of *ferns* spread over a breadth of 850 yards, where were beautiful heath, juniper, and vast forests of pines. Below this was the zone of *laurels*, where lofty forests crowned the hills, and springs gushed forth to feed their thirsty roots. Here a rich carpet of moss and grass, covered with ivy and twining shrubs, which climbed up the trees, gave the zone a constant verdure. This was succeeded by the zone of *vines*, which reached to the very shore of the sea, over the breadth of from 430 to 640 yards. Here tropical plants, such as date-palms, plantains, sugar-canes, mingled with vines and wheat.

The volcano had not been active at the summit for thousands of years, but from the sides rare eruptions have taken place within the last two centuries. There were ample opportunities amongst the *débris* of former ages for geological study; and Humboldt gathered materials which he found of great service to him in his subsequent researches into volcanic influence in the formation of the earth, and the phenomena of earthquakes. Meanwhile the ship 'Pizarro' was under sail, for fear of the English cruisers, and the travellers had to hurry from their elevation.

'Humboldt,' says Professor Klencke, 'had gained important matter for his future discoveries during this short excursion. The group of Canary Islands had become an instructive book of infinitely rich contents, whose diversity in a small space led a mind like Humboldt's to further universal study. He felt the true mission of a naturalist, and the importance of special research. The soil on which we move in joy or sorrow is the most mutable, most active in destruction and reconstruction—a power rules' it which arranges and forms the shapeless, which chains the planets to the sun, which gives the living breath of warmth to the cold mass, which forcibly destroys the seemingly complete, which a human being in his narrow sphere considers as a gigantic whole, and replaces it by new forms. WHAT IS THIS POWER? HOW DOES IT CREATE?—HOW DESTROY? These were the next great questions which forced themselves on Humboldt's mind, and to whose scientific solution he determined to devote his life. "What is a day of creation?" he exclaimed. "Did one revolution of the world round its axis suffice for it, or is it the result of a course of millennium? or did the continent rise out of the water, or did the water sink into the depressions of the earth? Was it the force of fire or of water which raised the mountains, levelled the plains, and placed boundaries to land and sea? What are volcanoes? How did they originate, and how do they act?" . . .

'The volcano of Teneriffe was for Humboldt a key to many great mysteries of universal life; he perceived the various means which nature applies to form and destroy, and he thus made the history of the single one the rule for the history of the universal. The fire of the volcano which he ascended on Teneriffe was long since extinguished, but its traces seemed to Humboldt as the gigantic letters in explanation of the tremendous element which once pervaded our earth, which broke through our earth's crust, which buried men, animals, plants, and towns, and which still propagates its veins in the depths, to shake the earth here or there, or to explode with flame and glowing lava through its safety-valves, the volcanic craters.'

Teneriffe has recently been made the theatre of some very valuable

valuable experiments, of which we have an interesting account in the volume of Professor Piazzi Smyth.

The 'Pizarro' now entered the torrid zone, and the travellers were gratified by the sight of a new firmament. The old stars, which had been bound up with nocturnal visions from infancy, disappeared. Humboldt was never weary of gazing at the beauty and brilliancy of the southern sky. Astronomy had long had attractions for him; and he relates how, when a youth, he was pained with the thought that he would never behold the splendid constellations near the South Pole. But when his eyes first beheld the Southern Cross he experienced the realization of his youthful dreams. This constellation, which is almost perpendicular at the time it passes the meridian, has often enabled travellers to make an observation of time. The new sights impressed Humboldt much.

'Nothing,' he says, 'awakens in the traveller a livelier remembrance of the immense distance by which he is separated from his country than the aspect of an unknown firmament. The grouping of the stars of the first magnitude, some scattered nebulæ, rivalling in splendour the milky way, and tracts of space remarkable for their extreme blackness, give a peculiar physiognomy to the southern sky. This sight fills with admiration those who, uninstructed in the several branches of physical science, feel the same emotion of delight in the contemplation of the heavenly vault as in the view of a beautiful landscape or a majestic sight. A traveller needs not to be a botanist to recognize the torrid zone by the mere aspect of its vegetation. Without having acquired any notions of astronomy, without any acquaintance with the celestial charts of Flamstead and De la Caille, he feels he is not in Europe, when he sees the immense constellation of the Ship, or the phosphorescent clouds of Magellan, arise on the horizon. The heavens and the earth, everything in the equinoctial regions, presents an exotic character.'

When Humboldt arrived at Cumana, the capital of New Andalusia, in South America, he was the Columbus of the New World to science. Its physical geography had been undiscovered, and European *savans* had no means of knowing its features. But our traveller designed to explore the equinoctial regions, and return to Germany to build up a scientific cosmos. During the next five years, he and his indefatigable and learned friend Bonpland travelled over the mountains, rivers, and plains which exist on a scale of grandeur in that region of the world, and which afforded an almost endless variety of objects to their study. They remained for some time at Cumana, making excursions in different directions. Man, no less than plants and rocks, interested their regard. A curious object was presented to their attention in the village of Arenos, where a man lived who had suckled a child with his own milk. Its mother having fallen sick, he took the child, and, in order to quiet it, pressed it to his breast. The irritation of the nipple by the child caused a flow of milk. His breast enlarged, and he actually suckled the child twice or thrice a day for five months, and supplied its only nutriment. [redacted] who

was then absent from the village, afterwards at Cumana, and on examining his breasts found them wrinkled like those of women. His son was then thirteen years of age. This is not the only instance.*

In the course of his travels Humboldt came upon some other great curiosities in natural science. The *zamang* of Guayra, a tree of the species of mimosa, interested him much. At a little distance it appeared a tumulus of vegetation, then a group of very close trees, but on near approach was seen to be a single tree. Its trunk was not more than 64 feet in height and 9½ in diameter; but its top spread out like the spokes of an umbrella, and inclined towards the ground. Its hemispherical top was 614 feet in circumference. On the one side the drought had stripped off all the leaves, but on the other foliage and flowers remained in beauty. Another tree attracted his attention. It is named the *palo de vaca*, or cow tree, which emits a juice that resembles milk, and is used as an article of food. When an incision is made in the trunk a thick, glutinous, milky fluid issues forth. This is Humboldt's description:—

'Amidst the great number of curious phenomena which I have observed in the course of my travels, I confess there are few that have made so powerful an impression on me as the aspect of the cow tree. Whatever relates to milk or to corn inspires an interest which is not merely that of the physical knowledge of things, but is connected with another order of ideas and sentiments. We can scarcely conceive how the human race could exist without farinaceous substances, and without that nourishing juice which the breast of the mother contains, and which is appropriated to the long feebleness of the infant. The *amylaceous* matter of corn, the object of religious veneration among so many nations, ancient and modern, is diffused in the seeds, and deposited in the roots of vegetables; milk, which serves as an aliment, appears to us exclusively the produce of animal organization. Such are the impressions we have received in our earliest infancy: such is also the source of that astonishment created by the aspect of the tree just described. It is not here the solemn shade of forests, the majestic course of

* The lamented and honoured Sir John Franklin, who met with his death while prosecuting the interests of science amidst arctic snows, gives the following case in the narrative of his journey to the Polar Sea:—'A young Chipewyan had separated from the rest of his band for the purpose of trenching beaver, when his wife, who was his sole companion, and in her first pregnancy, was seized with the pains of labour. She died on the third day after she had given birth to a boy. The husband was inconsolable, and vowed in his anguish never to take another woman to wife; but his grief was soon in some degree absorbed in anxiety for the fate of his infant son. To preserve its life he descended to the office of nurse, so degrading in the eyes of a Chipewyan, as partaking of the duties of a woman. He swaddled it in soft moss, fed it with broth made from the flesh of the deer; and, to still its cries, applied it to his breast, praying earnestly to the great Master of Life to assist his endeavours. The force of the powerful passion by which he was actuated produced the same effect in his case as it has done in some others which are recorded; a flow of milk actually took place from his breast. He succeeded in rearing his child, taught him to be a hunter, and when he attained the age of manhood chose him a wife from the tribe. . . . Our informant (Mr. Winkel), one of the Association, added that he had often seen this Indian in his old age, and that his left breast, even then, retained the unusual size it had acquired in his occupation of nurse.'

rivers,

rivers, the mountains wrapped in eternal snow, that excite our emotion. A few drops of vegetable juice recall to our minds all the powerfulness and fecundity of nature. On the barren flank of a rock grows a tree with coriaceous and dry leaves. Its large woody roots can scarcely penetrate into the stone. For several months of the year not a single shower moistens its foliage. Its branches appear dead and dried; but when its trunk is pierced there flows from it a sweet and nourishing milk. It is at the rising of the sun that this vegetable fountain is most abundant. The negroes and natives are then seen hastening from all quarters, furnished with large bowls to receive the milk, which grows yellow, and thickens at its surface. Some empty their bowls under the tree itself, others carry the juice home to their children.'

When upon this subject Humboldt relates many interesting things relative to the milk-producing plants and their place in nature. He made, while in the equinoctial regions, a number of experiments on the juices of these trees. Mungo Park, it will be remembered, found a tree in Africa that yielded butter, and the voyagers to the South Seas have told us of a bread tree which in those tropical climes, where nature is so prodigal of her bounties, favours the indolence of man.

'The aspects of nature,' on which Humboldt was ever so fond to dwell, presented striking contrasts in the districts watered by the Orinoco to anything seen in other parts of the world. He was at a loss to tell whether that chain of stupendous mountains the Andes, or the vast expanse of plain called the Llanos, excited most astonishment. Mountains everywhere present the same general outline; but the extensive Llanos of South America spread out like an ocean, mingling with the sky on every side of their unbroken level. Over these the shadow of a cloud never falls for months. In a space of 360 square miles not a foot of eminence can be distinguished. Few inhabitants reside on these plains, but as in the rainy season they are covered with verdure, immense herds of cattle browse upon them. Humboldt made journeys into these great levels in the interests of science, and when the temperature was at 118° or 122°. The monotony was soothed to the readers of his travels by a comparison of the plains of America with those of other continents; the heaths of Europe; the steppes of Asia; the deserts of Africa; and the prairies or savannahs of North America.

The mountains were a grand attraction. He ascended the highest in the Cordillera of the coast—the Silla of Caraccas, where, from an elevation of 8,633 feet, his eye commanded a great range of country. On the north side he stood upon a perpendicular rock of 6,000 feet. Many observations were made on the path beneath their feet as he and Bonpland went along. Their guides had never made so lofty an ascent, and could think of nothing but their toil: the men of science, on the other hand, were adding to the stores of knowledge by every stage of their oilsome way. After voyages on the Orinoco, and to Cuba and back,

back, the travellers reached Quito in 1802, from which they commenced their ascent of the highest of the Andes. They climbed up Chimborazo to the height of 19,798 feet, but they were prevented from attempting the remaining 1,439 feet. Their path was stopped by a chasm 400 feet deep by 60 broad. Blood was issuing from their eyes, lips, and gums, on account of the rarefaction of the air. Their heads began to swim and they breathed with difficulty. But they made observations at a height greater than had ever been attempted by man. Boussingault, who ascended this mountain, reached four hundred feet higher than Humboldt in 1833. Humboldt and Bonpland crossed the cordilleras of the Andes five times, examined many mines, of which some were 11,000 feet above the level of the sea, and made experiments with their barometer, thermometer, magnetic and astronomical instruments, and collected specimens of almost all the botanical and mineralogical productions of the countries.

The rivers, too, were followed a considerable way. The Rio Apure was traversed in March 1800, and the Orinoco in April. On this noble river many new phenomena appeared to interest the student of nature. The motion of the water, its temperature, its inhabitants, the scenery of the shore, and the people, all claimed attention. A tradition of the Deluge picked up in that quarter may be recalled. The natives stated that at the time of the Great Waters, when a general deluge happened, 'a man and woman saved themselves upon a high mountain called Tamanacu, situated on the bank of the Aseveru, and that, throwing behind them, over their heads, the fruits of the Mauritia palm, they saw arising from the nuts of these fruits the men and women who repeopled the earth.' It is a most remarkable fact that almost all nations who have any traditions recognize a universal deluge, though they give it a colouring from the circumstances of their own country. 'These ancient traditions of the human race,' says Humboldt, 'which we find dispersed over the surface of the globe, like the fragments of a vast shipwreck, are of the greatest interest in the philosophical study of our species. Like certain families of plants, which, notwithstanding the diversities of climates and the influence of heights, retain the impress of a common type, the traditions respecting the primitive state of the globe present among all nations a resemblance that fills us with astonishment: so many different languages, belonging to branches which appear to have no connection with each other, transmit the same facts to us.' Do not these facts establish the scriptural account of the Deluge that it was universal as man, whatever may be said of its locality?

While on the Orinoco the travellers had an opportunity of seeing the turtle fishery, or 'the Harvest of Eggs,' as it is called. They found 300 Indians of different races encamped on an island for

for the purpose of gathering the eggs. The produce was enormous. Though Humboldt saw the shore swarming with young turtle, and though many eggs are broken by wild beasts, yet the Missions of Uruana alone gather annually 5,000 jars, each containing 5,000 eggs. It is calculated that each tortoise produces about 100 eggs, and allowing for those broken, it was computed by Humboldt that there could not be fewer than 330,000 turtles, or 33,000,000 of eggs in that one district. These animals assemble in January, when the river is lowest. By the end of March the eggs are laid. In April the Indians assemble and collect the treasures. The eggs are thrown into troughs, broken and stirred, and allowed to remain in the sun till the oily part gathers. It is then skimmed off and boiled, and made into butter.

The voyages on the five great rivers Apure, Orinoco, Alabapo, Rio Negro, and Carriquiare occupied seventy-five days, during which they sailed 375 geographical miles. All this time they had been in an open boat, under a burning sun, exposed to the bites of insects, the attacks of beasts of prey, and supplied with miserable food. They arrived at Angustura in the middle of June, 1800. Both were very much exhausted and feverish, and Bonpland was for some time in danger. But notwithstanding their increasing weakness they had not neglected any opportunity of adding to their stores.

We have already referred to the voyage to Cuba. They landed at Havannah on the 19th December, 1800, and remained till the 9th March making observations. Their course was then to Carthagena, where they pursued their scientific inquiries, and made preparations for their journey to Peru. During thirty-five days they sailed up the Rio Magdalena, botanizing all the way. Disembarking at Honda they proceeded to Santa Fe de Bogota on mules. They abode in this capital from June to September, increasing their botanical and geographical knowledge. The city is 8,727 feet above the level of the sea—higher than the summit of St. Bernard. The cataract of Tenguendama, 574 feet in height, the spray of which is seen at the city 17 miles' distance, presented a most picturesque sight. There are also natural bridges, formed by masses of rock, over ravines of immense profundity, one of them 47½ feet in length, 39 in breadth, across a fissure 318 feet above the stream, which leaped from cascade to cascade below. They visited also the lake of Guatavita, situated in a wild and solitary spot on a ridge of the mountains of Zipaquira, 8,500 feet above the level of the sea.

Leaving Santa Fe in September, 1801, the travellers proceeded through a most difficult passage of the Cordilleras to Quito. The road in one part was 11,000 feet high, and narrow, along which the oxen could go with difficulty. They reached Quito in January, 1802. Six months were then devoted to researches

of various kinds in the surrounding regions. They made the excursions to the lofty Andes referred to, examined the volcanoes, made experiments on the electric, magnetic, and hydraulic properties of air, measured altitudes, and studied almost all the natural phenomena which met their eye. They next set out towards Lima, visited the ruins of the great earthquake of 1797, which had destroyed 40,000 inhabitants, and examined the trees which yield the Peruvian bark, the silver mines of Gualgazoe, 11,603 feet high, and the hot springs of Caxamarca. They then descended the western slope of the Andes, where rain and thunder are unknown, and beheld, for the first time, the waters of the Pacific Ocean. After so much travelling amidst the grandeur of the land, Humboldt pined to behold the sea from the crests of the Andes. He had read when a boy, with all the youthful interest which he took in adventure, of the expedition of Vasco Nunez de Balboa, the first European who beheld from the heights of Quaregua, on the Isthmus of Panama, the eastern front of the Pacific Ocean. Now he realized it for himself and enjoyed it with the rebound of his boyish enthusiasm.

Arrived at Lima, Humboldt and his friend remained several months, and had the good fortune to observe the transit of Mercury across the sun's disc. In January, 1803, they departed for Mexico. While on their way to join the vessel, they heard the terrible artillery of Cotopaxi—from which they were distant one hundred and fifty miles—discharge one of its violent eruptions. They actually began their return to behold the effects of the volcanic motion; but they were hastily recalled by the tidings that the frigate was obliged to sail. There was no resisting when facilities for travel were rare, and they left South America, and landed at Acapulco in March, 1803. There was very much in Mexico to attract Humboldt. Science, history, antiquities, politics, pressed their claims on his regard, and he made himself familiar with them all during the time of his stay, which was prolonged beyond his intention by the interest of his pursuits. He devoted two months to geognostic studies in the mines. He ventured with Bonpland 250 feet into the chief central crater of Jarullo, a burning mountain which had sprung up all in one night in June, 1750, and covered six square miles with flame, and sent up fragments of burning rock to an immense height. Two thousand craters were still smoking when the travellers descended. They were shown the two rivers which were suddenly lost in the burning chasm in 1759. Those streams afterwards burst through the argillaceous vault of the ovens, and presented the appearance of mineral waters in which the thermometer stood at 126°.

In January, 1804, they set out to examine the eastern side of the Cordilleras of Mexico, where they measured the altitude of the volcanoes

volcanoes of Popocatepetel, &c. They ascended the pyramid of Cholula, an extraordinary monument of the Toltecks, built of brick, and from which a magnificent view was obtained. After making full use of their opportunities, and greatly enriching science by their researches, Humboldt and Bonpland embarked for the United States, in which they spent two months. In August, 1804, they returned to Europe in the sixth year of their absence.

Strange events had happened in Europe during this period. Bonaparte had overrun the old empires, and won new battles in the classic land of Italy. In 1799, the year in which they left Europe, he had been made First Consul: in 1800, the battles of Montebello, Marengo, and Hohenlinden had been fought. In 1802, the great captain was regulating the governments of Italy, Switzerland, and Germany. In 1803 he was threatening to invade England. In 1804, when they landed, he was Emperor of the French! But amidst the din of war, the still small voice of science had been heard, and Humboldt, concerning whom there had been reason for anxiety, was waited for by the *savans* of Europe as one of their most illustrious explorers. While Bonaparte had been winning kingdoms by the sword, and writing the memory of his name in blood, Humboldt had been adding new domains of vast extent to the kingdom of science. When he arrived in Paris, therefore, he found himself famous. There was cause for the honour. He and Bonpland had enriched all departments of natural history. They were men of universal tastes, and had gathered stores which were of value to all. The botany, geology, mineralogy, geography, climatology, entomology, ethnology, electricity, galvanism, magnetism, of a new world were in their collections. Their herbarium alone contained more than 6,000 species of plants, and Bonpland's journal contained descriptions of 4,000. As yet, however, these were of value to themselves alone. To deposit their stores in museums was not enough. They had travelled in the interests of universal science, and the world must be made acquainted with their discoveries. This could only be done by books, maps, and engravings. Had they but possessed the wonderful invention of modern science—the art of photography—they might have been enabled to present 'the aspects of nature' in an exact and natural manner. But Humboldt established the science of physical geography which makes so valuable the inventions and instruments of photography.* He had now to set himself down to book-making. Already a great portion of his fortune had been spent in travel; the remaining part was to be wholly consumed in publishing.

* See some interesting and valuable remarks on this subject in Sir David Brewster's splendid and eloquent address at the opening of the University of Edinburgh in November, 1860.

In order to do his work more efficiently, Humboldt obtained the aid of eminent scientific men in various departments. This caused a great delay. Many years elapsed before the public got the benefit of the five years' travel in the torrid zone. From 1805 to 1829, Humboldt was occupied in producing these works. He lived in retirement, and was seen only by the learned and the courtly, when he again emerged as a traveller to the unexplored lands of Central Asia.

In entering upon his literary work, which embraced so large a field, he divided his material into six portions. 'First, the narrative of his journey; then its zoology and anatomy; then its political aspect. These were followed by its astronomy and magnetism, its geology and its botany.' 'Arago and Gay-Lussac were to assist him in chemistry and meteorology; Latrielle and Cuvier in anatomy; Laplace in mathematics; Vauquelin and Klaproth in mineralogy; and Bonpland and Kunth in botany.' The various portions did not appear with any regularity as to time; but were issued at great intervals. The following are the dates of several: In 1805 he published an 'Essay on Botanical Geography;' in 1807 his 'Ideas on a Geography of Plants, and a Picture of the Natural Productions of the Tropics.' 'Equinoctial Plants' were begun in 1808, and were continued to 1816. In 1808 he published his 'Aspects of Nature,' a fascinating book. From 1810 to 1815 he was issuing his 'Political Essay on New Spain;' in 1811 his 'Picturesque Atlas; or, Views of the Cordilleras;' and in 1817 his 'Introduction to Botanical Geography,' and his 'Chart of the Orinoco.' In 1819 he issued, by the aid of Professor Kunth, his work on the 'Family of Mimosa Plants.' In 1820 his '*Révision des Herbes.*' In 1822-25 the 'Synopsis of Botany.' In 1826, he published a political essay on Cuba, and his Geognostic Essay.

The first volume of his travels was published in 1814, the second in 1819. These contain most splendid descriptions, and many most interesting autobiographical notes. They were written in French, and were published in two editions, 3 vols. folio, and in 12 vols. 4to. The works relating to the journey amount to twenty-eight volumes, of which seventeen were in folio and eleven in quarto. No small labour was requisite for this, and an expense of 40,000*l.* To purchase them as they were originally issued would have required 405*l.* In getting them printed, the French and Prussian governments lent assistance, but a very large share was borne by Humboldt himself. Such works are never successful financially; but to diffuse the information, their author was willing to make the sacrifice of his property. He was afterwards provided for by the liberality of the King of Prussia, who in 1818 gave him a pension. But how thorough must have been his devotion to science, and how real his philanthropy,

philanthropy, when to advance its interest he expended so much time, means, and strength!

After returning from his travels he resided a short time in Paris, where his brother's wife was. He found very congenial society there in the fellowship of the eminent men who pursued science. Gay-Lussac had just been making some experiments in a balloon for the purpose of testing whether the magnetic power experienced any appreciable diminution as the surface of the earth is left. When Saussure was on the Col de Géant, 11,000 feet above the level of the sea, he thought that he perceived a sensible decrease of magnetic power. Gay-Lussac therefore resolved to test the matter. In company with Biot, he made his first ascension on the 24th of August, and he went alone on the 15th of September. He had galvanic apparatus, and a menagerie of frogs, insects, and birds. The philosopher ascended four miles and a quarter, where he still had clouds above him. He suffered much from the cold, and breathed with difficulty; but he was able to make his experiments from the height of 6,000 feet and upwards. The result was, that he perceived no appreciable change in the magnetic power. Humboldt was deeply interested in these experiments, made at heights greater than he had climbed up Chimborazo. They fully confirmed his own observations.

In the spring of 1805 our philosopher accompanied his sister-in-law to Albano, where his brother resided as ambassador of the court of Prussia at Rome. It was a great joy to the brothers, who were tenderly attached to each other, to meet again. Interested in each other's studies, they always sought to contribute to their personal stores. Alexander brought from the New World as many philological treasures as he could to open up the American dialects to his brother. In Albano, the traveller found a very brilliant society. MADAME DE STAEL lived next door. She was then proscribed from France because of her aversion to Bonaparte. SISMONDI, the eminent historian, then engaged on his 'History of the Italian Republics during the Middle Ages,' was there. AUGUSTUS W. SCHLEGEL, critic, poet, and philologist, who was accompanying Madame de Stael in a tour, was there. He was a special friend of both brothers, and could do much to enrich their social circle. TIEDGE, another poet, was there. There were others also coming and going. In the same year Vesuvius began its activity, and on the 15th August a remarkable eruption took place. Humboldt had with him on this occasion Gay-Lussac and Von Buch, who had come to Italy for the express purpose of seeing the volcano. They ascended the mountain together, and made a course of very important magnetic experiments.

During several of the succeeding years, Humboldt divided his residence between Paris and Berlin, for the purpose of advancing

his proposed work. It was always his aim to keep apace of the scientific discovery and knowledge of his time, and therefore, in an age where these were so rapidly advancing by means of most eminent men, his publications were delayed. In Paris he had a most agreeable company of friends who formed a society. It was called the Society of Arcueil, from the name of the village where they assembled, about four miles from Paris, and where some of the most distinguished members lived. The *savans* who formed it were BERTHOLLET, the great chemist; LAPLACE, the mathematician, and author of the '*Mécanique Céleste*,' which gave a new Principia to mathematics; GAY-LUSSAC, whose discoveries mark an era even in chemistry; THENARD, another chemist of high reputation; DECANDOLLE, a botanist of great celebrity, who attempted a new system of classification; COLLET, DESCOTELS, and MALUS, the last mentioned, the discoverer of the polarization of light—the greatest since the discovery of the achromatic telescope. To these were joined the many-sided Humboldt, who had a sympathy for all their departments, and was possessed of sufficient research in each to enable him to appreciate their science. Most of these were members of the Institute of France. They assembled once a fortnight to give each other the results of their studies. When we consider the eminence of each, the discoveries made by them in science, and the congeniality they had in each other's pursuits, what an attraction must a society of this sort have been to them all! It was especially so to Humboldt, who was both fond of society and capable of giving delight to it. Though they generally met in Berthollet's, yet as Laplace lived very near, they occasionally assembled in his house. 'They could not but profit by the conversations of the old mathematician, for he was profoundly versed in all the sciences; besides, he had seen much of the world, and was full of anecdotes of bygone times and men. He could tell them of D'Alembert, Diderot, and the Encyclopædiasts, the master-spirits of the eighteenth century. If the conversation turned, as was likely, on Descartes or Newton, their portraits hung in his study, as did also those of Euler, and poor old blind Galileo. If they wished to walk, he accompanied them. Arm-in-arm, discussing what was uppermost in their minds, they wandered around the neighbourhood, now in the fields and meadows, or along the banks of the Bierre; and now by the ruins of the aqueduct built by the Emperor Julian, in the olden time, to convey water to his palace in Paris.' The 'Mémoires' of the Society were published, containing many papers by Humboldt. Arago was also a very intimate friend, though much his junior.

In 1818, Humboldt visited London, in the interest of the King of Prussia. He was also summoned to attend the Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, where the Emperors of Austria and Russia, and the

the King of Prussia, along with Metternich and Nesselrode, Talleyrand, Castlereagh, Wellington, and William von Humboldt. Our philosopher, however, did not discuss the balance of power or the partition of countries. He was planning a journey to Central Asia, and wished royal permission and aid in his scientific labours. He was anxious to begin at once; but though the King of Prussia promised to defray the expenses, and the Emperor of Russia was favourable, yet it was eleven years before the plan could be carried out.

Meanwhile he was busy at his works; and during the period that elapsed before his journey, published seventeen volumes. In 1822, he accompanied the King of Prussia to Italy, and made three ascensions of Vesuvius within ten days. His majesty was anxious that he should settle at Berlin. Various circumstances conspired to favour this; and in 1826 he removed to the Prussian capital, his birthplace and the home of his brother William, to whom and to his wife he was tenderly attached.

On the 3rd November, 1827, he commenced a series of Lectures on the Universe, which concluded, on the 26th April, with the sixty-first lecture. The announcement of his public addresses interested the intellect of Berlin and the neighbourhood. If it had not been common at that period for a baron to lecture, the audience was also most uncommon. The king and the members of the royal family were present. The court sent its highest personages, the university its most learned professors, the city its most cultivated minds, and the country its sequestered scholars, and the common people pressed to hear the illustrious prophet of nature. Though the audience was select, yet so many wished to enjoy the advantage that he was obliged to go to a larger building, where he had to repeat his earlier lectures. The subjects embraced in this course were of the profoundest interest—physical geography and the history of science; the heavens, the earth, the sea, the atmosphere; the geography of organized matter—of plants, animals, and the races of man. They were in the hand of a master, and received a corresponding treatment. 'He was clear, eloquent, impassioned, and inexhaustible,' and his audience was enchanted. Every one felt anxious to possess in a permanent work the new disclosures made to them. They were convinced that by these lectures a key would be given for the interpretation of nature which all disciples of science could use. Of this, however, more anon.

Preparations for the journey into Central Asia were completed in the spring of 1829, and under the sanction and protection, and at the expense of the Russian government, Humboldt set out. He had two companions with him to assist his scientific researches. GUSTAV ROSE undertook the analyses of minerals, [redacted]

of the travelling diary. EHRENBERG, an eminent naturalist, had the botanical and zoological labour. Humboldt himself took the magnetic observations, the results of geographical astronomy, geology, and natural history. He was amply provided with instruments for scientific research: he had abundant means placed in his hands by the Emperor Nicholas, whose government, much to his credit, was ever a liberal patron of science. Ere he left Berlin, Humboldt received a special mark of royal favour in being made a privy councillor, so that on this journey he travelled as 'His Excellency the Baron von Humboldt.'

He went by St. Petersburg to Moscow, thence across the Ural Mountains to Tobolsk, the shores of the Obi to the boundaries of Chinese Tartary: he then passed on to the Caspian Sea, reaching Berlin on the 28th December. He had been absent eight months and a half, and had travelled 2,500 geographical miles on land. The works which were issued in connection with this journey evidence its character. He contrasted the volcanoes of Central Asia with those he had seen in Europe and America, and placed science on a new footing with regard to the theory of volcanoes. He corrected a great many wrong ideas regarding the geography of the countries over which he travelled: he shed new light on climatic knowledge which had mistaken views of the causes of cold towards the East; he solved the riddle how remains of animals, whose organization belonged to a hot climate, such as the mammoth, had been found among the ice-blocks of the north; he established stations for taking meteorological and magnetic observations; he made important discoveries regarding the mean altitude of the Asiatic table-lands, and on the depression of the Caspian Sea. In the books which he published he appended treatises on cognate subjects by some eminent scientific men acquainted with the several branches. Much time and care were necessary for these great works, which have done so much to diffuse correct information on the physical geography of the earth.

After his brother's death, in 1835, he felt very isolated, but in 1836-39 he published 'A Critical Examination of the History of the Geography of the New Continent, and of the Progress of Nautical Astronomy in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries.' It was contained in five volumes, and is divided into four parts. 'The first discusses the causes which prepared and led to the discovery of the New World: the second relates to Columbus, Amerigo Vespucci, and the dates of several important geographical discoveries: in the third he treats of the early maps of the New World, and of the time when the name of America was first commonly used: the fourth is a history of nautical astronomy and of map-making in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.'

There

There was another work which he was anxious to prepare, and which had occupied his thoughts for half a century, one which required all the researches he had made fully to elucidate. Into whatever department of science he had inquired, he had a reference in his mind to the future use of it in this work, which, should he live to produce it, he designed to be his legacy to his fatherland. We read with great interest of labours continued in so many, many fields, and throughout so long a period as fifty years, in order to give the world the benefit of the acquired riches of wisdom, philosophy, and science, when the possessor was about to pass away. It is with the deepest respect that we look upon the Baron BUNSEN, who was the greatest celebrity of Germany since the death of Humboldt, so long the Prussian ambassador at St. James', when he tells us, in the first part of his 'Bibelwerk,' that he contemplated leaving behind him the fruit of a lifetime's study of sacred criticism. In the year 1805, he read at school the book of Genesis in Hebrew and the Gospels in Greek. In 1807 he had perused the Syriac New Testament. At the university he studied Exegesis under Arnoldi and Hartmann. In Paris he acquired Persian and Arabic. During twenty-two years' diplomatic service in the city of Rome he carried on studies in sacred criticism. In London, where he resided fifteen years, he pursued his inquiries amidst all the engagements of European politics, and the publication of works on Egypt, and his Hippolytus. From 1836 to 1857 he had the work regularly in hand, and in 1858 he gave the first volume of a work on the Bible, designed to be the *magnum opus* of a long lifetime, but now, alas! by his death only a fragment.

Humboldt had such a view before him in relation to nature as Bunsen had for revelation. There was in the mind of each the idea of unity to which all their learning could be brought. Humboldt desired to comprehend all matter in the connection of its parts as an entire unity moved and impregnated by inner powers. He desired to explain the complicated facts in existence by the great laws of the unity of nature. His Lectures on the Universe broached the idea, and on the basis of these he constructed his work, to which he gave the appropriate name of 'Cosmos.' He sought to exhibit to the view of intelligence the entire universe, of which our own world is the grand platform and key. He unfolded it 'as a scientific, strictly objective, but at the same time truly animated picture of infinite variety and sublimest unity, of constant motion, and of the immutable repose of eternal laws. He first brings us to the right point of view for the contemplation of this great picture, by explaining the variety of its pleasures; he facilitates the comprehension of natural laws by his experience, and then unveils the great picture in perspective, commencing with the most distant nebulæ and revolving

ceeding gradually to the earth, its geography, its plants, its animals, and its human inhabitants. Herein he shows the intimate connection of general truths and special developments, with that geniality of scientific treatment in the choice of matter, and in the force and style of composition which is so peculiarly his own; and then follow the incentives to natural studies, among which he enumerates, especially, lively descriptions of natural scenery, landscape painting, intercourse with plants, and their taste-elevating cultivation in conservatories.'

This work extended to five volumes over the years from 1845 to 1858, and is a magnificent collection of philosophy respecting the universe, clothed in beautiful language, and wonderfully adapted to the general intelligence of thoughtful minds of every class. The total number of works issued by Humboldt amounts to seventy-four volumes, of which twenty-two were in folio, eighteen in quarto. The first was issued in 1790, and the last in 1858, an authorship of sixty years.

During his last years he dined almost daily with the King of Prussia, and spent the evening at the palace. After his return home, about eleven o'clock, he wrote at his 'Cosmos' until one or two. He gave little time to sleep: he rose at six in winter and at five in summer: he studied for two hours before breakfast, after which he answered his letters, which, it is said, amounted annually to more than 100,000.* From twelve to two he received visits; from two to four he was in his study. He then went to dine with the king, and spent the evening in company with the courtly or the scientific. Four hours sufficed for his sleep; yet for two-thirds of a century he devoted himself unremittingly to study and to fathom the great secrets of the universe. At the age of ninety he was still able to pursue his beloved researches, to enjoy the conversation of the scientific and the friendly. He lingered long behind the men with whom he began life: he remained, embodying in his own experience the advancement of many sciences from their birth to their great and glorious manhood.

He was thoroughly devoted to science, and in its interest put aside the enjoyment of the ease which his fortune offered him, and sacrificed that fortune to prosecute his inquiry. He refused the political advantages with which he was tempted that he might dedicate his time to the acquisition and diffusion of knowledge. Though made the companion of kings, he took to his embrace the humblest disciple of science, and evinced sympathy with the most liberal sentiments of the people. When Agassiz, whose name

* One is inclined to doubt this, but it is gravely asserted in the American biography, with the statement, 'I have heard this number doubled, but dislike to *seem to exaggerate.*'

stands

stands now so high in natural science was a student, and was about to relinquish his studies for want of means, Humboldt happened to meet him in Paris, observed his depression, and asked its cause. Next morning his servant bore a note to the student, which contained these words: 'My friend, I hear that you are leaving Paris in consequence of some embarrassments: that shall not be. I wish you to remain here as long as the object for which you came is not accomplished. I enclose you a cheque for 50*l.*: it is a loan which you may repay when you can.' By Humboldt's liberality in 1833, Agassiz was enabled to begin the publication of his great work on Fossil Fishes.

On his eighty-ninth birthday his last volume of 'Cosmos' was published; but as his friends met around his table he hinted that he did not expect to meet them again. He lived through the winter and even the spring, but took to his bed on the 3rd May, 1859, and continued to sink. On the 6th, after two o'clock, the blinds of his chamber were opened, and the full blaze of the sun shone upon his face. 'How grand those rays,' he murmured; 'they seem to beckon earth to heaven.' At half-past two his sun, which had shone for ninety years, sank in this sphere which he did so much to illuminate.

The 10th of May was his funeral. The houses in the Orianburger-strasse were hung with crape and decorated with black flags. The mourners crowded by Frederick-strasse and Unter den Linden. Friends, citizens, students, divines, philosophers, court, and king (represented by the prince regent), were in the funeral train. Carriages half a mile in length followed the bier. They laid him in the Dom Church, and the king lifted up his voice and wept, and all the people wept. Dr. Hoffmann, chaplain to the king, gave the address, as he had been requested by the deceased. 'The organ began to peal; the congregation tion sang, "Jesus, my trust." "Blessed are the dead," said the priest, "who die in the Lord." "Yea, saith the Spirit," the choir answered, "for they rest from their labours. Halleluia." A prayer was then said. Then the grand old chorals, "Be comforted and most happy," and "Christ is my life," were sung, and the ceremony was over. The procession departed as it came, with pattering feet and melancholy music. The church was soon deserted, but the dead remained, in the oaken coffin under the solemn dome, alone with God.'

The body was at night removed to Tegel, beside ancestral dust.

'Humboldt,' says Principal Forbes, in his learned Dissertation on the Progress of Mathematical and Physical Science, prefixed to the eighth edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica'—'Humboldt has contributed more to physical geography than any other man now living, and that not only by his individual efforts, but

by the direction and encouragement which he has given to innumerable travellers and naturalists. His career seems to have been more closely modelled upon that of De Saussure than of any other of his contemporaries or predecessors. Those branches of physical geography which admit of numerical treatment seem most congenial to him; and he has left more of the impress of his personal influence upon the sciences of meteorology and magnetism than upon any others which he cultivated. His conception of *isothermal lines*, and his treatment of the subject of climatology, in his remarkable paper of 1817, gave a new impulse to the former subject.'

Physical geography is one of the most interesting and diversified objects of study. It presents to the mind the phenomena of earth, sea, and sky—scenes at once grand and beautiful; and forms of life of wondrous mechanism and adaptation to their position and purpose. It conducts us over the *inorganic* world—the *mountains* in their lofty ranges or insulated peaks, or volcanic craters; the *plains* in their varied aspects in different continents; the *ocean*—three-fourths of the globe in its three great basins, Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian, with manifold smaller seas, and presenting so many interesting subjects of inquiry relative to depths, temperature, and motion; the *rivers*, the great arteries of countries for fertility and trade; and the *atmosphere* and its different winds, its effect on climate and on life. It introduces to us *organic* life, vegetable and animal, as it is distributed over the whole surface of the globe, in the waters of the deep, and in the air. Nor are these the only branches of this great science. The influences which the natural features, climate, and produce of countries have exercised over the inhabitants in their industry, habits, and even government are disclosed by the study of physical geography. It opens up to our view many most interesting aspects of the all-wise and beneficent providence of God, and shows how the earth was made the furnished apartments in which man, as its highest and ultimate inhabitant, was to dwell—all prepared and fashioned by the great Father of all for the comfort of his human children. To this study Alexander von Humboldt has introduced us by his tracts and books; and the legacy and the lesson of his long career are the 'Cosmos,' which spreads before us the wonders of the universe. The pages of his work are the keys for opening nature, and the reader of the philosopher's words will go forth to gaze at the great world-book with more intelligent eye, and with a more devout heart, ready to say, with the quaint poet—

> 'For us the winds do blow,
> The earth doth rest, heaven move, and fountains flow;
> Nothing we see but means our good,
> As our *delight* or as our *treasure*.
> The whole is, either our cupboard of *food*
> Or cabinet of *pleasure*.

The

'The stars have us to bed;
Night draws the curtain which the sun withdraws;
Music and light attend our head;
All things unto our *flesh* are kind
In their *descent* and *being*; to our *mind*
In their *ascent* and *cause*.

'Each thing is full of duty:
Waters united are our navigation;
Distinguished, our habitation;
Below, our drink; above, our meat;
Both are our cleanliness. Hath one such beauty?
Then how are all things neat!

'More servants wait on man
Than he'll take notice of: in every path
He treads down that which doth befriend him
When sickness makes him pale and wan.
Oh, mighty love! Man is one world, and hath
Another to attend him.'

HERBERT.

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ART. II.—*Co-operative Societies.* An Essay by Dr. John Watts. Read at the Social Science Conference, Glasgow.

ONE of the most interesting contributions to the last meeting of the Association for the Promotion of Social Science was the one whose title stands at the head of this article. Interesting, because it introduces us to a new phase of industrial life, and exhibits as 'a great fact' and a great success one of a class of experiments which have hitherto been generally treated either with pity or contempt, according to the disposition of the observer. The science of production has progressed marvellously amongst us: sixty or seventy years have sufficed to replace the spinning-wheel, twisting one thread at a time, by the double-decked self-acting mule, spinning a thousand threads and upwards; looms work five or six times as rapidly as formerly, and a single individual tends four instead of one; the bleacher does the work in a day which formerly would have occupied him for weeks; the sempstress sits down to her machine, and instead of occupying a day at making a child's frock, she back-stitches a hundred yards of cloth in the same time. But whilst all this economy has obtained in the production of wealth, its distribution is as costly as ever. Everything passes from the manufacturer through the wholesale and the retail dealer before it reaches the working-man consumer. Immense sums are spent in the building and decoration of warehouses and sale shops, vast quantities of goods are spoiled by shop-window exposure, and vast numbers of men and women make their own useless work in dressing and undressing windows, folding, unfolding, and refolding goods, or they remain idle behind counters for the greater part of their lives. Walk through the principal streets of London, and observe the shop windows; they constitute the largest and richest exhibition

exhibition of industrial and artistic products in the world; and the panorama not only changes in character with the change of locality, but even in the same shop the articles are exchanged every few days until the whole stock has been exhibited. In the larger shops a certain measure of economy is necessitated by the great expense at which the 'establishment' is kept up, and a wet day turns hundreds of drapers' assistants into the streets; but this economy does not much improve the body politic, since the persons dismissed are not productively employed. But turn now into the side streets, and look into the places where the proprietors manage each his own business with the aid of one or two assistants, where a single sale per day upon the average will furnish the ten or fifteen pounds which constitute the weekly receipts; and remember that of this class are the great bulk of the miles of shops which throng our great cities; and then try to calculate the proportion of the receipts which will be necessary to maintain the concern, the whole or nearly the whole of which per centage is an unnecessary deduction from the stock handed over to the consumer. In articles of food this deduction is not less than from 7½ to 10 per cent., and in textile fabrics it is from 15 to 20 per cent., whilst in articles for ornament it often rises to 50 per cent. What wonder if, when people realize the losses thus sustained, they should seek to avoid them by any and every feasible means!

We must all pay national and local taxation for the protection of life and property, for sanitary measures, and for the relief of the destitute; and in these taxes there is at least an attempt at fairness by levying upon each individual in proportion to his rental: we say an attempt at fairness, for since cottage property gives a far larger return for capital than is derived from any other class of houses, it necessarily follows that the poor man is overtaxed. A man's rental is always a very imperfect measure of his wealth; for a city workman earning fifty pounds per annum can scarcely pay less than six pounds per annum rent, but will the man who gets ten thousand pounds pay twelve hundred per annum for his house? And a shopkeeper, in order to realize a hundred pounds per annum, must pay as much in rent and taxes as the man who gets a thousand pounds per annum from realized property. Thus, for protection from violence, for shelter, for food and clothing, for all the necessaries and conveniences of life, the poor man is overcharged as compared with his richer neighbour; and the poor man is not only overcharged in the taxes levied directly upon himself, but he also pays indirectly, in the increased cost of commodities, the overcharge upon the shopkeeper also. If it be urged that labour is created by the subdivision of articles into minute quantities to suit the working man's convenience, and that the army of retailers are his servants, ready to do his bidding, and must be paid for their work; we reply that if they be his

his servants, it is only in the sense that the officials of the Court of Bankruptcy are the servants of the creditors; and there is no objection to pay for necessary work, but that there is great objection to pay for useless or injurious work, or for officious idleness in the shop or in the court at the cost of one-third of the estate.

And the deduction for the profit of the shopkeeper is not the worst feature of the case against the retail salesman. The anxiety of each new shopkeeper to accumulate wealth has led to a spurious cheapness achieved by adulterations of every possible kind, until health is sacrificed, and usefulness destroyed, by the ceaseless efforts to make things seem to be something which they are not.

Old woollen cloth is torn up into fibres by a machine called 'the devil,' re-spun with a small proportion of new wool, woven and dressed and passed again into the market as new cloth; fustians are scratched (perched) on the back, thus partially destroying the fibre before they get into wear, in order to make them appear to be full of cotton; they are woven twenty-four inches wide, put into a steam-box, and stretched upon a moving frame to twenty-seven inches; the interstices being filled with starch, with silicate of soda, or with bone dust, to make them pass for rich and heavy goods; and the deception lasts until they get into wear, when if the workman chances to get his trousers wet, he will find it difficult to get them off his legs, so greatly will they shrink in dimensions. Calico prints are similarly filled and stretched, so that not until the washerwoman has performed her office upon them can their real quality be ascertained. Wooden bobbins thinly wrapped with sewing cotton are sold for cotton, and trade marks and the names of celebrated firms are forged, until the name of a maker of genuine articles is no longer a protection to the purchaser. Sixteen ounces of raw silk is sent to be dyed black, and comes home again weighted with logwood and gum to such an extent that it weighs thirty, forty, fifty, or even sixty ounces. Of this stuff are the dull-looking heavy black ribbons for trimmings, and the broad silks for dresses made. In articles of food the adulteration is not less: wheaten flour is let down with lime and alum, oatmeal with pea-meal, butter with lard, and is filled with water; coffee is adulterated with chicory, tea is painted with verdigris or black lead; mustard is adulterated with flour and pepper; anchovies are coloured with red lead, sugar is mixed with sand; tobacco is made of plantain leaves, fine hay, and treacle; and the wine and spirit trade has called into existence a new industry followed by men whose common designation is 'adulterator;' and so throughout, until we feel inclined to believe not only that language was given to man to enable him to hide his thoughts, but that the ingenuity which has sought out many inventions was given to enable men to cheat each other. But every evil by its effect upon human nature

brings

brings about its own remedy; and the growth of this trading disease has brought into existence two curative operations. The legislature on behalf of society has pronounced the adulteration of food and drink to be criminal, and the forgery of trade names and marks is equally punishable at law: whilst, on the other hand, various have been the attempts by working men to render the shopkeeper the real servant of the public, instead of a trader on his own account; and to give him occupation for his whole time instead of keeping him in forced idleness.

Probably the earliest attempt in this country was made in London, under the patronage of the late Robert Owen, about the year 1820. This was called 'The Labour Exchange.' It was intended to be a store of all articles of necessity and utility, where every artisan might come laden with the work of his own hands, and exchange it for the produce of any other or any number of workmen representing the same number of hours' labour. Metallic currency was to be superseded by exchange or labour notes, representing the values of the goods deposited, and exchangeable for the same value of any other goods in store. We are not acquainted with the definite cause or causes of failure, but can readily see many reasons why such an experiment must needs have failed. Some trades and professions require a much larger outlay for education than others, and a skilled artisan is not likely to be willing to give an hour of strength and skill in exchange for an hour's strength only; nor will a learned professor exchange the produce of an hour's learning for an hour's product of ignorance; and it would be very difficult to make a sliding-scale of learning or of skill, and to so assess the value of each as to satisfy all the contributors. The Labour Exchange failed, and competition had its own way for some years, except so far as it was hindered by taxes on commodities and other government restrictions. About 1836-7, Mr. Owen became again prominent in this country by teaching communism; and branches of his society of 'Rational Religionists' were formed in most of our large towns; and in connection with some of these branches, co-operative stores for the sale of articles of grocery and drapery were established from time to time. But experience, that best of teachers, had not yet done her work. In some cases managers were appointed, who had no sufficient knowledge either of goods or of accounts, and the result is not difficult to guess; in others, men were appointed who had failed in trade for themselves, and who repeated their experience for these societies; in others, again, the moral power was not strong enough to resist temptation, and the store would some morning be found vacant, except for the accounts which required liquidation. In most of them the desire to do a large business led to the fatal error of giving credit, which brought with it the necessity of getting credit, and its usual concomitant

concomitant of having to pay higher prices for worse material. The trade books were filled with small debts, the ready-money customers were lost by the depreciated quality of the goods, and thus was dissipated the small subscribed capital of many a co-operative concern. Still, many of the managers of the stores gleaned experience enough in the work to enable them to become successful shopkeepers on their own account—a very clear indication of the true causes of failure. In 1843-4 came the failure of the Owenite community in Hampshire; attributable, amongst other causes, first to the extravagant price paid for very poor land; second, to the large amount of capital sunk in buildings which could not be profitably occupied; and, thirdly, to the attempt to convert skilled artisans, used to good wages, into agriculturists upon bad land; and to satisfy them with agricultural labourers' fare, and no money wages. It is beyond our present sphere to inquire to whom these errors were attributable; but it is certain that this failure blighted the hopes of all upholders of the doctrine, that 'men ought to work in accordance with their abilities, and to be paid according to their necessities;' in other words that all property ought to be common. But this failure, although it returned hundreds of disappointed men to their former homes, and cast much ridicule upon the disciples of communism, did not prevent frequent attempts at co-operative stores; on the contrary, it seemed to fix attention upon them as illustrating the amount of practicability included in the teachings of Mr. Owen. The failure of the O'Connor land scheme added to the number who returned to the practicable, and many stores have originated amongst men who formerly looked to the five points of 'The Charter' as the panacea for all evils. Dr. Watts tells an anecdote admirably illustrative of this point. He says: 'We once called with the inventor of a new kind of watch upon an eminent maker in London, who, after examining the watch, and listening to the inventor's description of his improvement, asked—Would it go properly if fixed to a coach-wheel spoke, and driven round the city; and if it will stand that test, can you take this watch (an ordinary English lever), and without sacrificing its general arrangement, insert your improvement? If you can, I'll try to deal with you, but if not, your improvement is of no use to me. And so it is in society. Any improvement to be practicable, and to get adopted, must be able to stand against the roughest possible usage, and must fit in with existing machinery.'

The co-operative stores have had their share of rough usage; have struggled through failure, through contempt, through interested opposition, into success and respect; and with careful management they promise well for the future. The Rochdale Equitable Pioneers' Society dates from 1844. 'In June, 1844,' says one of the most active members of the Rochdale Society, 'it was believed

that no member could or would subscribe more than twopence per week per share; and when one offered to lay down 2*s.* 6*d.*, and another 5*s.*, the offers caused great surprise, and some consternation was evident when an enthusiastic member offered to venture 20*s.* There are now seven other stores in Rochdale than those described by Mr. Chambers, in "Chambers' Journal" of November 12, 1859, and, reckoning the shops taken for the sale of flesh meat, for drapery, tailoring, shoemaking, clogging, &c., there are sixteen separate establishments all connected with this one society. The number of members in June, 1860, was 3,100, and according to the quarterly statement then issued, the amount of business for this year will be 140,000*l.*, and the probable gains, after paying all expenses, will be 14,500*l.* "The Rochdale District Corn Mill Society" was commenced in 1850, principally by the members of the original co-operative society. The first year or two involved them in a loss of 421*l.*: but, taking the quarter ending in June last as an average quarter, the business of the present year will amount to 120,000*l.*, and the gains to 10,000*l.* In the quarter ending in June last, the profits divided in the stores was 2*s.* 5*d.* in the pound, and in the flour mill 1*s.* 6*d.* in the pound on purchases, after paying interest on capital. The library at the store is now increased to 5,000 volumes, and about 200 newspapers and periodicals are taken weekly in the reading-room. The cost is about 400*l.* per annum.' This store therefore not only economises the labour of the shopkeeper in nearly all the necessaries of life, but it is also an educational institution, where the members may obtain the political and scientific knowledge to fit them for the duties of citizens, and to make them better workmen; they may also get literature fit to occupy the leisure of the tired artisan, and to give his children a taste for the pursuit of knowledge. To this department is devoted, by the rules of the society, two and a half per cent. of the nett profits of the stores. Persons who have no acquaintance with the practical working of these societies, and who think they understand the science of political economy, tell us that shopkeepers by competition will be certain to supply articles at the cheapest possible rate, for the sake of their own self-interest. We reply that this might be so if consumers all understood the qualities of the articles which they purchase and their wholesale cost, and if we had no more shopkeepers than the demands of the public would keep at full work; but experience proves that shopkeepers will increase so long as it is possible, by mere distribution of wealth, to make more than artisans' wages; and that adulterations of all kinds will be resorted to for assistance in this process. Political economy is the science of wealth; it teaches how and where to invest labour so as to secure the largest produce. Now as that sublime mixture of genius and madness

madness, John Ruskin, says, there is no gain to the body politic in exchanges, the labours of the wholesale and retail dealers are in reality additions to the cost of producing an article, therefore the narrower the compass into which we can confine such labour, the less will be the cost of the article to the consumer. There is only one way by which society at large can gain, and that is by increasing our knowledge of the earth and its capabilities, and by perfecting our machinery for extracting all we can out of it. All which we win from the earth is positive gain; all exchanges made necessary by different climates, or by the subdivisions of labour, are conveniences merely, for what one man gains another loses. The more direct such exchanges can be made, therefore, between the producer and consumer, the more time and strength will remain for further production.

But the best test of economy is the practical working of the Rochdale stores:—'In the grocery department the total cost of wages and management does not exceed 2¾*d.* in the pound, and if the tailoring, shoemaking, and clogging departments be included, the average cost of management for the whole is less than 2½ per cent. The society has also given donations to the dispensary, the deaf and dumb and blind asylums, and to the Manchester Infirmary, and has presented a handsome drinking fountain to the borough of Rochdale.' Where is the individual establishment, however large, where the partnership concern which does business at 2½ per cent.? It is doubtful if any, except the very largest shipping houses, where a single sale will often amount to a thousand pounds, can parallel the economy of this retail establishment, where the shopman must be continually ready to serve a quarter of an ounce of tea, a quarter of a pound of sugar, or a halfpenny candle!

The early history of these co-operative efforts is always instructive and often very amusing. It shows us the good and the evil sides of the working man, his persistency at all hazards in what he considers right, along with the ignorance, the stupidity, and the selfishness which have to be overcome, which sadly try the patience of the honest managers, and which even drive some well-intentioned men into dishonesty. Give a dog a bad name, or call an honest man a thief, and you know what result to look for. If the concern does not progress satisfactorily the managers are often accused in plain terms of serving their own interest at the expense of the society; and it is only after years of continuous labour and self-sacrifice, whose only reward is abuse, that the few heroic leaders can get credit for the philanthropic feeling which alone has enabled them to struggle forward to success and prosperity.

A Rochdale manager lately gave us an account of one of their early meetings, which was so stormy as to remind one of a con-

tested parliamentary election before the passage of the Reform Bill. So exciting was the meeting that the forms were upset by a rush to the platform in order to upset the leaders, and personal violence was with great difficulty prevented, by the exertions of a strong body-guard. But happily it is not every ship which has to make its way through such breakers into port.

Here is an account of a store which seems to have worked its way from small things without much trouble except the want of capital. The Rawtenstall Industrial Society was commenced in 1850 by six working men. They managed to save a few shillings each, and bought one load of meal or flour. They then rented a cottage as a store at 1*s.* 3*d.* per week, and met every evening to dispose of their goods. At the end of the first quarter they divided 1*s.* 6*d.* in the pound on purchases, after paying 5 per cent. on capital. They were soon obliged to take larger premises. They now own the building used as a store, and have a paid-up capital of 3,000*l.*, and number 387 members; their business amounts to about 310*l.* weekly, and they generally divide about 2*s.* in the pound quarterly on purchases. A purchaser who is too poor to pay for a share is allowed to rank for profits on his purchases until the price of a share is realized.

Most of these societies sell to the public as well as to their own members, and being established in the midst of shopkeepers large and small, they must, as a matter of course, sell at average prices, for otherwise even their own members would soon fall away. If they to any considerable extent fulfil their professions by avoiding adulterations, and manage, after paying 5 per cent. on capital, to divide from 7½ to 10 per cent. on purchases, we need no other argument to prove either their great economy or their moral tendency, for there is great truth in the remark of an old manufacturer, that bodies may live on much less wages than souls can be kept for.

There are now in existence at least two hundred co-operative stores, and they are rapidly increasing in every direction; so it is probable that the number of mere distributors of wealth will be decreased, and many persons, whose capital and time are now absorbed in simply storing goods, and handing articles over from the wholesale dealer to the consumer will be at liberty to use their capital and skill in the production of wealth, causing an increased demand for useful labour, and by increasing produce they will also increase the comforts of society at large.

Being enrolled under the Friendly Societies' Act, these associations enjoy the following advantages:—The rules of a society are binding, and may be legally enforced; protection is given to the members, their wives, children, and heirs, in enforcing their just claims, and against any fraudulent dissolution of the society; the

the property of the society is declared to be vested in the trustee or treasurer for the time being; the trustee or treasurer may sue or be sued in his own name; fraud committed, with respect to the property of the society, is punishable by justices; county courts may, where the rules so provide, compel transfer of stock; if any officer abscond, or refuse to transfer, application may be made to the Court of Chancery by petition, free from payment of court or counsel's fees; disputes are to be settled by reference to justices or arbitrators, whose orders are to be final, with power to award compensation to any member if unjustly expelled.

Coming into existence at various times and under various circumstances, although all enrolled under the Friendly Societies' Act, these societies differ somewhat in their constitutions and modes of operation. Some of them hold inflexibly, like the Rochdale model, to cash payments, whilst others give credit to members to the extent of one-half, two-thirds, or three-fourths of the paid-up capital of the debtor. They vary also in the amount which constitutes a share, and in the number of shares required or allowed to be held by each member. Some share their profits with non-members who desire to become members, whilst others require a payment on account of shares prior to any participation. In all, candidates for membership have to submit to their chance of election, and in all, the thorough democratic principle of one vote to each member obtains, no matter what the amount of his investment. In none whose rules we have seen are shares transferable, but they all have rules to allow withdrawal of shares. In cases of dispute, the first appeal is universally to the directors, the second is in some cases to arbitration, whilst others give an option of appeal to arbitrators or to justices of the peace. In every case of division of profits, capital takes the first 5 per cent. after allowing for depreciation of stock; then in some cases a proportion is set aside to increase capital, and the remainder is divided according to purchases, whilst in others the whole is divided after the shares are once paid up, and the members are left to increase their shares within the prescribed limit or not, as they please. But in no case which has come under our observation, except in the original one at Rochdale, is there in the constitution of the society any educational provision, and personal inquiry informs us that this is because the Registrar refuses to allow it. We are told that the managers of one of the Manchester stores had no less than four months' correspondence on the subject; and the result of the refusal is the necessity for a quarterly vote for the reading-room, which necessity leads to a false economy, in order to avoid a quarterly quarrel, which, after all, is not always averted. If it be true that the appropriation of a small sum for educational purposes, by the constitution of the society, be contrary to Act of Parliament,

quite time for that Act to be amended; and if the Registrar's present reading of the law be wrong, it would be well to force him by a mandamus to register such a provision; for assuredly no institution is likely to be more serviceable in secondary education than the libraries and reading-rooms (to be followed, possibly, by classes) in connection with these co-operative associations.

The practical result of these establishments appears, therefore, to be to enable the members to secure unadulterated food at the prices generally charged for the adulterated, and to give also from 7½ to 10 per cent. discount; in other words, they put the poorest man upon a par with the richest, so far as their purchases of food and clothing are concerned: they do for the articles of the workman's daily consumption what Freehold Land and Building Societies have done for land and houses—they sell by retail at wholesale prices; but they do also more than this, by offering 5 per cent. interest on 1*l.* and upwards in the shape of shares, and giving a voice in the management of the concern, they stimulate to prudential investments, and they educate in self-government the most important as well as most numerous class of society.

The following table of the results of co-operative societies is extracted from an Essay by Mr. Malcolm Ross, published in 'The Bradford Review,' Nov. 3rd, 1860.

| Name of Society. | Age and Date of Report. | | | | Receipts for quarter or half-year. | Members' deposits, &c. | Profits realized | Dividend declared. | Present Capital. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rochdale Equitable Pioneers | 63rd | Quarter, | 1860. Sept. | 18th | £ 37,816 | £ 1,996 | £ 4,341 | s. d. 2 7 | £ 30,183 |
| ,, District Corn Mill | 39th | ,, | ,, | 22nd | 37,109 | 1,156 | 2,243 | 1 4 | 23,504 |
| Bacup Co-operative | 53rd | ,, | ,, | 17th | 15,500 | 766 | 2,147 | 2 10 | 9,439 |
| York Industrial | 6th | ,, | ,, | 23rd | 784 | 65 | 53 | 1 6 | 506 |
| Eccles Provident Industrial | 14th | ,, | ,, | 24th | 2,139 | 96 | 180 | 2 0 | 1,237 |
| Manchester and Salford Equitable | 4th | ,, | June | 25th | 3,459 | 534 | 183 | 1 8 | 1,728 |
| Oldham Industrial | 39th | ,, | ,, | 25th | 10,230 | 724 | 899 | 1 8 | 7,908 |
| Bury Provision | 17th | ,, | ,, | 30th | 11,062 | 874 | 1,026 | 2 0 | 7,460 |
| Queenshead Industrial | 8th | Half-yearly | ,, | 26th | 6,598 | 948 | 440 | 1 3 | 4,103 |
| Hindley Friendly | 9th | Quarter | ,, | 18th | 2,104 | 277 | 92 | 1 0 | 1,395 |
| Liverpool Provident | 4th | Half-yearly | ,, | 24th | 6,389 | 848 | 424 | 1 7 | 2,460 |
| ,, Equitable | 4th | ,, | ,, | 30th | 2,132 | 651 | 158 | 1 6½ | 717 |
| Bristol Industrial and Provident | 2nd | Quarter | ,, | 19th | 474 | 55 | 22 | 1 0 | 145 |
| Plymouth Mutual | 2nd | ,, | ,, | 26th | 145 | 17 | 13 | 1 1 | 41 |
| Sunderland Equitable Industrial | 1st | ,, | ,, | 19th | 930 | 236 | 22 | 1 3 | 203 |
| Stockport Industrial and Equitable | 1st | ,, | ,, | 30th | 548 | 468 | 53 | 1 4 | 476 |
| National Industrial and Provident | 1st | ,, | ,, | 29th | 1,179 | 849 | 17 | 1 0 | 855 |

The economy achieved in the distribution of wealth by these societies seems to have led, gradually and naturally, to attempts to *economize* its production also. The Rochdale people having secured the

the prosperity of their stores, determined to sell and eat only pure bread, and with this object in view they engaged a corn-mill; for although another society was constituted for the purpose, and other managers appointed, they were practically the same persons in both.

And during the last two years of good trade another step forward has been taken, and co-operative, or rather joint-stock weaving-sheds and spinning-factories have sprung into existence in considerable numbers in Lancashire and Yorkshire. Working men have commenced in earnest to take advantage of the means by which nearly all our great works have been accomplished. Banks, canals, railways, &c., have long found profitable employment for the surplus capital of rich men, whilst the only chance for the prudent working man has been the savings bank, which is not always safe, gives only low interest, and is hedged about with difficulties to prevent withdrawals. Co-operative stores and joint-stock manufactories open up another field, and working men are not slow to take advantage of it. Alex. Redgrave, Inspector of Factories, in his report, 30th April, 1860, referring to co-operative manufacturing concerns, says:—

'Co-operative societies have multiplied greatly since the passing of the Limited Liability Act. They are composed generally of operatives. Each society has a capital of 10,000*l.* and upwards, divided into shares of 5*l.* and 10*l.* each, with power to borrow in certain proportions to the capital subscribed; and the money borrowed is made up of small loans by operatives and persons of the like class. I have been informed that in Bury alone upwards of 300,000*l.* will be required to put the co-operative mills there, built and building, into working order. In cotton-spinning mills, the spinners and persons employed are frequently shareholders in the same mill, working for wages, and receiving interest on their shares. In cotton-weaving sheds, of which there are many in my district, the partners frequently hire work-looms. This is attractive to operatives, because no capital is required to start them in their undertaking; they purchase the yarn ready for the loom, weave the cloth, and the factory operation is completed, or else they receive the yarn from some manufacturer who trades with them, and return to him the woven fabric. Here is no complication of buying the raw material, working it up to the best advantage through the various processes, from the first sorting of the raw material to the final spinning of the yarn, finding carders, rovers, drawers, jobbers, spinners, piecers, &c., which must be undertaken in a spinning-factory; but the whole is completed in one process, that of weaving, which requires, moreover, but one class of hands. These men were operatives working for hire, the servants of another; by this co-operative system the servant becomes a master: he works, indeed, himself, as do others of his family, but they work with him, under his control and observation, and thus, notwithstanding the special objections to the factory system, on the ground that it must necessarily discourage the small manufacturer, we see here a return to the old domestic system of manufacture, in which the master, his family, and workpeople constitute one establishment.'

These are called co-operative concerns, but the co-operation extends only to the shareholders, and any workman in these mills who is not a shareholder differs in no respect from a workman employed elsewhere, except in the fact that some of the ... are working at his side, and that the manager is the ...

possibly a co-proprietor with such workmen, and therefore likely to be more considerate in his conduct than if he had only ordinary workmen to deal with.

But the Rochdale workmen have adopted the true co-operative principle in their manufactory as in their stores. They are erecting a mill which, together with its machinery, will cost 50,000*l*. The whole of the capital is subscribed, and one wing of the building is probably fitted up and at work before this time. Here is the 'article of association' which regulates the distribution of profits:—

'After paying 5 per cent. upon the paid-up capital, making allowance for depreciation of fixed stock, &c., "The declared capital of the society, and the total amount of wages paid during the previous half-year shall be added together, and the balance of profit shall be equally divided on both capital and wages at so much in the pound, as such sum will make, and such interest and poundage as may be accorded to the capital of the society shall be placed to the credit of the shareholders respectively in proportion to the capital standing to each shareholder's account; and such interest and poundage shall be applicable to the purchase of new shares, either whole or in part, or shall be withdrawn on application; and such poundage as may, in the aforesaid manner, be accorded to the wages earned, shall be carried to the account of all persons being members of this society, or willing to become members, in proportion to the amount of wages earned by them respectively during that time; and the said poundage shall be applicable for the creation of new shares, either in whole or in part, or shall be withdrawn on application to the treasurer or secretary, provided, always, that before any person whosoever shall be entitled to withdraw any interest or profit which may have been placed to his account, such person shall have at least two paid-up shares in the society, in accordance with Rule 7; and if such two shares be not paid up, then the before-named interests and profits shall remain to such person's credit towards the completion of such two shares, except such person is ceasing to be a shareholder in the society, in which case he shall be entitled to withdraw any capital he may have invested therein, together with all the interests and profits due to him, according to the law for regulating withdrawals."'

This is true co-operation, for it requires the best energies of all the parties concerned, and when it has paid the capitalist for his risk, and the workman the market price for his labour, it shares the advantages of good trade amongst the operatives as well as amongst the shareholders. We have known instances where greedy employers have tampered with the clock in order to gain a few minutes morning and night from each of a thousand workpeople. We have known, and still know, others who have washing apparatus and mirrors fitted up in their mills, and boxes in which to deposit the clothes of the workpeople. In these latter places the engine is stopped five minutes before the legal time, to allow the hands to wash and dress before leaving the mill. Which class of employers, does the reader suppose, gains more by their arrangements? The employers who give the time assure us that they make even a pecuniary gain by the gift; but this gain is small in the estimation of the good man compared with the devotion and gratitude which is sure to flow therefrom. A few years ago we were present at the anniversary at such a mill; we witnessed the examination of the best

best of factory schools, and learned with great pleasure that the educational progress of the half-timers was very nearly as great as of those who were all day at school; we joined in the tea-party of the workpeople, and felt that we should have been as proud to be their employer as an emperor could be of his crown. And if such devotion to the interests of the employer be the result of these small matters, as with our faith in human nature we fully believe it to be, what must be the case when the workman is made a partaker in profits? Dr. Watts, speaking of the above rule, remarks as follows:—

'Here is a plan by which a workman, who has never been able to save a penny out of his wages, may yet become his own employer; nay, there is even a gentle coercion to make him a partaker of profits, and to invest such profits for him, so that by the time he is unable to work, the interest and profits of a capital, which has cost him no effort beyond what would have been necessary elsewhere to earn average wages, may support him in old age. For, assuming the society to divide 15 per cent. on capital and 10 per cent. on wages per annum, then a man might commence work at age 20, getting and spending his 20*s.* per week of wages as at another establishment, and simply allowing his share of profits to accumulate, and he would, at the end of twenty years, find himself credited with 536*l.*, which, if left in the concern at 15 per cent., would enable a workman to retire at age 40 on 80*l.* per annum. If this be thought an extravagant picture, let sceptics double the term necessary for its accomplishment, and still each workman will become independent between the ages of fifty and sixty years. If such a prospect does not secure intelligent and moral workmen, there is little hope of the race. But there is no fear of the result. A gentleman who has watched the progress of the Rochdale societies from the commencement, says:—"The alteration produced in the habits of the members is wonderful: men who were formerly of dissipated habits, women who were extravagant and troublesome to their husbands, have all been wonderfully improved; drunkenness is greatly diminished, and plenty and cheerfulness now reign in many houses where want and degradation were common."'

The first calculation is probably somewhat overcharged; but since some of these limited liability companies have divided as much as 40 per cent. during the past year, it ought not to be considered an extravagant estimate to expect from 15 to 20 per cent., and 15 per cent. average profit would fulfil the second estimate. What an incentive to sobriety, industry, and general good conduct! Surely no workman with any degree of moral sense will think of devoting his proportion of profit to any other purpose than the purchase of shares; and if this course of conduct be adopted, and this movement spread, as we think it must needs do, we can see our way to the rapid declension of drunkenness, pauperism, and crime, and to a rapid increase of comfort and intelligence in the homes of working men.

The movement has commenced in the cotton trade; but it is equally applicable to all trades where machinery is employed and men work in masses. We shall expect to see it speedily adopted in the woollen and linen districts of Yorkshire, and in the production of plain silk fabrics in Lancashire, Cheshire, and Warwick[illegible]; and if a few intelligent leaders can be found amongst the

miners, the possession of a few pits on the co-operative principle might probably prevent a recurrence of the strikes and lock-outs to which we have become so familiar, and would doubtless result beneficially to the public at large. Suppose that at the time of the lock-out of the building trades in London the societies had themselves been in a position to take contracts, and thus to have employed one-fourth of the workmen at average wages, the combination of employers would probably have been prevented, and a speedy solution of the difficulty would have been arrived at—possibly an arrangement to pay wages at per hour instead of per day, so as to enable men to choose whether to work for nine or ten hours might have settled the question. At any rate, if the workmen had been prepared to take the field as competitors for jobs with the masters, they would soon have settled for themselves, by the demand for labour at their prices, whether or not the public could afford to pay ten hours' wages for nine hours' work. The extra reward for labour, in accordance with the prosperity of the concern, is a great but not the greatest object in these co-operative manufactories. The fact that every man must feel that success depends on his own exertions, that the quality of his individual work will facilitate or prevent the sale of produce, will render each workman habitually careful, will prevent waste and extravagance of material, and will thus induce habits of consideration and frugality in all the business of life, and be of great importance in the education of children, thus extending the benefit to all future generations.

We are told that the cloths produced by some of the joint-stock manufactories, where many of the workmen are also shareholders, hold the first rank in the Manchester market, and the considerations above suggested prevent such an announcement from exciting any surprise.

His Grace the Duke of Argyll, in his speech at the annual meeting of the Lancashire and Cheshire Mechanics' Institutes, said that joint-stock companies for spinning and manufacturing, with a nominal capital of 600,000*l.*, had been registered under the Limited Liability Act during the last two years. Dr. Watts gives a list covering more than a million sterling in Lancashire alone; and we learn that several companies have been originated in Yorkshire also. But so far as we know, Rochdale alone has a true claim to the term 'co-operative,' and to this model we would specially direct the attention of working men. Joint-stock companies, with extensive proprietories, will raise some working men into the rank of employers; but from various causes the shares will slowly and surely accumulate in few hands, and will leave the bulk of the working class poor as ever. But the Rochdale plan, whilst injuring no one, will gradually and as surely elevate all who are

are connected with it, and its general adoption would result in improved wages, increased frugality, and higher morality of the working classes generally.

We are anxious, before concluding this article, to say a word of warning to the friends of co-operative enterprises. These societies have only been rendered possible by the passage of the 'Limited Liability Bill.' Many persons who, according to their light, are friendly to any measure of progress for the working classes, gave to that bill strenuous opposition upon the ground that it would lead to undue speculation by its facilities for the manufacture of fictitious capital; that companies would be started in every direction and for every possible purpose; that selfish managers holding only a few nominal shares would contract debts in every direction, and leave the bankrupt estates to be wound up in Chancery with no assets for creditors. It is unfortunately true, that there is no good thing which is not liable to abuse, and it is not to be expected that so long as we have rogues in society they will cease to scheme for a living out of the earnings of honest men; yet we think that no worse exposures are likely to result in Chancery from limited liability companies than have already appeared from joint-stock and private banks and individual firms in Chancery, in Bankruptcy, and in Criminal Courts. But the benefits to be derived from the principle of limited liability are so numerous and so great that we are anxious to secure for it a better reputation than the old plan either has or deserves to have; and we hope to see the same doctrine prevail in these co-operative companies as in the stores—viz., to leave to others the manufacture of cheap stuff, whilst their chief care is to make honest stuff; to leave to others to work for appearance only, whilst they work for utility as their chief feature; to leave others to make stuff to sell, whilst they make it to wear. Another principle of the stores they will do well to observe—viz., to confine themselves as much as possible to cash transactions; in all cases to buy only for cash; and as this will necessitate that in the main they shall also sell for cash, this plan will keep them out of many difficulties. At present we are surprised at the rapid progress of these companies, and we find their large profits quoted in prospectuses for the establishment of new ones, as in the silk districts of Coventry and Nuneaton, where for the present the ribbon trade is suffering a sort of mesmeric sleep, arising from the combined and overpowering influences of a wintry summer, a panic at the sudden loss of protection, and the vagaries of Dame Fashion. But the homes of the cotton manufacture are Lancashire and Lanarkshire; and as a man opening a new shop goes into the locality where shops of the same kind throng most, so that he may share the casual custom, so the best chance for extensions of the cotton trade are in its present homes. It is curious how short a

deranges the necessary materials for success; and it is a problem which remains yet to be solved why the cotton manufacture has never thrived much in Warrington, which is only half the distance of Manchester from the chief port for the ingress of the raw, and the egress of the manufactured article; why it has failed or kept up only a struggle for existence in Hull, in Liverpool, in Bristol; or how in Leeds men contrive to make princely fortunes by the manufacture of sewing-thread; whilst in Bolton a keen, thrifty, and in the main a prudent man loses just as rapidly. But the fact is so; and we augur no great success from the planting of the cotton-seed in Warwickshire, not only because of the difficulty in acclimatizing the industry, but because the present depression in the silk trade cannot be permanent.

There is no textile material so beautiful as silk, none so deliciously rich to handle, none capable of such delicate fine shades of colour, none which resists the effects of dirt so well; and we are not yet prepared to admit either the superior mechanical ingenuity or capability to labour of the foreigner over the Englishman. Silk will again assert its supremacy in Warwickshire, and cotton will remain in its present home.

Sixty-five years ago cotton was spun in Coventry; but the exotic died out, as the woollen manufacture died out in Warwick before that date, its only records being in history and heraldry.

Failures of limited liability companies we may expect, whether established for the benefit of shareholders, or for the operatives also; but we hope that every succeeding year will add to the store of experience and to the general education of working men, so that their manufactories shall not yield an extraordinary proportion of failures in any future crisis.

And if these societies on the truly co-operative plan do extend, there will also be an end to strikes and lock-outs on account of wages. Boards of conciliation and arbitration will not be needed, nor shall we have any renewal of the short-time agitation, for men will not need to strike against themselves, they will not need arbitrations other than their own rules provide for, and they will dictate their own hours of work, without a public agitation and without asking the legislature to interfere either by enacting the definite hours for labour or by restricting the motive power.

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ART. III.—1. *Colportage, its History and Relation to Home and Foreign Evangelization.* By Mrs. W. Fison. Wertheim, Macintosh, and Hurst.
2. *The Book-Hawker, his Work and his Day.* By the Rev. H. G. de Bunsen.
3. *Book-Hawking.* By the Rev. Nash Stephenson.
4. *Reports of Book-Hawking Society* for 1859, 1860.
5. *Report of Religious Tract Society* for 1860.
6. *Occasional Papers and Reports of Pure Literature Society.*
7. *Notes of Progress of Religious Tract and Book Society of Scotland.*
8. *The Missing Link.* By L. N. R., author of 'The Book and its Story.' Nisbet and Co. 1860.

IN a former number of this Review, when writing on 'Free Libraries for the People,' we alluded to the importance of providing other machinery to reach the intellectual necessities of our population in agricultural districts and isolated dwellings, the different circumstances in which the inhabitants of town and country are placed, requiring certain adaptations to accomplish a given purpose for each.

But alike throughout all parts of Great Britain, until we possess a more educated population, the aggressive agency of the Colporteur or Book-Hawker is needed to aid mental progress, and excite the desire for reading in the minds of those, who are not sufficiently enlightened to appreciate the advantages offered by the public library. Hence we regard Colportage as not only supplementary but indispensable to the full realization of all the benefit our country will derive from the 'Free Libraries Act.' The relations of colportage to the religious and social progress of the people are so numerous and important, while its capabilities are as yet so imperfectly recognized, that we are doubly anxious to bring the subject, in some of its bearings, before our readers.

We shall first view colportage in its aspect as an aggressive evangelizing agency. Its records, as given us in the book we have named above, attest its remarkable power and efficiency.

The term 'colporteur' is of French origin, from *col*, 'the neck,' and *porter*, 'to carry,' and has been from an early period applied to the bearer of religious books from house to house. Even centuries before the Reformation travelling merchants carried about with their wares manuscript chapters, and sometimes entire copies of the Scriptures. The devoted pastors of the Waldensian churches often acted the part of hawkers, that they might thus gain access to the dwellings of the rich, and offer them those treasures that money could not buy. When the Bible became

accessible

accessible to all through the medium of printing, large editions were circulated in France, Switzerland, and other parts of the continent by colporteurs.

D'Aubigné, in his valuable 'History of the Reformation,' shows that both the press and personal Christian effort were well employed by Luther and his successors in effecting the greatest of all moral revolutions since the dawn of Christianity. He says: 'Farel and his friends consigned the books to certain pedlars or colporteurs, simple and pious men, who, laden with their precious burden, passed from town to town, from village to village, and from house to house, knocking at every door.' And as early as 1524, there existed in Bâsle a Bible Society, a Tract Society, and an Association of Colporteurs for the benefit of France.

When the Bible of De Sacy was published in France in 1666, we find the same agency employed to put it in circulation throughout the kingdom, and we know from Beza that several colporteurs were afterwards burnt to death by the Romanists for having thus circulated the word of God; but in 1685 the fatal revocation of the Edict of Nantes led to the entire suppression of this important evangelizing agency. In Great Britain, although we can find no mention, at such an early period, of colportage being systematically employed, yet from the writings of Baxter and other eminent men before and after his time, we gather that the distribution of good books by hawkers was considered a work of great importance; and Baxter remarks that he 'would rather be the author of books to be carried in pedlars' packs to the poor man's door, than of books to stand in golden libraries.'

The revival of colportage on the continent of Europe is associated with one of the most interesting events in the religious history of the present century, viz., the formation of the Free Church of Geneva. The evangelization of France was a subject of the deepest interest to the devoted men who founded this church; and we believe we are correct in ascribing to their zeal the first re-employment of colporteurs in that country and Switzerland. The first employed was a Frenchman, named Ladam, who had served under Napoleon. He began his work in 1820, being superintended by Henri Pyt, one of the ministers of the Free Church. At the third anniversary of this church there were eight colporteurs engaged in the work; and ere long so great was the success of their labours in France, that the British and Foreign Bible Society was led to introduce the system of colportage as a part of their machinery, and considerably more than 100 colporteurs are now engaged in the work throughout France. In fifteen years these men have circulated in that country nearly 1,700,000 copies, and in many cases the seed thus sown has awakened a desire for the pure ministry of the word, numerous Protestant

Protestant congregations having arisen which trace their origin to these humble labourers.

In Norway and Sweden, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, the same system of colportage has been carried out with similar results. Various societies supplement the labours of the Bible Society by employing colporteurs to circulate other books and tracts beside the Bible.

In Turkey, China, and India, colportage, although not yet carried out on a scale commensurate with the existing need, has proved itself the agency that prepares the way best for future missionaries.

'When, thirty years ago, American missionaries came to labour in various parts of the Turkish empire, they found that the Bible Society had been their pioneer, and, as they said, a right arm to them. "We trace this great work," Dr. Dwight adds, "directly and entirely to the circulation of the printed Scriptures. God blessed his own Word, and it prepared the way for the preached gospel. In many a town a single Bible commenced a most important work of God in the surrounding districts."'

Experienced missionaries point to colportage as the means best fitted to teach the people. We find the late lamented Weitbrecht, when speaking at a Bible meeting in Calcutta, suggesting 'the employment of colporteurs, to go somewhat on the plan of those in Europe, to distribute parts of Scripture to people who could read.' M'Leod Wylie, Esq., of Calcutta, mentions that the supply of missionaries to the Indian population is as yet only in the proportion of one man to every half million. And, we would ask, how can such destitution be met but by a well-organized system of colportage through native converts, which will involve less expense than any other aggressive evangelizing agency, and occupy the field till the Christian missionary can be sent?

In Africa Bishop Gobat, when seeking the evangelization of Abyssinia, sent eighteen camel-loads of Bibles to be circulated by the missionaries before they began to preach, which seed, 'I trusted,' adds the bishop, 'would not fail to develop itself for the regeneration of the country.' In Western and Southern Africa colportage has begun its work, and only needs further development. We doubt not that ere long Central Africa will have her Christian colporteur following in the track of the devoted missionary who has so successfully pioneered the way by his scientific and philanthropic researches.

In the islands of the South Seas, in Tasmania, Australia, and South America, colporteurs are labouring with great success, while in British North America we find the Bishop of Rupert's Land employing some of his converted Indians in the same work; but it is to the United States of America we wish especially to direct our readers' attention, as colportage in Great Britain, especially

in Scotland, owes its primary impulse to the same mind that originated the American enterprise.

'The history of colportage in America is recent, and deeply interesting. It had its origin in compassion for the destitute, and a conviction that more aggressive and comprehensive plans of evangelization than those in operation were imperiously demanded. It was at a juncture when the tide of emigration began to set strongly to American shores; when Romanism, throwing off its disguises, became bold and confident in its intrusions into educational and political affairs; when the Western territories were beginning to be filled by the overflowing of eastern and foreign states; when intelligent minds were boding evil from the increasing masses of the ignorant and vicious; and when the sources of corruption from a polluted press, and from imported infidelity and socialism, awakened just alarm, that the foundations of the colporteur enterprise were laid. God's hand was in it, indicating the period, preparing the public mind, raising up the agencies, and guiding the counsels of this movement for carrying the Gospel into "regions beyond" the scenes of its present triumphs.

'The American Tract Society, under whose auspices the system of colportage was introduced and applied to the American field, was founded in 1825. Its name, like that of the parent society in London, is expressive of a publishing institution, in distinction from a missionary society. In May, 1841, the society's Annual Report directed attention to the moral wastes of the West and South, and urged the importance of extending the circulation of its publications among the destitute. At the anniversary of the American Tract Society, Boston, the same month, one of the secretaries of the society at New York made a public appeal for well-qualified labourers to go to destitute places. Several persons responded to the appeal, of whom two young men were selected, one for Indiana, and the other for Kentucky. Soon others were raised up for needy parts of the country; and at the close of the year 11 colporteurs had been in commission; at the close of the next year, 23; during the succeeding year, 76; the next, 143; then, 175; the next, 267; and in the next, including theological students during vacations, the number increased to 397.

'As the practical results of the enterprise were developed it was seen to have an adaptation to the several classes of the heterogeneous population of America; and it was applied successively to the German, Irish, French, Welsh, and Norwegian emigrants; and more recently to the Spanish population in Mexico, and to the Germans in Canada. From the feeblest beginnings, colportage in America has become a movement of great interest, having wide-spread and important relations. In the year ending March 1st, 1858, 787 colporteurs were employed, 174 of whom were students engaged only for a brief period.

'These were distributed as follows, exclusive of the students we have named:—

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|---|---|
| In the Northern and Middle States . . . | 157 |
| In the Southern and South-Western States . | 293 |
| In the Western and North-Western States . . | 156 |
| In Canada and among the Indian tribes . . | 7 |

'Almost every state and territory has reaped some of its fruits within the year, of which abundant illustrations are found in the society's Annual Report and the monthly issues of the American "Messenger."'

It was in consequence of the great success that had attended colportage in America that the Rev. R. Cook, then one of the secretaries of the Religious Tract Society of New York (who had been privileged to originate the system in the United States), visited Great Britain in the hope that he might be the means of forming an association for extending such an agency throughout this country. At the time Mr. Cook visited Scotland the Committee of the Religious Tract Society of that country had been considering the means of counteracting two very serious evils which they found

found to exist throughout North Britain in common with other parts of the United Kingdom. These were, first, the circulation of an injurious periodical literature; and secondly, the extent to which masses of the people, especially in rural districts, had either never formed reading habits or entirely lapsed from them.

Mr. Cook's statements greatly interested the committee, and the experiment of employing a limited number of colporteurs was at once tried. It proved so successful that soon more labourers were sent into the field; and at the present moment there are 90 dispersed over Scotland, their united sales having now reached the large sum of 8,500*l*. The monthly sale of periodicals now exceeds 40,000, being nearly doubled since the last report. In Tillicoultry, a manufacturing district, the colporteur sells from 1,300 to 1,400 periodicals every month.

We give an extract or two from the journals of Scotch colporteurs, as they afford a vivid picture of the benefit conferred by their labours:—

'I have now been two years a colporteur in this agricultural district, and I see the greatest change in it since I began my labours. At first, the farmers and servants, and the people generally, seemed to read nothing, except a newspaper sometimes; and they took no interest in my work, and few would look at my books. Now there is scarcely a house in which I do not make sales, and almost all the farmers and their hinds take periodicals from me. Indeed, the servants have become so fond of reading, that when there are eight or ten of them on a farm, they all agree to take different periodicals, that they may be able to lend to one another. Since I began my labours I have had many proofs of the value of the aggressive system followed by the agents of your society. I am convinced that in ninety-nine cases out of the hundred the books purchased from me would never have got into the hands of their present possessors unless carried into their houses. They would never have thought of entering a bookseller's shop, even although they passed one, much less would they have gone out of their way to seek it. When I came here I got from my predecessor a list of one hundred subscribers to periodicals. There are now about six hundred, and I expect them still to increase.'

In Ireland a great and pressing necessity exists for a well-organized system of colportage. In the scanty library of the Irish peasant are found books that embody disaffection and religious hate to a degree that would astonish those who have never sought to find in the literature of the common people the key to such a baneful influence. Nugent's 'Moore's Almanac,' which is largely sold among the peasantry, contains such predictions of coming events as the following:—'1858, January. Aries, in trine to Cancer, shows America prepared to slip the leash and let loose the dogs of war, while savage John Bull, shivering in the Indies, drops a prophetic tear for the loss of his foreign possessions. Verily thou art a beaten beast, John. The day is at hand when the nations shall tread thee under foot as a social, political, and irreligious nuisance.'

There were, till very recently, 73 towns in Ireland, the population of each being 2,000,

shop. The Report of the Pure Literature Society for 1860 mentions one case, that of Newbridge, a cavalry and artillery garrison, having within two miles of it the Curragh camp, with sometimes 10,000 men in the field, and yet in the entire district not a place where a religious work or publication of any kind can be purchased. As an appeal is made in the Report for funds to establish a central colportage agency at Newbridge for the adjacent districts, we hope something has ere this been done to remedy so lamentable a state of things.

In England at different times efforts have been made by private persons to employ colportage, and a number of independent societies have arisen, many of which are now formed into an association called the Church of England Book-hawking Union, under the patronage of His Royal Highness Prince Albert. A wide interest has been created on the subject, and large sums have been subscribed, to carry out the important object of supplying the people with a healthy literature. Many valuable publications are thus scattered over the country, and the visits of the book-hawker are eagerly welcomed. Upwards of sixty book-hawking associations now exist, and there are few counties in England in which the system is not in operation.

'It is pleasant to see in the Reports the long list of villages that receive the visits of the book-hawker, and it is evident from the results of their labours that in many cases a taste for reading, and a desire to possess books, have been created. Thus we find in the journal of a hawker who traverses a county well known for the former ignorance of its labourers: "Sold Bibles and Prayer-Books to the amount of fourteen shillings in one small hop garden." "As I was passing through E—— a second time several people, seeing the cart, ran after me, and in a few minutes I sold eleven Bibles and a few small books.'

'A society in the Eastern counties, employing one hawker, sold during the year to the amount of 310*l.*; another in the south, 350*l.* The largest association, employing five hawkers and an assistant, sold nearly 855*l.* worth. In one district, where the work is carried on by an individual clergyman, employing one hawker, books and prints were sold last year to the amount of 500*l.* A hawker in the north sold weekly to the amount of 4*l.* 9*s.*, almost entirely among the colliers.'

In addition to the large number of secular works sold, the sale of Bibles and Testaments has been great. The County Association, which employs six men, sold in one year 2,500 Bibles and Testaments, and nearly 3,000 Prayer-Books and Church Services. Large numbers of prints are sold: in some districts atlases and single maps. The book which has sold most largely throughout the kingdom, except Bibles and Prayer-Books, is Sir Joseph Paxton's 'Cottager's Calendar of Gardening Operations.' Periodicals are readily sold, but some of the hawkers do not supply them, as they do not pay monthly visits. The chief favourite of this class is 'The British Workman,' owing, in great measure, to the excellence of its illustrations.

The Christian Knowledge, Religious Tract, and other societies have come forward liberally to assist in this work, and most valuable

able aid has also been rendered by the Pure Literature Society, which first formed the medium of communication among the various managers of book-hawking associations, and drew public attention to the importance of their work. Those who were present at the first meeting of the Book-hawking Union in England 'began by considering the movement to be principally an educational one, not simply a religious one;' and in this point of view the labours of these societies have been most valuable.

But while the labours of the book-hawker or colporteur are thus important in the diffusion of useful knowledge, we consider the highest value of colportage as an aggressive agency suited to the need of our population is only realized to its full extent when viewed in its bearing upon the great work of evangelization. To popularize scientific and general information may well be included in colportage, but the paramount importance of the religious element should never be overlooked if we desire to insure the greatest amount of possible good from our undertaking; and none, therefore, but truly Christian men should be engaged in this work, —men, it may be, of humble talents and acquirements, but whose hearts are warm with love to God, and who seek the spiritual well-being of those less informed than themselves in the things of the Gospel.

In the history of colportage, from which we have just quoted, it is observed:—

'The relations of colportage to the civil and educational institutions of our country are more intimate and important than would appear at first sight. The very foundation and groundwork of British freedom are the virtue and intelligence of the people—the entire people. But this presupposes the active use of means for the cultivation of the intellect and conscience, not among a moiety of the people only, but among the masses. The school, and the pulpit, and the Christian press, and active Christianity, are as necessary to the being, and the well-being of Great Britain, as a standing army is indispensable to a despotism. In such a light, an enterprise as free as our political institutions, which contemplates, and is actually realizing as it advances, the carrying of some of the most potent means of intellectual and moral improvement to every habitation in every district it reaches, cannot but be regarded with interest, simply as a patriotic movement. It goes to the masses with pages of truth and words of love. It furnishes reading for the million, suited to elevate the taste, improve the morals, cultivate the intellect, educate the conscience, and, by God's grace, convert the soul. It serves to check sectional animosities, by the kindly intercourse of labourers who come from widely distant counties. It gives an impulse to primary education, much needed in the present transition state of our population from an uneducated to an educated one, spreading abroad among the ignorant and the destitute the means of knowledge, and prompting to effort, that they may be made available. A lesson of vast moment is taught respecting the value of religious knowledge as the basis of free institutions by the throes of France in her attempts to secure the blessings of freedom. Does not every friend of freedom tremble at every attempt at self-government in a country where the family, the Bible, the school, the Sabbath, the pulpit, and the Christian press have so little power? But what France is we may become, by the neglect of those agencies which have made us what we are, or by overlooking the necessity and the means of making them co-extensive with our increasing population. When all the people of this great nation are furnished with the means of education and salvation, then, and not till then, may

we safely raise our song of triumph, as dynasties and despotisms, which have encumbered and oppressed the world for centuries, crumble and melt away.'

But there are other aspects in which we think the colportage enterprise eminently fitted to meet the emergencies of our country at the present moment. While we would earnestly contend that the religious element should be never lost sight of in this work, we are anxious to see colportage adapt itself to the varying phases of our civilization. It is a great mistake when Christian people refuse to recognize in the progress of the age a mighty power that may, and that should be made subservient to the highest interests of religion. We believe Christian men and women have grievously erred when they have thus acted. How slow have we been to realize the close connexion that exists between the moral and physical condition of our population!—and that the full truth is not yet apprehended, is shown in the indifference exhibited in many towns to sanitary improvement by men who if they were aware of all its bearings upon the religious and moral progress of our country, would be most anxious to promote it. The two greatest obstacles to the religious and social improvement of the people are acknowledged to be their sanitary condition and their habits of intemperance. It falls not within our province here to decide how far the one arises from the other, but this we believe, that sanitary reformers should always include temperance reform as an intrinsic part of their work; and we are assured both will be best promoted if we lead men as intelligent creatures to understand something of the organization of their outward frames, and the danger arising from infringement of the great Creator's laws for the health and happiness of his creatures.

The admirable publications of the Ladies' Sanitary Association, with the excellent temperance literature provided by the Scottish Temperance League, Alexander of Ipswich, and Tweedie of London, cannot be too widely circulated, and should find their place in the pack of every book-hawker and colporteur throughout our land.

Living as we do in a free country, where every great measure that passes into the law of our land must become so through the will of a free people, it is most important to do all in our power towards the creation of an enlightened public opinion, and the first step towards this is to scatter broadcast over the land a literature fitted in every respect to fulfil such an object. The great societies that act as the producers of popular literature have a wide field of usefulness open before them with regard to sanitary and temperance reforms, and we believe their efficiency will be increased a hundredfold if they hasten to occupy it.*

* We rejoice to know that the Religious Tract Society is contemplating the issue of a series of sanitary tracts, and we await with impatience the time when a temperance series will also proceed from their press.

Let it be remembered that the spread of education has entirely changed the mental characteristics of the working man of the present day. The age of stolid brute ignorance is past, except where some remains of it still linger in our agricultural districts. The mechanic or artisan, shrewd to discern his own interests, identifies them closely with the progress of the age; and if those who desire to influence him for good go to him with an enlightened perception of the physical evils from which he suffers, and of their remedy, his heart will be softened, and an entrance gained perchance for the gospel message when it would be otherwise rudely rebuffed.

In the 'Missing Link,' a record of the labours of the Female Mission, the work has owed much of its eminent success to the social improvements which have accompanied every step of its progress.

We believe that the introduction of the sanitary and temperance elements into all our existing societies and machinery for evangelization would be productive of the happiest results. The testimony of City missionaries is most striking on this point. They can place their hands on the two greatest obstacles to their success, which we have before named, and many of them have expressed to us their desire to add fresh power to their work by such means as we have described.

It will be obvious that there are many existing societies which more or less partake of the aggressive character of colportage, and of these, many, with slight modifications, might form part of a comprehensive scheme of catholic colportage for the whole of Great Britain. But the time is come when such an institution must take its place as the distributor of Christian and healthy literature, and which shall form a point of union for Christians of all denominations. Such an institution has just been started under the patronage of Lord Shaftesbury, chiefly by the munificence of one gentleman.

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ART. IV.—1. *Domestic Servants as they are and as they ought to be.* London: Tweedie.

2. *Why do the Servants of the Nineteenth Century dress as they do?* London: Wertheim and Macintosh.

3. *Industrial Training for Girls in Village Schools.* Edinburgh.

IN all states of civilized society there has probably been no subject more prolific of interest to housekeepers in general than the wrongs inflicted and the troubles sustained by the ill behaviour of domestic servants. For the last fifty years lamentations have been constantly repeated over their degeneracy in character and outward behaviour. Each generation is supposed to

to surpass its predecessors in the boldness of its offences. In our day the excitement produced by the misdemeanours of the existing race of dependents has reached a pitch of intensity which has rarely, if ever, been equalled. Good cooks are said to be almost extinct; nurses are 'never to be trusted;' housemaids are notoriously 'unfit for their position;' whilst all classes of servants show an objection to being 'improved,' and a 'contempt for political economy,' which is to be accounted for only on the hypothesis of their utter deterioration. Their self-sufficiency and impertinence are attributed by some employers to the insubordination and rank disobedience of the age. By others these faults are said to be a natural consequence of an ultra and elaborate style of education, which has unfitted them for performing their duties. Others, again, find the proximate cause of the supposed degeneracy in their inordinate love for gorgeous dress; and mournfully contrast the 'neat-handed Phillis' of 'auld lang syne' with that genus of flaunting female who adorns the streets of our metropolis on a Sunday.

On all sides the evil is admitted, and the folly is bewailed. The public is like a spoiled child, which always values what is beyond its reach, and cries for what it cannot get. Our ancestors did not spend their days in congratulating themselves on their great good luck in possessing such incomparable treasures as their 'Nannies' and 'Sallies.' But pathetic are the tones in which it is reported amongst us that the right-minded and conscientious handmaid of half a century ago has now become a sort of phœnix in town or village.

Without joining in these sweeping accusations, it must be evident to the most superficial observer that a great transition is gradually taking place in the conditions of English society; and that this change is partly to be attributed to the increased facilities for general education, to the growing love of locomotion and variety, and to a widely-diffused desire for superficial equality, it would indeed be useless to deny. English home life is not what it was a hundred years ago. The old traditions of the domestic sphere of woman's occupations have given way to a cry for emigration and intellectual rights. Mistresses are, in many cases, unable to superintend the machinery of their own households, whilst their inaptitude and neglect creates a spirit of 'uppishness' and carelessness amongst servants. Hence the domain of servants is rapidly becoming a 'separate state,' a 'kingdom within a kingdom,' with its own rules, its own prejudices, fashions, and niceties of etiquette. The levelling process which is imperceptibly going on in all classes of society is partly beneficial, though partly to be deplored. Few of us would wish to revive the ignorant dotage and blind degradation of our working classes a hundred years ago.

ago. The pauper humility of a model village under the old *régime* was a feeble compensation for the state of intellectual depression and brutish indifference which debased a large proportion of the serfs. In an age of rapid material advancement, when everything is estimated for its immediate money value, and when the poor are daily brought under new influences, we need not wonder if they adapt themselves somewhat strangely, at first, to the altered circumstances around them. The tendency of mankind is always to exaggerate; and the creature who first attempts to walk without leading-strings (in his effort to assert personal responsibility and free-will) is apt to tend a little to that democracy which M. de Tocqueville prophesies will be characteristic of the western world.

After all the change is effected by the boasted 'progress' of our age. A gross materialism valuing things for their outward utility, rather than for their intrinsic worth, is taking more and more the direction of humanity. Thus, in many cases, the social relation between master and servant resolves itself into a hard, calculating bargain, being open to the same opportunities for the exercise of fraud and cunning as any other money transaction. The country is growing richer day by day. The poorest peasants of our day dress as queens did formerly, and the commonest gardens contain the rare exotic. Hence the external and superficial barriers of distinction between superiors and inferiors are now easily broken down. In the upper and middle classes a degrading love for counterfeits and shams is fostering a spirit of extravagance and show. We try to appear what we are not, and our servants ape our manners in return. We forget that man is placed in this earth for ideal and transcendental objects superior to selfish progress and worldly aggrandisement. Our dependents copy us, and push forwards in the race. Their impatience of control is connected with love of change. Australia is the El Dorado where those who are affronted in England may 'live in clover;' whilst the ambition to rise, which is engendered by a rapid diffusion of knowledge, is calculated to cause dissatisfaction and to undermine the old-fashioned attachment which once existed between the employer and employed.

Under this state of things it is useless (however well intentioned) to endeavour to recall the old patriarchal type of unreasoning simplicity and obedience. Positive compulsion, and determined intolerance of non-essentials on the part of employers, are calculated to foster the evils they are intended to discourage.* Fussy interference about trifles, and undignified attempts to enforce

* One mistress makes an assertion which the history of mankind contradicts, 'Where no toleration is, there the thing must cease to be It is the toleration that their [illegible] with which keeps it up.'— *Why do the Servants [illegible] they do?* Wertheim and Macintosh.

[illegible] respect,

respect, are certain (if they do not altogether fail) to render the intercourse between master and servant artificial and constrained. Still more likely to increase the estrangement between the two classes is that spirit of careless *nonchalance* which is content to look upon servants as 'necessary evils,' or independent social contractors, who affect our happiness no further than as they discharge their special relative duties. The truest wisdom is probably to be found in a medium between these two extremes. The judicious philanthropist tries to catch the spirit of his age. He knows that it will seldom rest with him to give the first impulse to society, but rather to assist, and to guide it in all its strivings after improvement. Every age should have its salient points and its own individuality. We gain nothing when we attempt to revive by artificial means in the present a dead 'simulacrum' of a real and living past.

The servants of the nineteenth century are probably neither better nor worse than their predecessors. Their deterioration is rather relative than absolute; and the causes of that deterioration originate as much with those who rule as with those who serve. It is equally unfair to speak of servants as 'intolerable nuisances,' of whom sixty per cent. may be considered as belonging to the criminal class*, and who require to be governed by rigid discipline; or to make them figure as injured heroines in popular novels, who are 'crushed and worked far worse than African slaves.' In fact, they neither appeal to our pity nor arouse our indignation. But amidst the spread of education, and the rapid influx of new ideas, we cannot stifle the germs of individual character, nor prevent new wants from being felt, new thoughts and feelings from arising.

Every age has its peculiar selfishness—its special form of substituting the worship of the creature for that of the Creator. A subtle form of worldliness is the bane of our own. We are apt to sacrifice everything to a deceptive progress. We forget that there is an infinite disproportion between the real value of loving work and its vulgar market price. We allow ourselves to look upon our servants rather as useful machines than as immortal souls. We limit our charity too much to the tangible. If women had a full consciousness of what their 'spiritual agency' might be, they would not forget that the greatest good is accomplished often by insensible means, and the most important influences are those of which 'no human eye takes cognizance.' Neither of us possesses a life

* 'About sixty per cent. of the servants, in and out of place, would properly belong to the criminal class if their antecedents as well as their present doings were known. I believe I am understating the figures. Numbers of servants who are going on "swimmingly" in service at this day have previously lost their character, and others are going fast to ruin.'—*Domestic Servants: as they are, and as they ought to be.* W. Tweedie. Strand.

which

which belongs to himself alone, or for the right use of which he is not responsible to his dependents. The superior education of masters and mistresses should teach them to make allowance for the puerilities and foibles of those over whom they are placed. 'To honour all men,' it has been said, 'to acknowledge and perceive the common manhood in its essential oneness, is the special attribute of the Christian man.' But the selfish man who uses others as mere instruments to promote his private interests is the most 'cruel and daring dishonourer of humanity.'

Since, therefore, these lines are more likely to find their way into the hands of the employer than of the employed, their limited space may be most frugally occupied by a few practical suggestions on the *training* and *treatment* of the present class of domestic servants.

I. Any permanent improvement in the education and subsequent character of domestics must be effected by combined effort on the part of masters and mistresses. Human society can be no conspiracy divided against itself. A high class without duties has been likened to trees planted on precipices, from whose roots the earth must crumble. The kitchen conclave sits in judgment on the careless and indifferent master, forming shrewd hard estimates of his character in private. In households where the 'laissez-faire' (miscalled 'liberal') style of waste and extravagance is allowed for the sake of saving trouble, and where servants are demoralized by a manifest indifference as to their antecedents, the 'solidarity' of society is destroyed, and the policy of selfish isolations is abundantly revenged upon employers.* 'Reform,' says Carlyle, 'should begin at home. Once well at home it will radiate outwards, kindling ever more light.' In an age when we have so much sickly sentimentality and false benevolence, and when a show of religion and charity (if sneered at in men) is admired as amiable enthusiasm in women, there is the more need for an exact sifting of the motives of the inner life. The mistress who performs her home duties grudgingly, loathing them as tedious, or despising them as mean, and then rushes into district visiting and inundates the poor with sermons and tracts, is 'paying tithe of mint and anise, and neglecting common righteousness and mercy.' To begin, then, at the root of the matter, we must work *downwards* as well as *upwards*, and any improvement in the system of training girls for service is likely to prove ineffectual if unaccompanied by some change in the education and habits of

* 'The fashion which is now becoming prevalent of allowing written testimonials to fall into disuse, and of filling up vacancies at a short notice, is relieving ill-conducted servants from the only penalty which employers can impose, and discouraging the faithful and painstaking by diminishing the value which attaches to character earned by well-tried service.'—*Report of the Annual Conference of the Church of England Clerical and Lay Association.* June 5th, 1860.

mistresses. The finished boarding-school miss is accustomed to 'exercise herself' on the piano for so many hours daily, to talk a smattering of foreign languages for which she may often have no use in after life, and to daub with Windsor and Newton's paints, whether or no she have an eye for colour; but a thorough knowledge of the English tongue, or that permanent cultivation of the mind which may render her independent of external circumstances, and that knowledge of domestic detail which would enable her to live happily on the limited income now so often allotted to the wives of professional men, is, in many cases, utterly neglected. A healthy reaction is gradually taking place in these matters, and it is probable that the social training of the future generation may prove that accomplishments are not necessarily incompatible with common sense. But here, as in all changes, we should guard against extremes. To command, an officer must 'know the discipline of the ranks,' but is not required to do the work of the soldier. Manual labour is not necessarily implied. We do not wish to see the dignity of our English dames degraded, like that of the trans-Atlantic belle, who scampers with scorched cheeks from the kitchen fire to change her greasy costume, and meet the company at dinner. As in the apostolic days the duty of the married woman is to 'guide the house,' and to set the machinery going: while the destiny of each servant is to perform her allotted task, and to work in her own sphere.*

This leads us to observe one of the radical defects in the present education of servants. The universal sciolism of our days has apparently infected servants, who try their hands at everything in turn. Hence we are no longer served by cooks and housemaids as such (as our grandmothers were), but by erratic geniuses, who change their colours like chameleons every few years. This evil partly results from the improvident habit of parents, who send children to service too early, before they are properly qualified to undertake their duties. It cannot be denied that the late enthusiastic movement about education has in many cases tended to unfit the children of the working classes for the position which they are intended to occupy through life.† We seldom obtain unmixed good from any new experiment, and often require to correct our past mistakes by new experience. By the high standard of learning which has hitherto been attempted in the government schools, clever shop-girls have been trained, but little

* For some excellent remarks on these respective duties the reader may be referred to Mrs. Bayly's useful little work entitled 'Ragged Homes, and how to mend them.'

† The artificial life too often led within public schools, and the want of practical experience which intercourse with the world promotes, is likely to unfit young women for their entrance into society. See 'Report of Annual Conference.'

has

has been done to educate gentle, ready-handed, ready-witted home companions. It is now universally acknowledged that the best education is that which teaches each class to perform its duty in its own state of life. The practical should be combined with the theoretical. Training should accompany teaching, and, if possible, the formation of habits should take place with the inculcation of rules. A letter addressed to the editor of one of the London papers, and now reprinted for private circulation, proposes an excellent plan for the combination of industrial training with the ordinary education of a village school.* In the school which is cited as an example, a wash-house, drying-closet, laundry and culinary department, were added from time to time with but little extra expense. The pupil-teachers were first initiated into the mysteries of household work, and as soon as they were competent to impart what they had learned, volunteers were gradually enlisted from amongst the scholars for training in rotation. Such a system, if carried out on a more extended scale, would be likely to insure the foundation of industrious habits at the most important period of life. By regularity and method the habits of obedience and industry may become spontaneous and almost automatic. Training institutions for all classes of servants (according to M. Soyer's suggestion) might be found advantageous throughout the kingdom. For the practical teaching of the principles of economic science, the school of cookery (90, Albany Street, Regent's Park,) already offers important facilities. In all cases it would be better if each girl could be persuaded to concentrate her energies upon one particular branch of work, and t choose it for her profession in after life. No compulsion should be exercised, but the worker should be incited, for her own sake, to bend all her strength upon doing the duty which lies before her; knowing that her success in after life will depend upon her own industry. A certain amount of knowledge of the simple laws of health which regulate the body should be considered as indispensable to the training of each nurse. Training institutions for mothers of servants have also been suggested as advisable.†

The same system of instruction should be carried out in the workhouses and refuges for the neglected children of the poor. It has been said that training can effect little when the evil inherited would take 'three or four generations to eradicate,' and where

* 'On Industrial Training for Girls in Village Schools.' Edinburgh. 1848.

† A few of the servants' schools (enumerated by Mr. Baylis) may be mentioned here: Institution for Training Female Servants, 1, Bedford Buildings, Acre Lane, Clapham; St. John's Servants' School, 22, Ormond Street, London; 22, College Road, Brighton; The Industrial Female School, Mare Street, Hackney; Orphan Working School, Haverstock Hill; Hans Town School of Industry, 103, Sloane Street, Chelsea. '*Law between Master and Servant.*' By a Barrister.

children

children learn from their birth to 'understand instinctively all deceit.' But it is manifestly cruel and unjust to allow the homeless children of our land to grow up uninstructed in the duties of civil life, and yet to consider them as amenable to the laws of the state; for the 'assumption of power by a moral agent' implies a corresponding amount of 'responsibility in that agent.' The duty of enforcing education, or of supplying it *in loco parentis* to such neglected ones will probably be recognized some future day. Till then young women in the middle classes who have had the advantage of acquiring domestic knowledge might save a large expenditure by having such children under their perfect control to train in their own methods.

II. A few words on the everyday treatment of domestics. First, as to the spirit of that treatment. If it be admitted that the root of oppression and slavery existed in all society previous to the Christian era, yet the kindliness of the Christian faith over that of every other system of belief has since been so abundantly proved that it may be argued there is no need to appeal to Christian householders to remember those who 'mix with them in the commonest details of life.' It might be so if perfect circumstances existed to make perfect men; but under the present state of things the best of us are often startled and appalled by the discovery of a ridiculous disproportion between our conduct and our principles. More than two hundred years ago Sir Thomas Browne wrote: 'Could the world unite in the practise of that despised train of virtues which the divine ethicks of our Saviour hath inculcated upon us, Eden would be yet to be found, and the angels might look down not with pity but joy upon us.' And in our own day Mr. Mill does not hesitate to declare that the maxims and precepts of the New Testament have no hold on the ordinary believer, and that not one Christian in a thousand tests his individual conduct by a reference to its laws. However sweeping such a condemnation may be, it is well worthy our serious consideration that the Church of Christ honours all men as equal in one sense, 'not by confounding the ranks of society, but by raising the manhood in each of us to its true worthiness.' Thus, if we guided our conduct directly by a reference to this principle, many a servant would be esteemed as 'above a servant,' his degree, though low, being raised from contempt. 'Some,' said a quaint old writer, 'stand higher in God's, and some in the censor's book: this may make some equitable balance in the inequalities of the world.' But supposing this argument to have no power in our minds, we should still treat our inferiors with kindness and consideration on the grounds of common expediency. Just as there is no such thing as a particle of waste in the material world, *so love and* benevolence are never so valueless that they do not

scatter rich seed. It paralyzes the affections to meet daily with persons with whom we have no common bond of sympathy. An all-pervading spirit of charity is the only cure for that involuntary cruelty which makes us turn with aversion from the ill-favoured, or with fastidiousness from the unrefined. There is a fashionable cry in our day for some great work to do, and some noble task to accomplish; yet while we nurse our slothful wishes in luxurious ease, we neglect the opportunities which lie close about our feet. He has not lived in vain who has done his utmost to lighten the burden of suffering for every one with whom he has come in contact. As to the *details* of our treatment of servants, the world must be bewildered already by the numerous treatises which have been written on the subject. Our fair readers have but to step to their booksellers', to order 'Household Hints' by experienced widows, 'Notes' by practical mistresses, books for 'Young Wives' edited by clergymen, and other literature of the kind to their hearts' desire. We have too much respect for these writers to infringe upon their didactic domain; and after all it must be remembered that human right and wrong are relative to peculiar circumstances. 'Toutes les bonnes maximes sont dans le monde; on ne manque qu'à les appliquer.' As supplemental, however, to these numerous rules, or as a means for putting them into practice, it may be as well to subdivide them into three leading classes. Let us call them plans for the *bodily*, *mental*, and *spiritual* improvement of our servants. 1. Great need is there for attention to the hygienic treatment of domestics. A large number of servants suffer most materially in their health by not being permitted to take adequate out-of-door exercise. Medical men are often consulted by women who are labouring under poorness of blood, physical torpor, and mental depression—these evils being clearly attributable to a systematic violation of the common laws of health-economy. In a large number of houses, even of the better sort, the kitchens are dark and often damp; while the bedrooms allotted to dependents are small and ill-ventilated. In summer the kitchen is a place frightfully and intolerably hot; in winter the scullery, larder, and other offices are keenly and intolerably cold. A person's constitution must be strong indeed to bear these vicissitudes with impunity. The tie which unites masters and servants would be infinitely strengthened by some kind attention being shown in these matters. Bodily energy would be renewed by half an hour's daily recreation, and the disposition would be more ready and eager for work. There are few houses in which some arrangements could not be made to allow each servant to have a share of out-door exercise at least every other day. It is often only thoughtlessness amongst the heads of families which prevents this privilege from being conceded. It is by no means

an uncommon thing in private families for a domestic to be permitted to go out only on a Sunday, and then sometimes not beyond her church; and in hotels and other places of public resort several weeks elapse without some of the dependents seeing grass or trees.* Overwork is as injurious as unhealthy work. On strict grounds of moral, if not of religious, justice a seventh part of a man's time should be looked upon as legally his own. A cold dinner and quietness on a Sunday should be considered as imperatively necessary. Regular hours are for employers as well as for the employed. The mistress who lies in bed to breakfast, and overtaxes the failing strength of a sickly servant, is guilty of the grossest inhumanity. It is impossible to ignore the well-established facts of physiology. Ill health must certainly ensue when the laws of the body are violated. Disease sets in and sometimes fever (it is a significant fact that this complaint is common amongst servants), and an unfortunate girl is sometimes discharged sick and alone in a vast city, or left to charity for support. Well may Mrs. Browning exclaim—

> 'I think it frets the saints in heaven to see
> How many desolate creatures on the earth
> Have learned the simple dues of fellowship
> And human comfort in a hospital!'

2. The moral and mental improvement of servants is to be effected by raising them above mere animal tastes and enjoyments, and supplying them with healthy recreation. Employers should endeavour to give beauty as well as strength to their government, to throw life into method, and to ease the uniformity of a servant's existence. Apparent trifles may often exercise an important influence over the happiness of others.

> 'Ce peu de chose est ce que, pour sa part,
> Dans l'univers chacun cherche et désire—
> Un mot, un nom un peu d'or, un regard,
> Un sourire.'

Goodness admits of 'no excess but error.' The employer who from a mistaken idea of generosity wounds his own conscience by withholding the truth in giving a character is guilty of a betrayal of trust. But to economize by pinching inferiors, to be unpunctual in the payment of wages, or to give a hasty dismissal from irritability of temper, is to commit a criminal injustice. Then the exclusively culinary character of the downstairs department might be modified and enlivened by the establishment of a kitchen library, consisting of a judicious selection of books, or by the introduction of a weekly newspaper or popular periodical. No reasonable mistress should grudge the time thus spared from toil.

* The physical and moral condition of servants in many of the large hotels is often most deplorable. They are rarely allowed to go out, in many cases never enter a church, and have insufficient time for cleanliness and sleep.

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The wheels of labour would revolve with more ease and less creaking if oiled with the harmless pleasantness of story, proverb, or fable. It is a positive duty to impart to others a little of the information we ourselves possess. Our heads should not be 'graves but treasuries' of knowledge. Servants should be treated also with genuine sincerity, and such a degree of confidence as is distinct from that careless indifference which places temptations in the way of the weak. Tradesmen's books and weekly accounts should be openly and regularly inspected by the mistress as a guarantee of good faith; without multiplying those incessant inquiries, and without yielding to that coarse mistrust which wounds the feelings and demoralizes the characters of dependents. Perchance the most Utopian of reformers can never hope to recall the 'merrie' days when King Alfred left gold bracelets on the broad highway; but it is better to err on the side of trust than of defiance. The pupils of Dr. Arnold were ashamed to tell him a lie. There is an old Italian proverb to the effect that 'suspicion releases faith.' Once have recourse to cunning policy, and many are the crooked ways in which we may be outwitted by adepts in the game. Far better is it, even for the sake of our own souls, to deal so plainly with every fellow-creature that he shall feel himself constrained into truth. Much is said now of the terrible and wide-spread depravity amongst domestics. But let employers remember that goodness is rather positive than negative, and that evil is best overcome by the opposition of a counteracting force. You suspect Betty of creeping out to balls at public-houses, and of meeting her 'young man' round the corner. Give her a little quiet recreation at home (even an occasional servants' party, under your own superintendence, can do no harm), and let her future husband be invited to tea about once a fortnight. You live in terror lest your cook should have a fearful propensity to frequent 'marine stores,' and lest your maid should make 'white rags' of all your under garments. Let a proper arrangement be made when a new servant is engaged. Give the dripping and kitchen waste to the destitute poor, and clothe the naked with your left-off raiment; whilst in consequence of the deficiency of perquisites both cook and lady's-maid should receive a little extra pay.

It is too often forgotten that the voluntary compact between master and servant can only justify a reasonable use of authority. Some persons must be always governing. They multiply rules and invent supplementary decalogues, till the servant, driven backwards and forwards, is bewildered and confused. Much needless pain is often given by noticing defects in dress and conduct in a harsh and dictatorial way. We should treat the source of the disease rather than its symptoms. When the evil itself has abated, the outward signs of it will disappear. Many a servant has been

encouraged in temperance by the weekly present of the worth of her beer in money who could never have been forced to take the pledge.* Many a spendthrift has been made provident by being taught that the old must be supported by foregone labour, and that his future happiness depends on the prudent consumption of his wages, who would have been jealous of any attempt to interfere with the just product of his industry. Perhaps many a young girl has first learnt to connect the the idea of shame with an honest love through the indiscriminate application of the rule, 'followers forbidden.' We seldom endanger morality more seriously than when we raise false standards of propriety and right. It often happens that the foolish kitchen-maid admires and loves the mistress whose tawdry finery she imitates by making herself a bedecked 'rag-fair;' but this is many degrees better than engendering envious hatred by making crinoline a badge of caste.

3. A few concluding lines may suffice to remind the reader that the judicious moral treatment of domestics implies a corresponding attention to their eternal interests. This is a matter which must be left to each individual conscience. Few of us have so narrow an idea of charity as to limit it to the tangible, for we all know that 'there are infirmities not only of the body but of the soul, which require the merciful hand of our abilities.' Religion in the Christian family should be like a 'life-element,' which does not imply much talk or outward show, but is the all-pervading atmosphere of the quiet home. It requires rare tact to edify without preaching, to influence without inspiring a feeling of inferiority, to be solemn without gloom, and enthusiastic without fanaticism. But in sacred things feeling is a means and not an end. Every act of ours has a 'moral complexion,' and many an ignorant servant will accept the life of his inconsistent employer as a 'translation' of that Christianity which may be to him as an unknown tongue. Good men are often singularly unwise when they intend to do their best. 'Some,' says an American writer, 'carry religion as churches do bells, high up in the belfry, to ring only on sacred occasions;' others keep it for a particular day, and when religion gets out of Sundays 'it is hunted and pelted with stones, like a wolf escaped from a menagerie;' and others would make it a badge of respectability, and while they are ashamed to lift up their eyes unto heaven, they yet manage to look down on their fellow-men. These are not the ways in which to influence our dependents. Neither should we attempt to impose a dogmatic faith upon others, for belief must be the fruit of conviction, and that can be worth nothing which is accepted as an official yoke emanating from an exterior authority. Neither should we show a spirit of partisanship,

* The drunkenness of farm-servants might be abated by the establishment of cafés or of reading-rooms for working men.

and influence our servants to act against their consciences. He who does so may secure another name for his particular sect, but runs the risk of 'injuring a brother's soul.' All this requires the wisdom from above. It is very easy to talk in biblical phraseology, or to adopt an insipid sentimentality, but these are the 'counterfeits for the true thing.'

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ART. V.—1. *Hansard's Debates.* 1839.
2. *Address of Lord Brougham at the Annual Meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, held at Bradford.* 1859.
3. *The same at Glasgow.* 1860.

NO living man has filled so large a space in the public eye as Lord Brougham. Others almost as far advanced in life as he still excite the admiration and wonder of their countrymen by the clearness of their faculties and the daring of their eloquence. Lyndhurst, a yet older man, still occasionally rises among the peers; and Palmerston, with the weight of nearly fourscore years upon his head, leads the House of Commons with too much spirit and jocosity. But there is none whose career has displayed so brilliant a success—personal, professional, political—as that of Brougham. Ever since the year 1810, when Henry Brougham entered the British House of Commons as member for Camelford on the nomination of the Earl of Darlington, until now, a period of half a century, his name has been a household word, and his well-known form the foremost in the line upon which the watchful attention of the country has been fixed.

It is not often that professional and parliamentary success are united in the same individual. The most successful advocates at the bar, it is very commonly said, fail in impressing the House of Commons, and rarely are heard except upon legal topics. This is not to be wondered at. The absorbing nature of a successful professional life is unfavourable to the close study of general politics; while the habits of thought and research engendered by constant *ex-parte* advocacy, and by an unusual enhancement of technical and narrow detail, seldom permit the expansion of sympathy and zeal necessary for the parliamentary debater.

But Brougham, in the midst of his enormous business as counsel, was the most popular and effective leader in St. Stephen's. The restless activity of his mind could not be trammelled; and he plunged into the conflicts of party and the agitation of great questions with a heat almost amounting to fierceness.

But the most remarkable characteristic of Brougham's life has been

been the fidelity with which his convictions have clung to questions of social rather than political progress. His full share of purely party debate was no doubt assumed; but it will be mainly with the history of social freedom that his name will be associated. Slavery found in him its most withering denouncer—education and legal reform their warmest friend; and it is as an appropriate culmination of a long career, and not as the result of a restless search after public occupation and applause, that we find him the controlling and impelling spirit of the old movement with a new name, 'Social Science.'

We have nothing to add to the sum of popular knowledge of Lord Brougham's biography.

It must suffice to remind our readers of the principal facts in connection with his long and useful life.

The De Broughams, it is said, were possessed of the manor of De Brougham, where Brougham Hall now stands, as early as the days of Edward the Confessor. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, one of the family married a 'fair Miss Slee, daughter of Mr. Slee, of Carlisle, a jovial gentleman of three hundred a year,' and thus associated the name with that of another old family. In 1777 the then representative of the family, Henry Brougham, married Eleanor Syme, a niece of Dr. Robertson, the historian; and of this marriage, in 1779, was born Henry Brougham, afterwards Lord Brougham and Vaux and Lord High Chancellor of England. His motto, discovered by the heralds to be the ancient one of his house, is 'Pro rege, lege, grege,' and his crest, a hand and arm in armour holding a luce, argent; on the elbow a rose gules.

Educated at first in the High School of Edinburgh, in which city he was born, he entered the University at fifteen, and at the age of little more than sixteen was busily engaged in a Latin correspondence with philosophers of European reputation upon some scientific questions he had raised in influential quarters.

After a short foreign tour he was called to the Scottish bar, but soon found that his abilities had but little scope, and at once decided on settling in England—entered at Lincoln's Inn, and assumed the position of an English barrister.

The establishment of the 'Edinburgh Review' prior to his departure from Scotland afforded further opportunity for his speculative pen, and associated him with other ardent and intellectual confederates. At first, fears were entertained of his 'indiscretion and rashness,' but after the third number Brougham did more work than anybody for the 'Review.'

In 1810, Mr. Brougham was heard at the bar of the House of Lords for two consecutive days as counsel for certain London, Liverpool, and Manchester merchants against the celebrated

Orders in Council, issued in retaliation of Napoleon's Berlin and Milan decrees. While the Emperor of the French absurdly prohibited the Continent from any commercial intercourse with England, the British minister, with equal disregard of international law, declared all the coasts of France, and of every country under Buonaparte's control, to be in a state of permanent blockade, and empowered British cruisers to seize neutral vessels attempting to enter any of the ports.

Of course it was well known that no blockade is recognized by the law of nations, except a real efficient one, enforced by a sufficient number of vessels. Mere paper decrees are utterly worthless. But the result of these proceedings was not only injustice to neutrals, but a very angry spirit abroad, ultimately finding vent in a purposeless and guilty war with America and wide-spread distress at home. Having, as we have before mentioned, entered into Parliament in this year, Mr. Brougham mainly contributed to the rescission of these orders.

Until the dissolution, in 1812, Mr. Brougham's parliamentary efforts were chiefly confined to the Anti-Slavery question, upon which he early associated himself with Clarkson and Wilberforce. In 1811, mainly through his exertions, it was made felony for any British subject to engage in the slave traffic—the first great triumph he achieved, and one to which even yet Lord Brougham feels pride in referring.

In 1812, upon the dissolution of Parliament, Mr. Brougham contested Liverpool against Mr. Canning, but was defeated by a large majority, and did not obtain a seat until 1816, when he came in for Winchelsea a second time, on the nomination of the Earl of Darlington. As we run through the debates, from this time onward, we find Mr. Brougham resisting the most obnoxious of the Six Acts, endeavouring to expose and correct the flagrant abuses which had crept into the numerous educational and other corporation charities of England, introducing a bill to promote public school instruction, labouring zealously for Catholic emancipation, incessant in appeals on behalf of the slave, and terrible in his denunciation of tyranny and oppression.

His defence of the Queen upon the proceedings in support of the Bill of Pains and Penalties, although rather a professional than political display, was an opportunity which rarely occurs, and which a man of the calibre of Mr. Brougham was not likely to allow to escape. When, after an excited nation had been stirred to frenzy by the course of the trial, and the passing through the Lords by a majority of the second reading of the bill, the measure was ultimately abandoned, the reaction of exultation was overwhelming, and Mr. Brougham was a power in the State.

Until 1830 the parliamentary life of Mr. Brougham was one of brilliant

brilliant and useful exertion. He took a zealous and decided part in urging forward legal reforms; and although the tendency of his opinions was by no means democratic, he was regarded as the leader of the parliamentary reformers.

At last, after he had been elected member for Yorkshire, when, to use his own words, he had made his election between power and the people, came the crisis which carried Earl Grey into power, and made Henry Brougham Lord Chancellor.

'The thing which dazzled me most,' said his lordship, speaking from the woolsack in reply to a virulent attack made upon him by Mr. Croker in the House of Commons, 'the thing which dazzled me most in the prospect opened to me by the acceptance of office was not the gewgaw splendour of the place, but because it seemed to afford me—if I were honest, on which I could rely; if I were consistent, which I knew to be a matter of absolute necessity in my nature;—if I were able as I was honest and consistent—a field of more extended exertions. That by which the great seal dazzled my eyes, and induced me to quit a station which till that time I deemed the proudest which an Englishman could enjoy, was that it seemed to hold out to me the gratifying prospect that in serving my king I should better be able to serve my country.'

From this time until 1834, the individual action of Lord Brougham was absorbed in the responsibility of the ministry of which he was a member. Gradually the enthusiasm which had made the Government 'too strong' subsided, and a distrust and dislike, as unreasonable as the enthusiasm had been unreflecting, overgrew the popular mind. The excellent measures of the administration—the Slave Emancipation Act, the modification of the East India Company's charter, the bankruptcy reform of the Chancellor, the promise of a popular reconstruction of municipal corporations—all failed to win back the confidence of the people. The ministry fell unregretted, and the ex-Chancellor had to sustain a reverse of popularity, intensified and prolonged by the most unscrupulous and persistent slanders of the press.

Nor can we claim, for much of the subsequent career of Lord Brougham, any title to favour. We do not profess to be his panegyrists, and we cannot assent to many of his acts. But while it was naturally discovered that the convictions which would carry a statesman to the length of the Reform Bill fell far short of the popular expectation and belief after the bill was passed, no inconsistency can be charged on Lord Brougham. The mistake was in the people, whose imagination had supplied much which had always been wanting in Mr. Brougham's public expressions of opinion. But from time to time, for the last thirty years, and especially since a restoration to health has appeared to renew the youth of 'the old man eloquent,' Lord Brougham has left footprints in the legislation of the country which are those of a giant. Gradually, as party rancour has cooled, all the old affection for the name has revived, and the old age of Lord Brougham is gladdened by a popularity less boisterous than in his days of parliamentary triumph,

triumph, but not less enduring because more settled and respectful.

In the course of his lengthened public career, there have been few philanthropic movements which have not felt the impulse of Lord Brougham's powerful mind. The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, with its 'Penny Magazine,' was the pioneer of the immense flood of cheap literature which now pours in refreshing streams through the homes of the poorest of our population. Freedom of thought, freedom of action, freedom of person were all fundamental principles in his social creed. He could not be taunted with the ordinary cry of 'Charity begins at home.' At the same period of his life, when his winged words roused the entire nation to demand the total and immediate emancipation of the slave, he was devoting his most strenuous efforts to the promotion of parliamentary reform. And even now, in his ripe old age, the amount of varied power which he exhibits in dealing with the diverse questions submitted to the Association, which has absorbed his public life and energies, excites the wonder and envy of much younger men. Intimately conversant as he must have become with the obstacles which present themselves to the development of all social progress, it is not wonderful that intemperance and the trade in strong drink should have presented itself as a subject for his strongest animadversions.

Special attention has, no doubt, been drawn to his views in this matter by his emphatic remarks at the successive meetings of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science at Bradford and Glasgow. The following is that portion of his address delivered at the former place:—

'Of intemperance, the baneful effects need not be dwelt upon in detail. It is the smallest part of the evil, that at the very least ten times as much money is spent upon drink as upon publications of all kinds, newspapers included. The learned and enlightened Recorder of Birmingham makes this abundantly evident in his valuable charges to the Grand Jury. But the far worse effects of this propensity in producing disease both of body and mind, and in filling our jails with criminals and our workhouses with paupers, are so dreadful as loudly to call for the application of repressive measures. The connection of intoxication and of drunken habits with crime is demonstrated in the clearest manner. "Every one acquainted with criminal courts," says Mr. Hill, "must admit the truth of what our judges state day by day, and year after year, that by far the greater number of all offences have their origin in the love of drink." The chaplain of Preston House of Correction, Mr. Clay, a name never to be pronounced without the greatest respect for his truly virtuous and useful life, shows that in Lancashire the proportion of offences traced distinctly to this cause was about forty per cent. in years of full employment and good wages, having been only seventeen per cent. in the years of distress; and this difference manifestly arose from the facility of indulging dissipated propensities in prosperous times. In the United States, we find a judge of Maine, the strenuous adversary of absolute prohibition, yet urging the necessity of restrictions upon the sale of liquors. He declares that nine-tenths of all crimes attended with violence arise from intoxication. In another state, Rhode Island, sixty per cent. of all offences [illegible] to be caused by drunkenness, and twenty per cent. of insane [illegible] of those whose malady had this origin. That reprobate [illegible]

is difficult to deny; but if there are objections to these, chiefly
ic mind not being prepared for them, at least we can cease to
mperance by treating it as venial, and by suffering pernicious
continued apparently for its protection. *Not only do those greatly
e positively criminal who treat the subject lightly*; and yet more to
are those who regard intemperance as an extenuation of guilt, of
ther an aggravation. How much more criminal are persons in
sometimes so consider it in meting out the inflictions of the police,
penal law! *But those are not to be forgiven who indulge in light
which is the fruitful parent of the worst offences, even of murder itself.*
say, then, of customs being maintained directly promoting intem-
which have neither antiquity to plead in their defence, nor any
ever to require their continuance, nor even the fact of the univer-
in their favour? The existence of statute fairs is a disgrace to
is country. In some of the most extensive and populous counties
own, and not the slightest inconvenience is experienced from the
Wherever they are held, all the best authorities among the
d police officers are agreed in representing them as a great cause
, and every species of immoral indulgence. It may, however, well
that these measures being only in the nature of palliatives, the
hief must be attacked by more effectual operations; and it is
t that we must reckon education itself as among palliatives only.
o lessen criminal propensities by affording other occupations, as
engthening right principles to divert from criminal courses, is
. But there cannot be a greater fallacy than to set its effects in
es against that of intemperance in producing them; and it is a
cy, for men to rely upon the improvement in character and its
lling the passions as sufficient to counteract the direct tendency of
and then answer the call for repressive measures by bidding us
tion. The humanizing influence of instruction in preventing
led with violence is proverbial, and is admitted. We have a
tion from the proportion of crimes committed with violence pro-

successfully made, of dealing rigorously with the evil; and if the same preparation of the public mind which led to that experiment being tried and secured its success, takes place in other countries, the great example may then be followed safely and successfully. Then the philanthropist would no longer complain with the Recorder of Birmingham that, into whatever path of benevolence we may strike, the drink-demon starts up before him and blocks his way; or comparing what is cheerfully squandered upon the fuel of intemperance with what is grudgingly bestowed upon the means of mental improvement, lament to find tenfold the price of food to the mind paid for poison to the body; but would delight to hear our poor, reclaimed from the worst excesses, free from the yoke of the cruel, though perfidious tyrant, declare as they did to the American missionary, that the law must have come from heaven, for it was too good to be the work of man.'

As might be anticipated, such a decided tone provoked the instant animadversion of those organs of the press which represented the 'vested interests,' or which, really being profoundly ignorant of the subject, proceeded to write lightly and flippantly respecting it. In consequence, Lord Brougham further explained himself at a meeting in Accrington, but even yet more plainly at the next annual meeting of the association in Glasgow. His words at the latter place were—

'At our last congress great attention was given to the important subject of temperance, and especially to the necessity of preparing public opinion for those repressive measures which experience daily proves more and more clearly to be required for lessening the consumption of spirituous liquors. The great source of pauperism and of crimes has hitherto only been attacked by palliatives, and although these have had a certain success, yet if there be any means not exposed to serious objections by which the evil may be extirpated, the gain to society would be incalculable. No measure of absolute repression can, of course, be recommended until the public mind has been not only prepared, but strongly inclined for it. But the proposal of the Grand Alliance well deserves a careful consideration—the plan of enabling a certain proportion of the inhabitants in every district—a proportion considerably above the commercial majority—to give the magistrates authority for placing the district under a general repressive Act, passed with such modifications as, according to the Act's provisions, may be allowed in the peculiar local circumstances. A very extensive adhesion has been given to the proposal in the great districts of Manchester and Birmingham, and this, besides its intrinsic merits, will be quite sufficient to cause a searching examination by our departments, sanitary and of jurisprudence. That it deeply concerns both need not be added. But which of all our departments does it not most deeply concern? Remember the memorable expression of that great philanthropist, our eminent colleague, the Recorder of Birmingham—"Whatever step we take," says Mr. Hill, "and into whatever direction we may strike, the drink-demon starts up before us, and blocks the way."'

Some surprise has been expressed at these speeches by parties whose information as to Lord Brougham's temperance antecedents have been limited by the rumours popularly current. It may be interesting to our readers, and cannot but be useful to the cause of temperance and prohibition, to define his lordship's real position in past years, and to rescue his reputation from a great deal of unmerited reproach. There have been times when the virulence of partisans has carried opponents into the regions of calumny and slander. Even in the House of Lords personal accusations have been made against Lord Brougham which, it is hardly needful to say,

say, have been entirely false. Many of our readers will no doubt recollect the scene in which the Duke of Richmond thought it consistent with the dignity of the peers to accuse Lord Brougham of personal indulgences 'pottle deep,' provoking a retort from that noble lord, that 'alehouse slang' should be confined to its usual sphere. The Duke of Richmond uttered a calumny which had no foundation but the popular superstition that a successful lawyer must necessarily sustain his powers by fabulous imbibitions of port. To keep up the legal steam, Coke (!) and wine, rather than water, are supposed to be needful. But the most persistent misunderstanding of the public has been that which has associated the name of Lord Brougham with the Beer Bill of 1830, and has held his reputation responsible for its disasters. In 1839, when introducing a Bill into the House of Lords to *repeal* the Beer Bill, he himself referred to this charge.

'Some of his noble friends near him,' said the noble lord, 'had charged him with having changed his opinions upon that subject. These statements were not more true than many others which were made in respect to him; but the fact was quite the reverse. "How can you," said the letters he was receiving daily, "how can you be against the Beer Bill, who originally brought it in?" If he had brought it in, and found that he had been wrong, that would be a good reason why he should change his opinion. But it did so happen that he had not only not brought it in, but he had opposed it in every way he could. He brought in a Beer Bill, out of which originated the Committee which proposed and carried the late measure. But what was his proposition? That beer might be allowed to be sold, but not consumed, on the premises. . . . . His bills of 1822, 1823, and 1824 (for he had brought forward three) contained a clause prohibiting, under severe penalties, the consumption of beer on the premises. . . . . It was then said, Why support the bill of 1830, and suffer it to pass without opposition? He had yielded to the Report of the Committee, but he stated that his opinion remained unaltered—that, as they had fully considered and examined the question, they might take the weight and responsibility of the measure on themselves; it was their measure, not his—their bill, not his; and they would see how it would work in practice.'

The *prominence* lately given in Lord Brougham's speeches to the question of temperance is no more than an expression of his long-entertained sentiments of the absorbing importance of the question. In the year we have named, 1839, on the very day when Lord Brougham gave notice of his intention to bring forward a bill to repeal the Beer Bill, the announcement by Lord Melbourne, then Prime Minister, of the intention of the cabinet to resign, called forth from the noble lord the following memorable remarks:—

'My lords—After what has fallen from the noble lord, I shall postpone the second reading of the Beer Bill, although I consider that bill to be of more importance, as regards the public morals, than the resignation of any ministry. I do not apprehend that any legislature will be so wanting in a due regard to what I hold to be the highest functions of the legislature—namely, superintending the morals, the instruction, and the welfare of the people under their care—as to allow any mere party feeling, any temporary, and, it may be, only momentary gratification of those feelings to interfere with what I hold to be the highest duty of the senate in this country. My lords, I hold this bill, the repealing the Sale of Beer *Act*, to be of greater moment than any party question that can divide either House

House of Parliament; and I shall persist, whoever holds the office of minister of this country, in my endeavours to obtain the repeal of a measure which I believe to be permanently fraught with mischief to the character of the country.'

It is almost difficult to imagine how, in the face of emphatic declarations such as these, Lord Brougham's former position with reference to temperance legislation should have been so much misunderstood. It shows how unreliable are the general sources from which the public draws its information of the character of public men. Mr. Cobden remarks, in one of his political *brochures*, that the most authentic and interesting history of the nation would be found in Hansard's Debates. Certainly from no other volumes can so complete biographies be extracted; and we have sometimes thought it would be a pleasant task to trace the course of individual and national opinion through this channel alone. Doubtless many inconsistencies would be revealed. During a long public life a man of large and inquiring mind must necessarily add to his information and modify his conclusions: a great man cannot be a consistent man, if by consistency be meant a slavish adherence to a programme of details. But if by consistency be meant a firm and constant faith in great principles of social action, with a disregard of the modes or special circumstances under which it is sought to make those principles operative, a perusal of Hansard will save many reputations from undeserved reproach. Of the one type of consistency Lord Eldon was an example; of the other, Lord Brougham. The contrast between the characters of these two chancellors is eminently instructive. Eldon was the last hope of the party of solid resistance. Brougham, although by no means 'Radical,' the expectation of the advancing party of progress. One, all doubt and indecision where he was not obstinate; the other, brilliantly inconsistent, but full of high courage and self-confidence. The name of Eldon, saving only his legal fame, will be remembered for nothing but for the obstructive pertinacity of his Toryism; the name of Brougham will be associated with the cause of the freedom of man at home and abroad, with the spread of intelligence, and the progress of the human race.

The bill introduced by Lord Brougham for the repeal of the Beer Bill, though adopted by the Lords, was ultimately lost; but the debates upon it in the House of Lords present sufficiently remarkable features to justify some extracts. Portions of Lord Brougham's are as eloquent in invective as any of his most important efforts.

'With respect to the effects of beer-shops,' said he, 'upon the morals of the people, he was in possession of some of the most grievous and distressing facts. Hardly a petition came to him that was not accompanied by a letter, either from a magistrate, a grand-juror, an overseer, a high-constable, or a reverend clergyman, all stating facts similar to what he was about to detail, and they were only to be taken as a sample. . . . . Examples were given, too shocking for him to read to the House, of the most abhorrent cases of female prostitution, and of such pro-

fligacy and crapulous vice as he had never read or heard of before. . . . . To what good, or with what consistency, should the clergy occupy themselves in inculcating piety and morals on the Sunday and visiting their parishioners, in order to tend their flocks and keep them in the right path?—to what good was it, that the legislature should pass laws to punish crime, or that their lordships should occupy themselves in finding out modes of improving the morals of the people by giving them education?—what, in the name of Heaven, could be the use of all the education they could bestow,—what the use of sowing a little seed here, and plucking up a weed there, if these beer-shops were to be continued, that they might go on to sow the seeds, not of ignorance, but of that which was ten times worse—immorality broadcast over the land, germinating the most frightful produce that ever had been allowed to grow up in a civilized country, and, he was ashamed to add, under the fostering care of Parliament, and throwing baleful influences over the whole community.

'The Duke of Richmond supported the bill, saying, the beer-shops made the public-houses worse than they would otherwise be. The noble Marquis of Westminster wished gin-palaces destroyed. So did he, for he believed they were worse than beer-shops. He hated and detested them; and if he was in office, the first thing he would direct his attention to would be to correct that detestable evil. . . . . He believed that all the disgraceful riots and tumults that took place in Sussex in 1830 were caused by the beer-shops. It was the first year the beer-shops came into operation. It would be an act of favour to most of the beer-shop keepers to deprive them of their licenses, for theirs was a losing concern.

'The Marquis of Salisbury supported the second reading, wishing the beer-houses to be placed under the same restraint as public-houses.

'The Earl of Hardwicke complained of the manner in which convictions against beer-houses were treated. In many cases the magistrates were brought into the Queen's Bench, and actions brought against them for heavy damages. All that was so well understood, that convictions were at an end, and there was no control over the beer-houses as the law stood.

'Lord Wynford thought the evils of beer-shops were as great as had been described by his noble and learned friend in his eloquent speech; but the evils of beer-shops sank into insignificance when compared with those of gin-palaces. He hoped the Government would direct their attention to this very important subject.

'The Earl of Warwick supported the bill. The evidence of the demoralizing effect of the beer-shops in the county with which he was connected, was most extensive and authentic.

'The Earl of Harewood could bear testimony to this, that he had never heard anything from any human being but a complaint of these beer-shops, and more particularly in the neighbourhood of the large manufacturing towns, where scenes were going on, daily and nightly, which it was quite out of the power of the police and of the magistrate to control.'

On the third reading occurred a scene too characteristic to be omitted.

'Viscount Melbourne felt very much the great, the paramount importance of the question, and he was compelled to admit the evils of the present measure. But after all they could do, there would be scenes of disorder in such places. This arose from the nature of the case. Crimes ever would be planned and brought to maturity in those places; but this was because they were places of meeting, not because liquor was sold there (!) Where were thieves to meet? They must meet somewhere to concoct their plans, and the most convenient places were houses of this description. . . . Do what their lordships would, legislate as they would, these things in these places would always subsist; no changes which might be made could alter the nature of the thing. . . . From all he could learn, and he had spoken with persons who had made careful inquiry, there was not one man in the House of Commons in favour of the bill. This was altogether a subject of the greatest importance, which well deserved the care and attention of Parliament, upon which they should well consider what steps should be taken, and whether they ought not to establish one uniform system of legislation, Their

Their lordships might depend on it, that the real cure for the evils of disorder and irregularity in the administration of such laws as beer-laws, was to arm the magistracy with greater power for enforcing the due observance of those laws. Very strange prejudices were afloat upon this subject; it was supposed to be connected with the liberty and constitution of the country. He never could understand what connection there could be between liberty and licentious men, between liberty and impunity for crime. He had always understood that liberty was best secured by a regular and firm administration of the law; and in his conscience, he thought that was one of the great objects to which the attention of Parliament and the country should be directed. But it did not appear to him that it would be wise or prudent, even for the objects their lordships had in view, to pass this bill.

'Lord Brougham, in his reply, adverted to the thin attendance in the House, and the absence of the bishops—only two of whom were in their places. He was sorry to see, from the aspect of the House, that the present critical hour had had the effect of sadly thinning their lordships' numbers. Their lordships liked the Beer Bill little, but they liked remaining in the House after half-past 7 o'clock less. Their lordships liked to see a good state of morality in the country—the tranquil order of society they dearly loved—it was the very apple of their eye; but there was another affection operating upon certain delicate organs in the constitution of noble lords, still more intimately than those connected with the peace, order, and purity of society, and reminding them of what had been called the most important event of existence—that of dinner. . . . There is hardly a bishop whom I have not heard imploring your lordships, from this very place, for God's sake, to apply a remedy to that which makes all our preaching and teaching vain, to reform these nests of drunkenness, to remove these moral plagues—and now that I come forward at their instigation, that I lend myself as their coadjutor, that I put myself as an humble instrument in the hands of morality and religion, but two, out of six-and-twenty right rev. prelates will sacrifice their dinner, their regard for their belly, which is their God.

'The noble lord was called to order by the Marquis of Salisbury, who moved that the noble and learned lord's words be taken down. Lord Brougham responded by saying, that in order that they might be correctly taken down, he had better repeat them, when considerable confusion ensued, two or three noble lords speaking at once. Lord Brougham explained his meaning by saying—Well, well, my lords, to oblige my noble friend (Salisbury), I will say this, that the bench of bishops, at whose instigation I brought this subject forward, have, out of their earnest regard to the morals of the community, sacrificed all personal considerations, and have attended, during this discussion, by two of their body—I can't go further. And I, having the greatest veneration for the bishops, a respect for them in which I don't yield to my noble friend opposite, I felt peculiar pain in not seeing more than two out of twenty-six present on this occasion. But my noble friend is content with two only; I, on the contrary, would fain see the whole twenty-six here, for if they were here, they would all vote for the bill.

The Bishop of Chichester rose to repel the unwarrantable attack that had been made on the bench of bishops, and was called to order by Lord Ellenborough; and after a brisk altercation, the House divided. Contents, 36; non-contents, 19; majority for the bill, 17.'

## The observations of Lord Ducie, however, deserve special recognition.

'Lord Ducie differed from the whole of the bills that had been brought forward. It had been his misfortune to see a boundless increase of drunkenness, debauchery, and immorality of every description springing from beer-houses. Now, if the number of beer-houses were proportioned and limited to the demand, the evils hence arising would be corrected; and he thought that some measure should be adopted for ascertaining the demand, and apportioning the number of beer-houses throughout the country accordingly. It struck him the magistrates were not the proper persons to make this estimate of what number of these houses would be sufficient for any given district. It ought to be done by the [redacted] themselves.'

In these remarks were unconsciously foreshadowed the true policy of temperance legislation as promoted by the 'Grand Alliance.' The 'Permissive Bill,' as it is termed, which is the measure suggested and agitated by that body, and approved by the great bulk of temperance reformers, aims at providing the machinery by which the trade in strong drink may be controlled or prohibited by the people themselves. This is the plan deserving of careful consideration, alluded to by Lord Brougham in his Glasgow address.

Nothing can exhibit the lethargy of Parliament upon social questions more completely than the history of the Beer Bill. The admitted mischiefs of 1839 are yet without a remedy. Twenty years have elapsed, and nothing has been done deserving of mention. The revival of Brougham may be the revival of hope on this great social question. In no way could he more appropriately, consistently, and usefully close his great career than by introducing and carrying through the House of Lords the Permissive Bill to which we have referred. He would, by one effort, incalculably aid all the other movements on which his heart has long been set. It would emancipate men from the most galling slavery, leaving free the beneficent influences of education and reformatory training. It would accomplish an important amendment in a perplexing and costly legal system, would promote public health, and would solve one of the chief difficulties in the political enfranchisement of the masses.

The Permissive Bill itself, it is true, would not do much. It is simply instrumentality. 'Into whatever direction we may strike,' says Lord Brougham, quoting with approbation the Recorder for Birmingham, 'the drink-demon starts up before us and blocks our way.' The Permissive Bill would enable the philanthropist to exorcise the demon. Drink is the great dead-weight which crushes the energies of all benevolent workers. The Permissive Bill would prove the lever by which, acting on the fulcrum of the public opinion they create, the workers might raise the weight, and their work would live.

A glorious termination this would be of a long and useful life. The name of PEEL is revered as that of a great statesman. Resisting long, he at last gave way before the force of conviction; and his name is 'sometimes remembered with expressions of good will by those whose lot it is to earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow.' But if the last act of BROUGHAM should be to secure for his country those legislative conditions which would best render national sobriety attainable, not a household but would contain a living monument to his wisdom and patriotism—not a hearth over which might not be inscribed his name as a benefactor and a friend.

ART.

## Art. VI.—WHAT A CURSE! OR, HODGES, THE BLACKSMITH.

'THE doctor is a kind man,' said Johnny Hodges, addressing a person of respectable appearance, who was in the act of returning to his pocket-book a physician's bill, which the blacksmith did not find it convenient to pay. 'The doctor is a kind man, a very kind man, and has earned his money, I dare say, and I don't begrudge him a shilling of it all; but, for all that, I have not the means of paying his bill, nor any part of it, just now.'

'Well, well,' said the collector, 'I shall be this way before long, and will call on you again.'

Johnny Hodges thanked him for the indulgence, and proceeded with his work; but the hammer swung heavily upon the anvil, and many a long sigh escaped, before the job in hand was fairly turned off.

Three or four times already the collector had paid a visit at the blacksmith's shop, who was always ready to admit the justice of the claim, and that the doctor had been very kind and attentive, and had well earned his money; but Johnny was always behindhand; and, though full of professions of gratitude to the good doctor, yet the doctor's bill seemed not very likely to be paid. Familiarity, saith the proverb, breeds contempt. This old saw is not apt to work more roughly in any relation of life than between the creditor, or the creditor's agent, and the non-performing debtor. The pursuing party is apt to be importunate, and the pursued to grow gradually callous and indifferent. Upon the present occasion, however, the collector, who was a benevolent man, was extremely patient and forbearing. He had sufficient penetration to perceive that poor Johnny, for some cause or other, was always exceedingly mortified and pained by these repeated applications. It did not, however, escape the suspicion of the collector that there might be a certain secret cause for Johnny's inability to pay the doctor's bill. Intemperance is exhibited in a great variety of modifications. While some individuals are speedily roused into violent and disorderly action, or hushed to slumber, and reduced to the condition of a helpless and harmless mass; others, provided by nature with heads of iron and leathern skins, are equally intemperate, yet scarcely, for many years, present before the world the slightest personal indication of their habitual indulgence.

Johnny Hodges was an excellent workman, and he had abundance of work. It was not easy to account for such an appropriation of his earnings, as would not leave him enough for the payment of the doctor's bill, upon any other supposition than that of a wasteful and sinful employment of them for the purchase of strong drink. Johnny's countenance, to be sure, was exceedingly pale and sallow; but the pale-faced tippler is by no means an uncommon spectacle. On the other hand, Johnny was very industrious, constantly in his shop in working hours, and always busily employed.

After an interval of several weeks, the collector called again, and put the customary question, 'Well, Mr. Hodges, can you pay the doctor's bill?' Perhaps there was something unusually hurried or importunate, or Johnny so thought, in the manner of making the inquiry. Johnny was engaged in turning a shoe, and he hammered it entirely out of shape. He laid down his hammer and tongs, and for a few seconds rested his cheek upon his hand.

'I don't know how I can pay the doctor's bill,' said Johnny Hodges. 'I've nothing here in the shop but my tools and a very little stock: and I've nothing at home but the remainder of our scanty furniture. I know the doctor's bill ought to be paid, and if he will take it, he shall be welcome to our cow, though I have five little children who live upon the milk.'

'No, no, Hodges,' said the collector, 'you are much mistaken if you suppose the doctor, who is a Christian and a kind-hearted man, would take your cow or oppress you at all for the amount of his bill. But how is it that you, who have always so much work, have never any money?'

'Ah, sir,' said Johnny Hodges, while he wiped the perspiration from his face, for he was a hard-working man, 'Ah, sir,' said he, 'what a curse it is! can nothing be done to put a stop to this intemperance? I hear a great deal of the efforts that are making; but still the gin business goes on. If it

it were not for the temptations to take strong drink I should do well enough; and the good doctor should not have sent twice for the amount of his bill. Very few of those who write and talk so much of intemperance know anything of our trials and troubles.'

'I confess,' said the collector, 'that I have had my suspicions and fears before. Why do you not resolve that you will never touch another drop? Go, Hodges, like a man, and put your name to the pledge; and pray God to enable you to keep it faithfully.'

'Why, as to that, sir,' said the blacksmith, 'the pledge will do me no good; the difficulty doesn't lie there. What a curse! Is there no prospect of putting an end to intemperance?'

'To be sure there is,' replied the collector. 'If people will sign the pledge, and keep it too, there is no difficulty.'

'But suppose they will not sign the pledge,' rejoined Johnny Hodges; 'still, if gin were not so common as it is, and so easily obtained, the temptation would be taken away.'

'That is all very true, but it is every man's duty to do something for himself,' replied the collector. 'I advise you to sign the pledge as soon as possible.'

'Why, sir,' said the blacksmith, 'the difficulty doesn't lie here, as I told you; I signed the pledge long ago, and I have kept it well. I never was given to taking spirit in my life. My labour at the forge is pretty hard work, yet I take nothing stronger for drink than cold water.'

'I am sorry that I misunderstood you,' replied the collector. 'But since you do not take spirit, and your children, as you have led me to suppose, are of tender years, why are you so anxious for the suppression of intemperance?'

'Because,' said poor Johnny Hodges, after a pause, and with evident emotion, 'to tell you the plain truth, it has made my home a hell, my wife a drunkard, and my children beggars! Poor things,' said he, as he brushed away the tears, 'they have no mother any more. The old cow that I offered you just now for the doctor's debt—and I believe it would have broken their hearts to have parted with old Brindle—is more of a mother to them now than the woman who brought them into this world of trouble. I have little to feed old Brindle with; and the children are running here and there for a little swill and such matters to keep her alive. Even the smallest of these poor things will pick up a bunch of hay or a few scattered corn-stalks, and fetch it to her, and look on with delight to see her enjoy it. I have seen them all together, when their natural mother, in a drunken spree, has driven them out of doors, flying for refuge to the old cow, and lying beside her in the shed. What a curse it is!'

'What will become of them and of me,' continued this broken-hearted man, 'I cannot tell! I sometimes fear that I shall lose my reason and be placed in the madhouse. Such is the thirst of this wretched woman for gin, that she has repeatedly taken my tools and carried them five or six miles, and pawned or sold them for liquor. The day before yesterday I carried home a joint of meat for dinner. When I went home, tired and hungry, at the dinner hour, I found her drunk and asleep upon the floor. She had sold the joint of meat, and spent the money in gin. It's grievous to tell such matters to a stranger; but I can't bear that you or the good doctor should think me ungrateful any longer. I never shall forget the doctor's kindness to me two years ago, when I had my dreadful fever; and, if ever I can get so much money together, he shall certainly be paid. That fever was brought on partly by hard work, but the mainspring of the matter was in the mind. My wife was then getting very bad, and when she was in liquor, her language was both indecent and profane; though when we were married, there wasn't a more modest girl in the parish. Just before my fever came on, in one of her fits of intemperance, she strolled away, and was gone three days and three nights; and, to this hour, I have never known where she was all that time. It almost broke my heart. The doctor always said there was something upon my mind; but I never told him, nor any one else, the cause of my trouble till now. What a curse! Don't you think, sir, that something can be done to put an end to this terrible curse of intemperance?'

'Your case is a very hard one,' said the collector, after a solemn pause, 'and I wish I could point out a remedy. You need give yourself no uneasiness about

about the doctor's bill, for I am sure he will think no more of it when I have told him your story. If it would not give you too much pain, and take up too much of your time, I should like to be informed, a little more particularly, of the commencement and progress of this habit in your wife, which seems to have destroyed your domestic happiness.'

Johnny Hodges wiped his brow, and sat down upon a bench in his shop, and the collector took a seat by his side.

'Eight years ago,' said Johnny Hodges, 'come the first day of next month, I was married. Polly Wilson, that was her maiden name, was twenty-three, and I was four years older. I certainly thought it the best day's work I ever did, and I continued of that mind for about five years. Since then, Heaven knows I have had reason to think otherwise; for ever since, trouble has been about my path and about my bed. About three years ago my wife took to drink. I cannot tell how it happened; but she always said, herself, that the first drop of gin she ever drank was upon a washing day, when an old Scotch woman persuaded her that it would keep the cold off her stomach. From that time the habit grew upon her very fast. She has told me a hundred times, in her sober moments, that she would give the world to leave it off, but that she could not for the life of her. So strong has been her desire to get liquor, that nothing was safe from her grasp. She has sold her children's Sabbath clothes and my own for gin. After I had gotten well of my fever, I worked hard; and, at one time, had laid by nearly enough, as I supposed, to pay the doctor's bill. One day I had received a dollar for work, and went to my drawer to add it to the rest; and—all was gone! The drawer had been forced open. She knew that I had been saving the money to pay the doctor and the apothecary for their services during my fever: she knew that my sickness had been produced by sleepless nights and a broken heart, on her account; yet she could not resist the temptation. She affirmed, in the most solemn manner, that she knew nothing about it; but two of the little children, in answer to my inquiry, told me that they had seen mammy break open the drawer, and take out the money; and that she went directly over to the grocery, and in about half an hour after she returned, went to sleep so soundly in her chair that they could not wake her up to get them a little supper. At that time I went to Mr. Calvin Leech, the grocer, and told him that I wondered, as he was a church member, how he could have the heart to ruin the peace of my family. He was very harsh, and told me that every man must take care of his own wife, and that it was not his business to look after mine. I began to think, with Job, that I would not live always. Strange fancies came into my head about that time, and I tried hard to think of some escape from such a world of sin and sorrow, but a kind and merciful God would not let me take my own wild way. I read my Bible; and the poor children kept all the while in my way, smiling sweetly in my face, and driving all evil thoughts from my mind. My eldest boy was then about seven. "Don't take on so, daddy," the little fellow used to say, when he found me shedding tears, "don't cry, daddy; I shall be big enough to blow the bellows next year." I have tried to keep up for the sake of these poor children; and few would be better for their years if their mother did not teach some of them to curse and swear. They have the same bright look and gentle temper that my wife had when we were married. There never was a milder temper than Polly's before this curse fell upon the poor creature. Oh, sir, it is nothing but gin that has ruined our hopes of happiness in this world. How strange it is that nothing can be *done* to stay such a dreadful plague!'

The collector shook the poor blacksmith by the hand, and bade him keep up his spirits as well as he could, and put his trust in God's providence. Promising to make a friendly call, in the course of a few days, he took his leave.

This interview with the blacksmith had caused his visitor to contemplate the subject of the temperance reform somewhat in a novel point of view. The importunate and frequently repeated interrogatory of Johnny Hodges, '*Cannot something be done to put an end to the evils of intemperance?*' to most individuals would appear to savour of gross ignorance in the inquirer as to those amazing efforts which have already been made

home and abroad. But it must not be forgotten that poor Hodges was no theorizer in that department of domestic wretchedness which arises from intemperance. He was well aware that a prodigious effort had been made for the purification of the world, by voluntary associations, adopting the pledge of total abstinence. He perfectly understood that all those who had subscribed such a pledge, and faithfully adhered to it, were safe from the effects of intemperance in their own persons. Yet this poor fellow saw at hand and at the depths of his soul misery. Cannot something be done to put an end to the evils of intemperance?

His own before experience had taught him that there was one person who would never be provoked upon to sign the pledge—one upon whose husband intemperance had shrunk his wife rapidly happiness depended the presence of her husband, the mother of children and she had become a poor, care- and misery-worn drunkard. He personally interested, indeed he well knew the fact, from his own observation upon the surrounding neighbourhood that such an occurrence was not of an uncommon character. Intemperate husbands, intemperate wives, and intemperate children were all around him. Johnny Hodges was a man of good common sense. He reasoned forward to the future from the past. He entertained no doubt, that, notwithstanding the most energetic, voluntary efforts of all the societies upon the face of the earth, drunkenness would certainly continue, in a greater or less degree, so long as the means of drunkenness were suffered to remain. The process of reasoning in Johnny's mind may be very easily described. So long, thought he, as gin-selling continues to be sanctioned by law, and gin-palaces are legalized, at every corner; so long as church members distil spirituous liquor, and sell it, reducing the temperate drinker's crown to the drunkard's ninepence, and that ninepence to nothing and a jail; winning away the bread from the miserable tippler's children, and causing the husband and wife to hate and abhor the very presence of each other; so long a very considerable number of persons, who will not sign the pledge, will be annually converted from temperate men and women into drunken vagabonds and paupers. The question is therefore reduced to this: Can no effectual measures be provided by law to prevent a cold, calculating, mercenary body of men from trafficking any longer in broken hopes, broken hearts, and broken constitutions; and to restrain, at least, such as are church members, who pray to the Lord to lead them not into temptation, from laying snares along the highways and hedges of the land, to entrap the feet of their fellow-creatures and tempt their weaker brethren to their ruin?

A month or more had passed away before the collector's business brought him again into the neighbourhood of the blacksmith's shop. Johnny Hodges was at work as usual. He appeared dejected and careworn. His visitor shook him by the hand and told him that the doctor said he should consider him, as old Boerhaave used to say, one of his best patients for God would be his paymaster.—'Never think of the debt any more, Johnny,' said the collector.

'The doctor has sent you his bill, receipted, and he bade me tell you that if a little money would help you in your trouble you should be heartily welcome to it.'*

'Indeed,' said the blacksmith, 'the doctor is a kind friend; but I suppose nothing can be done to put an end to this curse?'

'I fear there will not be, at present,' said the collector; 'drink is the idol of the people. The friends of temperance have petitioned the legislature to pull this old idol down. Now there are, in that very body, a great many members who love the idol dearly: there are many who are sent thither expressly to keep the idol up. So you see that petitioning the legislature, such as it now is, to abolish the traffic in drink, is like petitioning the priests of Baal to pull down their false god. But you look pale and sad; has any new trouble come upon you, or do you find the old one more grievous to bear?'

'Ah sir,' said this man of many woes, 'we have had trouble enough, new and old,

* I have learned, since the preparation of this tale, from the collector himself, that Hodges expressed the liveliest gratitude for the doctor's kindness in relinquishing his claim for professional services, but that he persisted in refusing to receive the money which accompanied the receipted bill;—'God will reward the doctor for all his kindness,' said the poor fellow, 'but I cannot take the money.'

old, since you were here last. Intemperance must be a selfish vice, I am sure.

'About a fortnight ago my wife contrived, while I was gone to the city to procure a few bars of iron, to sell our old cow to a drover; and this woman, once so kind-hearted and thoughtful of her children, would see them starve rather than deprive herself of the means of intoxication. She has been in liquor every day since. But all this is nothing compared with our other late trial. Last Monday night I was obliged to be from home till a very late hour. I had a promise from a neighbour to sit up at my house till my return, to look after the children, and prevent the house from being set on fire. But the promise was forgotten. When I returned, about eleven o'clock, all was quiet. I struck a light, and, finding my wife was in bed, and sound asleep, I looked round for the children. The four older children I readily found, but little Peter, our infant, about thirteen months old, I could find nowhere. After a careful search, I shook my wife by the shoulder to wake her up, that I might learn, if possible, what had become of the child. After some time, though evidently under the influence of liquor, I awakened this wretched woman, and made her understand me. She then made a sign that it was in the bed. I proceeded to examine, and found the poor suffering babe beneath her. She had pressed the life out of its little body.

'It was quite dead.

'It was but yesterday that I put it into the ground. If you can credit it, this miserable mother was so intoxicated that she could not follow it to the grave. What can a poor man do with such a burthen as this? The owner of the little tenement in which I have lived has given me notice to quit, because he says, and reasonably enough too, that the chance of my wife's setting it on fire is growing greater every day. However, I feel that within me that promises a release before long from all this insufferable misery. But what will become of my poor children?'

Johnny sat down upon a bench, and burst into tears. His visitor, as we have said, was a kindhearted man.

'Suppose I should get some discreet person to talk with your wife,' said he.

Johnny raised his eyes and his hands at the same moment. 'Talk with her!' he replied, 'you may as well talk with a whirlwind; the abuse which she poured on me this morning, for proposing to bring our good minister to talk with her would have made your hair stand on end. No, I am heartbroken, and undone, for this world. I have no hope, save in a better, through the mercies of God.'

The visitor took the poor man by the hand and silently departed. He uttered not a word; he was satisfied that nothing could be said to abate the domestic misery of poor Johnny Hodges in the present world; and there was something in his last words, and in the tone in which they were uttered, which assured the visitor that Johnny's unshaken confidence in the promises of God would not be disappointed in another.

How entirely inadequate is the most finished delineation to set forth, in true relief, the actual sum total of such misery as this! How little conception have all those painted male butterflies and moths, who stream along our public walks of a sunny morning, or flutter away their lives in our fashionable saloons—how little conception have they of the real pressure of such practical wretchedness as this! To the interrogatory of poor Johnny Hodges, 'Can nothing be done to put an end to the evils of intemperance?' what answer, here and hereafter, do those individuals propose to offer, who not only withhold their names from the temperance pledge, but who light up their castles, and call together the giddy and the gay of both sexes; and devote one apartment of their palaces, in the present condition of public sentiment, chastened and purified as it is, to the whisky-punch bowl!

The summer had passed, and the harvest was over. About four months after the last interview I heard, for the first time, the story of poor Johnny Hodges. Taking upon my tablets a particular direction to his house and shop, I put on my surtout, and set forth, upon a clear, cold November morning to pay the poor fellow a visit. It was not three miles from the city to his dwelling. By the special direction which I had received, I readily identified the shop. The doors were closed, for it was a sharp, frosty morning. I wished to see the poor fellow at his forge before I disclosed the object of my

I opened the door. He was
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known them well, all their rendered her a perfect nuisance. Everybody speaks a kind word of poor Hodges; and everybody says that his wife killed him, and brought his children to the poor-house. This is a terrible curse to be sure.

'Pray, sir, can't something be done to put an end to the evils of intemperance?'

Such, thought I, was the inquiry of poor Johnny Hodges. How long can the intelligent legislators of our country conscientiously permit this inquiry to pass without a satisfactory reply? How many more wives shall be orphans; how many more temperate men shall be converted into drunken paupers; before the power of the law shall be exerted to stay the plague? In the present condition of the world, while the legislature throws its fostering arm around this cruel occupation, how many there are who will have abundant cause to exclaim, like poor Johnny Hodges, from the bottom of their souls,—What a curse!

How many shall take as fair a departure for the voyage of life, and make shipwreck of all their earthly hopes, in a similar manner! How many hearts, not guilty of presumptuous sins, but grateful for Heaven's blessings in some

WARD DICKINSON, JOHN BROADBELT, JOHN SMITH, and DAVID ANDERTON.' This event took place on the 1st September, 1832—the natal day of English Teetotalism. These men deserve an everlasting memorial. One or two of them did not fulfil their vow; but most remained faithful, and were made largely useful. They were joined by others, chiefly of their own class, who, rescued from the depths, became the advocates of the new social reform. It was well to preserve the features and to record the history of the early advocates, and to join them with the reverend, the learned, and the noble who now stand beside them in the cause. Those that passed through the storm of obloquy and opposition, and who continued to prosecute their mission until they saw it taken by the hand by others in a higher social position, deserve to be ranked with their successors in the Portrait Gallery of Temperance Reformers.

'When this reform,' says Mr. Isaac Taylor, 'has been realized in Scotland and in Ireland, as well as in England, the originators and promoters of the total abstinence movement will deserve, and they will receive great praise; or if they have passed away from among us, they will be held in lasting remembrance.' The temperance reformers began in obscurity, and laboured alone; but now that they have triumphed so far as to number as many societies almost as there are parishes in the empire, they shine as 'bright, particular stars' in the firmament of the good. They made their dignity. They won it well, and will wear it long; and now the world does honour to the 'illustrious obscure.' Mr. Caine, who has gathered with such pains the striking history of these men, deserves the thanks of the community for his labour.

It was a happy thought to perpetuate by the art of photography the portraits of the chief temperance reformers in the first twenty-five years of the history of this growing cause. It was still better to get their autobiographies. The next work will be to collect from every society throughout the three kingdoms the history of its rise and progress. Materials will be then provided for the historian of the temperance movement to construct a work of undying interest. We commend this to the secretaries of societies all over the land. Mr. Lythgoe's portraits and Mr. Caine's biographies will then obtain a greater permanence than ever.

In the space at our disposal we can only afford room for a few sketches, which we shall give to show the character and labours of the early workers, and to evidence the position which the cause has now assumed by possessing ministers, doctors, lawyers, merchants, gentry, and statesmen in its ranks. Many will wish to see the portraits and the 'Key.' We give the account of Mr. JOHN KING:—

'I was born at Walton-le-Dale, near Preston, on the 25th of December, 1795. A Temperance Society was established on the Moderation principle in March, 1832, and I signed the pledge on the 18th of June of the same year. After I had been a member about eight or ten days, I was solicited by my esteemed friend and native villager, Mr. Joseph Livesey, to take an active part in the cause. The town had been divided into districts, and a member of the society (called a "captain") was appointed to each district to deliver tracts and visit his fellow-members. I was appointed to No. 11 District. All the "captains" were members of the committee, and we worked hard in the cause. As the pledge of the society strictly prohibited the use of all spirituous liquors, but allowed ale and porter to be taken in moderation, which often led members to break their pledge, I soon saw that something must be done.

'On the 23rd of August, I was passing Mr. Joseph Livesey's shop in Church Street, Preston. Mr. Livesey was standing at the door, and he said to me, "John, how does thou get on in thy district?" I then told him that some of the members got drunk, and would do so until there was a pledge to do away with the drinking of ale and porter; and I said further that the men of Preston were not in the habit of drinking rum, gin, or brandy, but ale and porter. Mr. Livesey then said to me, "If a pledge were drawn up to do away with the drinking of ale and porter, would thou sign it?" I then told him that I would do so, for I had been acting on that principle for some time, and it was my determination never to taste any intoxicating drink again so long as I lived. I also said to Mr. Livesey that it was my firm conviction that there would never be much good done until there was a legislative enactment

enactment to prevent both distilling and brewing. Mr. Livesey then wrote a Total Abstinence Pledge: and that was the first time such a pledge was drawn up. I then signed it. Mr. Livesey took the paper from his desk, and began to fold it up. I looked very earnestly at him, for he had told me that he had not tasted any kind of intoxicating drink since the previous October: and I then asked him if he was going to let my name stand alone. He said he did not know what to do. After some further talk, however, Mr. Livesey signed his name. When he had done so, he said to me, "I have one thing to beg of thee—that is, that thee will not say to any one what we have done." I told him I would let the men by know the following Tuesday night. I did so; and on the Saturday night after, at a meeting of a few of the members in the Cock Pit, the pledge was discussed. Some stood opposed to it; but at the end of the meeting the following pledge was signed by seven men:—"We agree to abstain from all liquors of an intoxicating quality, whether ale, porter, wine, or ardent spirits." The names of the seven were John King, Joseph Livesey, John Gratrix, Edward Dickinson, John Broadbelt, John Smith, and David Anderton. Before we left for home that night, Edward Dickinson and David Anderton recanted; John Smith died after being a consistent member for some time; John Gratrix left the society; and John Broadbelt was a steady member for many years.

'The Preston Temperance Society began to flourish, and great good was done. The meetings were well attended wherever held in the town. The advocates did not confine themselves to Preston, but held meetings in the surrounding towns and villages. I was president at the meeting held in the Spittalls Moss School, when Dickey Turner signed the pledge, and also at the meeting some time after when he first made use of the word "Teetotal." I stood by the side of Mr. Joseph Livesey, when he said to me, "That shall be its name." I was also present at a meeting held in the Cock Pit, when Mr. Edward Grubb, now a great advocate of the cause, came to the meeting and opposed one of the speakers; and Mr. Livesey stood up to speak after Mr. Grubb had sat down. I very well recollect Mr. Livesey saying to me, when Mr. Grubb was making a reply to what Mr. Livesey had said, "John, I wish that man would join the society." I told him that he would do so; and he did before he went home.'

Mr. CHARLES BRAZIER, of Manchester, is a specimen of a worker. He says:—

'I was born at Worcester in 1800, brought up under the eye of a pious mother to the age of nineteen, and was then a youth promising to be a blessing and support to my parents, an ornament to the Church of Christ, and to the world a pattern of what religious training can accomplish. I left home confident in my own self-sufficency as my own keeper; but, alas for my firmness! it gave way under the influence of the drinking customs of the world, and I became a confirmed drunkard. I visited many towns. At length I found my way to Manchester. I at once entered the circle of fashion, because in Manchester I found the means to support my drinking propensities, following up the other propensities connected therewith, the dance, the theatre, cards, the horse race, and whatsoever else I called pleasure, until my course of life bowed down the strong man; and at the age of thirty-nine there was nothing left of me but a wreck. Disease through drink had begun to make inroads upon my constitution; and the maladies under which I now groan are the effects of my former reckless conduct. To sum up all in a word, it brought me down all but to a drunkard's grave and a drunkard's hell. I said "all but." I thank God that, although my prospects were blighted and darkness surrounded me, and although my body was become almost a skeleton, and hope seemed to have perished, in the year 1840 the sound of Temperance saluted my ear, and the bright star thereof shone upon my beclouded mind, and hope appeared to brighten. I joined the Wilmot Street Society, of which I still am a member. My health was restored, and my mental capabilities were so far improved, that I became a new man, in body and mind. I now began to tell my fellow-workmen of the benefits I received from signing the pledge. I then ventured to speak in public; and since that time I have travelled some thousands of miles to advocate the cause which to me brought life and bodily health. I have held large open-air

open-air meetings in almost all the towns, hamlets, and villages for twenty or thirty miles around Manchester, with success. I believe hundreds—nay, thousands—have been led to sign the pledge through my instrumentality. I have held hundreds of meetings on Camp Field, composed of from eight to ten thousand persons at a time, at one of which one hundred signed the pledge. At Altrincham and Middleton I have been equally successful. I was one of a few who formed a society at which four thousand signed the pledge in one year. Thus I went on for sixteen years, doing all I could to benefit the country by making men and women sober; and I am thankful my labour was not in vain. Four years ago, another star arose, and shed its mild, benign influence upon my heart. "It was the star of Bethlehem." It shone brighter and brighter, until the full blaze of gospel light burst upon me.'

We might select many similar cases; but turning now to ministers of religion we find the Rev. James Bardsley testifying that he was one of the first clergymen in the United Kingdom who became a teetotaler, twenty-five years ago. We have also a sketch of Father Mathew, Dr. Spratt, Dr. McKerrow, the Rev. John Gutteridge, Canon Jenkins. We give the statement of the Rev. G. T. Fox, of Durham, as a specimen of the influence of the Alliance movement on teetotalism:—

'I joined the United Kingdom Alliance at a very early period after its organization, under the conviction that improved legislation in reference to the liquor traffic was essential to the well-being of the community, and that every step in the direction of the total prohibition of the sale of intoxicating drinks would be a decided gain. I was invited to preach one of the inaugural sermons in Manchester, on the 8th of June, 1857, before the ministerial conference held in that city, and to take the chair on the first day. The result of my intercourse with those who came together on that occasion, and I may particularly specify the address of the Hon. Neal Dow, was a much deeper conviction of the evils of drunkenness in our land than I had ever before entertained. Although my convictions were strong before, they were now so intensified that I resolved to use every means in my power to counteract the monster vice of our land. Up to that period I had not been a total abstainer, having been restrained by many popular principles, which were all swept away by the strong convictions of the magnitude of the evil produced on my mind on that occasion. I may here remark that I had previously arrived at a thorough persuasion that intoxicating drinks are neither necessary nor beneficial to persons in health, and that just in proportion as they act on the frame of a healthy person it is for evil and not for good. In short, I had so far corrected my notions, and escaped from the common physical superstition of mankind, as no longer to regard intoxicating drinks in the light of food or nourishment, but simply as medicine. The limited use of such drinks in which I had previously indulged, I had for some time regarded only in the light of luxury and self-indulgence; when, therefore, the question came before me in all its pungency and force, intensified by a distinctive view of the widespread ruin and misery caused by the use of intoxicating drinks, it was simplified to this one point—Shall I, for the sake of so paltry a self-indulgence, refuse to do what I can to discourage the vice of drunkenness? It did not take long to solve this very simple question, and I became a total abstainer immediately after my return home from Manchester.'

Medical men have not sent many of its eminent practitioners to the list of temperance reformers; but they are constantly adding. Dr. Mudge, of Bodmin, has long been known for his zealous efforts. We shall, however, allow Dr. Higginbottom, of Nottingham, to speak:—

'At a very early age a deep impression was made on my mind from frequently hearing and seeing the horrid effects of intoxicating drinks in my native town, Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancashire; for scarcely did I hear of death, but it was in connection with the news, "He died of drink," or "She died of drink"—so that death and drink were to me synonymous terms. When about eighteen years of age, I made a most determined resolution not to take intoxicating drinks through life; a thought struck me, "I'll never be troubled with them." At the same time I was led to make some exceptions, thinking I might require wine in sickness, at the Lord's Supper, and in old

old age, if I lived so long; but I soon abandoned these provisos, from a conviction that intoxicating wine was in all cases hurtful and unscriptural. When I was designed for the medical profession, an aged aunt was quite indignant at the thought, saying I was too delicate a boy; that she was sure I could never endure the night-work and fatigue of the medical profession; and that my father ought to have put me to his own profession—the law. Fifty-two years have now passed away since I made my resolution, and I can vouch for the blessings arising from abstaining from all intoxicating beverages, and that it has been my greatest temporal blessing. A great part of that time I endured great mental and physical exertion, loss of rest, and extremes of heat and cold. My plan of visiting my patients was generally one half the day on horseback, the rest on foot. At an early period of my practice, my labour might be said to have been continuous, not having a day of relaxation for twelve years, and my loss of rest almost incredible, having at one time only six entire nights' sleep during five weeks, and during one part of those five weeks only one night's sleep in nineteen nights. When I consider my labour and loss of sleep, I am fully assured that had I taken exhausting stimulants, such as alcoholic beverages, and had not been a total abstainer, it would not have been possible for me to have endured such mental and physical exertion, even had I possessed a strong constitution. My general health during that time was good. I had only during that long period two acute attacks of illness, arising from punctured wounds received professionally, and a severe attack of influenza in 1836, each illness so severe that had I not been an abstainer from intoxicating fluids I should, humanly speaking, have paid the debt of nature. I have now lived to be the senior medical man in the town of Nottingham, having seen sixty-six of my brethren, surgeons and physicians, pass away from the town—forty-five by death; and though seventy-one years old, I have not a warning of old age, but am apt to think, from my physical and mental powers, that I am still a young man. Some of my early lessons in temperance I learned from Dr. James Gregory, professor of physic in the University of Edinburgh, whom I heard say: "Gentlemen, spirits are no more fit for a Christian than they are for a Turk, and no more fit for a Turk than they are for a horse." He also said: "I never got a patient by water-drinking, but thousands by strong liquor." I had not been in practice more than a year when I abandoned the use of wine in typhus fever, afterwards in English cholera, then in uterine hæmorrhage, in cases of exhaustion and sinking, delirium tremens, &c.; and in many cases where medical men gave wine, brandy, &c., I never used them at all. I have published freely my opinions to medical men in various papers on the subject. I found that in acute diseases no alcoholic stimulants were required, and that chronic diseases were much more manageable without them, and with a greater certainty of cure. I have no hesitation in affirming that if all alcoholic stimulants were withdrawn, both from hospital and private practice, no harm would result—on the contrary, a great cause of disease would be removed, and what is now a formidable barrier to the cure of disease would be taken away. Personally, I never acquired the taste for intoxicating drinks, and I cannot remember my father or mother ever offering me wine or ale, &c., and, through Providence, I was not taught from any other source. It is now about twenty-five years since I banished all ardent spirits, wines, ales, and all fermented beverages from my house, considering them as thieves and murderers. Tobacco, another intoxicating agent of the same evil family, I never had in my house. When the temperance societies commenced I was fully prepared, as an ultra teetotaler, to abandon alcohol in every form, and join the society. At an early period I was chosen president of the Nottingham Total Abstinence Society. Some time afterwards the name was changed to the Nottingham Christian Temperance Society. I retained that office for more than twenty years. My great object has been to prevent and cure drunkenness. I have endeavoured to follow the straight line of duty, and have had nothing to do with the by-paths of expediency. My duty has been very plain—no medicine and no quackery; all that was required was to abstain from all that would intoxicate, the only certain and effectual way of preventing and curing drunkenness. During the whole of my practice I have

have not found a single patient suffer from the want of alcoholic stimulants. I have been surrounded daily by about forty medical men, surgeons and physicians, not one of whom has ever told me, during the twenty-five years that I have followed the treatment, that I inflicted an injury on my patients by withholding alcoholic stimulants; but the question has been asked me how it affected my pecuniary interest. This I have disregarded altogether, as I fully counted the cost in the beginning, being assured that there would be not only loss of money but of reputation. This passage of Scripture was strongly impressed on my mind—"He that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin." (James iv. 17.) The teetotaler has the same enemies to fight with as the Christian—the world, the flesh, and the devil; depraved appetites, worldly interests and customs; with ignorance, prejudice, and superstition.'

We might go on to quote histories from the experience of merchants and manufacturers, of whom we have portraits and histories, such as Alderman HARVEY, whom all teetotalers honour; Mr. GUEST, of Rotherham; the late Mr. JOSEPH STURGE, &c. We might introduce sketches of the learned at the bar and in literature, as Mr. Samuel Pope and Dr. Lees, whose portraits will be recognized. There are also some of the gentry, such as Sir Walter Trevelyan, the munificent patron of all social reform and the president of the United Kingdom Alliance; Sir John Stuart Forbes; and of others, such as the late James Simpson, Esq., always a liberal supporter of the temperance cause. But our space will not permit. Altogether, Mr. Caine and Mr. Lythgoe deserve great credit for their portraits by engravers and by printers. Though the list of reformers is somewhat one-sided and incomplete, we accept this instalment with gratitude, and commend it to our readers.

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## ART. VIII.—SOCIAL STATISTICS.

*(This will henceforth form a feature in every Number.)*

### OFFICIAL STATISTICS ON INTOXICATING LIQUORS AND THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

HARD things are sometimes said against the 'public money wasted' on parliamentary printing. Blue books and Returns are, no doubt, occasionally too prolix and expensive; but a general charge, founded on exceptional cases, is essentially unjust, and of but little service in the cause of a rational economy. That 'nobody reads Blue-books and Returns' might be no fault of those productions or their authors; but that, too, is a statement as extravagant as the one which it is usually designed to cover. De Quincey pointedly says that 'Blue-books are often sneered at by the *ignorant* as so much waste paper.' Sure we are that all those documents which impart official information on the measure and mode of the consumption of intoxicating liquors are well worth all they cost the country, and would be worth still more if the lessons they enshrine were more eagerly scanned and more earnestly taken to heart. A Return very lately published in obedience to an order of the House of Commons (procured by Mr. Edward Baines, M.P. for Leeds) gives occasion for the foregoing remarks: and we shall proceed to present a summary, exceedingly condensed, of the valuable results which it embodies. This object we may best attain by asking and answering several questions. The Return relates to the years 1851-9, inclusive, with the first half-year of 1860; but it will be necessary for us, having an eye to our limited space, to confine ourselves pretty much to the last year of the series. Our inquiries will then occupy the following order:—

What, in regard to the United Kingdom, are the facts of the Return for 1859?

What is the relation of each of the countries in the United Kingdom to its collective result?

What is the relation of 1859 to the foregoing years included in the Return?

I. As to the United Kingdom, the facts call for a threefold classification: the intoxicating liquor consumed by the people of the United Kingdom; the public channels of its supply; and the pecuniary interest of the government in regard to the consumption and supply.

1. The

1. The alcoholic liquor consumed must not be confounded with the quantity made or imported, nor even always with the quantity charged duty for consumption. This will be seen by the following comparison :—

| | British Spirits (Gin, Whiskey, &c.) | Foreign Spirits (Various). | Colonial Spirits (Rum). | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Gals. | Gals. | Gals. | Gals. |
| Charged with Duty . | 24,253,553 | 1,357,509 | 3,575,139 | 29,186,201 |
| Actually Consumed . | 23,729,026 | 1,357,509 | 3,575,139 | 28,661,674 |

The quantities of wine imported were 8,195,513 gallons; those charged duty, 7,263,046 gallons; those retained for consumption, 6,775,992 gallons. Of malt, the quantities charged with duty were 44,219,300 bushels; besides which 5,159,894 bushels were used in distilleries, and 301,204 bushels exported, both of which amounts were free of duty. The total number of bushels made was, therefore, 49,680,398. The malt charged duty was of course made into ale and beer, which may be estimated at about 19½ millions of barrels, or 666 millions of gallons. This mass of distilled and fermented liquor contained at least 60 millions of gallons of alcohol, more than three-fourths of which was consumed in the shape of ale, beer, and wine. As cider and perry are not subjected to an excise impost, there is no official record of the quantities manufactured and used, all of which are in addition to the quantities above accounted for.

2. The public channels of supply—in other words, the liquor traffickers—are minutely described in the Return before us. The manufacture of ardent spirits is in the hands of distillers and rectifiers; the former, 176 (England 16, Scotland 125, Ireland 35); the latter, 158 (England 104, Scotland 9, Ireland 45). The brewers number 40,389 (England 40,019, Scotland 245, Ireland 125). The above may be taken to indicate distinct persons; but when we come to the 'licences issued for the sale of wine, beer, and spirits respectively,' we have no authoritative index as to the separate individuals selling, or places of sale occupied by them. The licences for the wholesale traffic are thus classified :—

| | Wine. | Spirits. | Beer. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| England . . . . . | 1,470 | 1,568 | 1,578 | 4,616 |
| Scotland . . . . . | 19 | 70 | 45 | 134 |
| Ireland . . . . . | 126 | 133 | 316 | 575 |
| United Kingdom. . | 1,615 | 1,771 | 1,939 | 5,325 |

All licences are issued by the Excise, but those granted for the retail traffic are of two kinds,—those which depend, and those which do not, on the production of a magisterial certificate, which must be applied for at the Brewster Sessions. The retail licences were as follows :—

| | With Magisterial Certificates, &c. | | | | Without Magisterial Certificates. Retailers of Beer under 1 Wm. IV., c. 64. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Wine. | Spirits. | Beer. | Total. | |
| England . . . | 25,941 | 62,437 | 64,372 | 152,750 | 43,801 |
| Scotland . . . | 4,189 | 11,938 | 410 | 16,537 | .. |
| Ireland . . . . | 3,042 | 17,168 | 17,482 | 37,692 | .. |
| United Kingdom | 33,172 | 91,543 | 82,264 | 206,979 | 43,801 |

In

In the year 1859, therefore, the licences granted by virtue of magistrates' certificates were 206,979, and by the operation of the English Beer Act 43,801. How many of the former represent separate places of sale cannot be more than approximately settled. Each magistrates' certificate entitled the presentee to take out one, two, or three licences, on payment of the fees; and it may be presumed that every presentee took out a beer licence. Hence the beer licences (except in Scotland, where there is a common beer and spirit licence,) are the largest in number, and may be considered to represent, both for England and Ireland, the number of licenced-victualling venders. For the United Kingdom, we may, therefore, roughly estimate the whole number to be thus distributed:—England 64,372, Scotland (11,938+410) = 12,348, Ireland 17,168, a total of 93,888; to whom the 43,801 beer retailers of England must be joined, offering to view an array of 137,689 persons licensed by the State to carry on by retail this baneful traffic.

3. The pecuniary interest of the government in the maintenance of this system is a point of most painful interest. It is our business here to deal only with the figures of the question. The revenue thus procured is derived (1) from the tax imposed on the liquors sold or the materials used in their manufacture; and (2) from the sale of licences, without which no traffic in them is legal.

(1) Of these sources of revenue the first is immensely the more prolific.

| | England. | Scotland. | Ireland. | United Kingdom. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £. | £. | £. | £. |
| British Spirits | 4,236,819 | 2,849,562 | 2,615,379 | 9,701,760 |
| Foreign „ | 915,586 | 58,510 | 46,318 | 1,020,414 |
| Colonial „ | 1,360,744 | 64,123 | 35,307 | 1,460,174 |
| Ardent Spirits | 6,513,149 | 2,972,195 | 2,697,004 | 12,182,348 |
| Malt . . . . | 3,241,914 | 122,497 | 171,777 | 3,536,188 |
| Wine . . . . | .. | .. | .. | 1,842,163 |

It thus appears that from the duties on various liquors the exchequer received 17,560,699*l.*

(2) The second source of revenue—the sale of licences—brought in, from England 866,300*l.*, Scotland 90,310*l.*, Ireland 97,352*l.*, a total of 1,053,962*l.* (The tax on malsters' licences is not included in this account.) We have, in this double set of figures, a key to the problem, why the Excise officials manifest more activity in the suppression of illicit distillation or malting, than in the suppression of illicit vending.

II. We have been compelled to forestall some replies to the second general query on the relation of the several countries forming the United Kingdom to the aggregate of the liquors consumed and traded in. Something, however, remains to be said on this point. As to the consumption of ardent spirits, Scotland is first, Ireland second, and England (slightly) the last. Of every nine persons in the United Kingdom, one resides in Scotland, two in Ireland, and six in England. If the consumption of spirits in each had been in equal proportion, it would have been about 32 gills (one gallon) per head; but the actual average consumption was (about) in England, 28 gills, Scotland 56 gills, and Ireland 29 gills per head. The consumption of wine is probably about equal among the wine-consuming classes of each kingdom. As to malt liquor, our only guide is the quantity of malt charged duty in each country; and assuming that the consumption in each is about equivalent to the manufacture in each, a comparison would show that, whereas the average consumption, proportioned to population, would be $22\frac{3}{4}$ gallons in each country, the actual consumption is, for England, 610 million gallons = $31\frac{1}{4}$ gallons per head, Scotland 24 million gallons = 7 per head, and Ireland 32 million gallons = 5 per head. Allowing, even, for the greater use of English-made beer and ales in the two other

other countries, the proportion will not be seriously disturbed.

III. How 1859 compares with preceding years, as to drink-making and drink-consuming, is a question which we can barely touch upon. In England the consumption of spirits (except of the foreign sorts) is evidently increasing. With the exception of 1855, the march of British spirits has been steadfastly and terribly upwards; and with malt liquor it is the same. The retail licences have also multiplied in every department; the publicans' from 60,870 in 1851, to 64,372; the beer-retailers' from 41,574 to 43,801.

In Scotland, under the combined influence of the Forbes Mackenzie Act and a more than doubled tax on whiskey (4*s.* up to 8*s.* 2*d.*) the whiskey-gallons emptied in 1859 were one-fifth fewer than in 1851, and the licences have diminished from 14,846 to 12,348. In Ireland, where the increase of duty has been even greater than in Scotland (from 3*s.* up to 8*s.* 2*d.*), the consumption has fallen one-fourth, though the licences have risen from 14,657 to 17,482; a fact which somewhat favours the supposition that illicit distillation has extensively revived, though the Excise officers discredit the imputation. Here we stop.

Sufficient has been quoted to show the importance of this Parliamentary Return, and the unbounded importance of using, and extending, all available resources for driving intemperance, and its physical causes, from our native shores.

## ART. IX.—RECORD OF SOCIAL POLITICS.

THE great social event of the past quarter, claiming special attention of 'Meliora,' is the fourth annual congress of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, which was held at Glasgow under the presidency of Lord Brougham. We should be glad, were we able, to present our readers with an ample summary of the very interesting proceedings of the congress; but as that is impossible, we must select, out of the multifarious details of subjects, plans, and suggestions, several of those points which may be deemed specially appropriate as fraught with needful, moral, and social lessons, or as paving the way for great legislative measures of amelioration.

Law reform, prison reform, sanitary reform, social reform, and every kind of reform that can interest the philanthropist or engage the statesman, have our earnest sympathy and willing co-operation. They are all, by turns, discussed in 'Meliora,' and to each and all we contribute such aid as their relative importance seem to claim, and as our resources can yield. But there is one reform, which seems to us to lie at the threshold or at the foundation of all other reforms, be they social, moral, or political; and which, therefore, has our most cordial and persistent advocacy. We allude to the temperance movement in its various phases, but especially in its national and legislative aspects. It cannot, therefore, fail to be highly gratifying and encouraging to find that the temperance cause is becoming, year by year, more and more distinctly and emphatically recognized by the Social Science Association, and by its noble president, as one of the prominent topics of discourse and discussion at the annual congress.

As at Bradford, the previous year, the veteran president, Lord Brougham, in his inaugural address spoke out with emphatic utterance on this great question of national intemperance. But on this occasion the 'old man eloquent,' not only denounced the 'drink-demon,' but he put the seal of his high approval upon a specific measure, which promises, if energetically taken up by the legislature, and placed upon the statute book, to remedy and remove that great national curse which for ages has baffled the efforts and mocked the hopes of all social reformers.

The Council of the Association set apart one whole day for the consideration of the question of intemperance and its remedies. A number of earnest and carefully-written papers were read and discussed with great attention. The forcible retention of confirmed victims of alcoholic stimulants, in a separate class of 'inebriate asylums,' was ably advocated; and attention was drawn to the present state of the law, which sends a man to a lunatic asylum during a fit of delirium tremens, but sets

sets him at liberty as soon as the violent symptoms have passed away, although it is well known to everybody concerned that the poor patient will succumb to the surrounding temptations, and relapse into delirium after a few weeks' release from restraint.

The physiological influence of alcoholic stimulants was ably treated by Dr. Smith, the physician of the Consumption Hospital at Brompton. The leading points brought out were, that alcoholic drinks immediately affect the brain, and produce an injurious effect there, extending rapidly over the whole system, and attacking every vital organ of the system; that alcoholic drinks can never be considered nourishing; and that they do not produce animal heat. Several other excellent papers were read and discussed, including a very able one on the futility and fallacy of the licence system as a means of protecting public morals.

The question of Indirect Taxation, its wasteful and burdensome nature, as compared with direct taxation, was elaborately treated before one of the sections of the congress by Duncan M'Laren, Esq. The particular tax referred to by Mr. M'Laren was the duty on spirits; but, unfortunately for the cogency of the argument, one of the objections valid on fiscal grounds had to be admitted as no objection at all on moral grounds. It was argued that every such tax inevitably causes decreased consumption to some extent, and thus lessens the return from the fixed capital previously invested in the trade. It was also admitted by Mr. M'Laren that the increased tax on spirits could be 'defended on social grounds, as having a tendency to repress intemperance, the great source of poverty and crime.' This tendency of increased duty on spirits to cause a decreased consumption was explicitly denied by Mr. Bright at the meeting of the Financial Reformers at Liverpool about a year ago, when he was breaking the ice for the introduction of Mr. Gladstone's light wine budget. Nor has Mr. Bright ever retracted that political heresy, although it is manifestly contrary to the tenor of all his own teachings, as well as against the fixed creed of his party, and of all political economists of the present age.

But other statesmen, on other platforms, have also been speaking to and lecturing the people. Indeed, it may now be said emphatically that 'the statesman is abroad.'

We have had most of the cabinet ministers addressing the people on social, political, or foreign affairs. At Leeds we have had Lord Palmerston delivering a discourse on ragged schools, and saying: 'If we rescue from vice and crime a vast number of these unhappy children, who, if left to the hazards and temptations to which their condition exposes them, would become criminals and victims of the law, I say that you will be conferring an enormous benefit upon society.' The premier was reminded, by a gentleman present, that it was better to prevent the necessity for ragged schools; and the fact was officially stated to his lordship that none of the children receiving the benefit of the institution were belonging to teetotal parents. His lordship would, no doubt, reflect upon that statement; but, of course, he will not be willing to relinquish the revenue derived by the state from 'the great source of poverty and crime.'

Mr. Gladstone has spoken at Chester on the volunteer movement, commending it on broad if not high grounds of statesmanship, as a preparation for certain possible hostile contingencies.

His Grace the Duke of Argyll has been addressing a Manchester audience in the Free Trade Hall. The question dilated upon was non-political, and related to education as connected with the Mechanics' Institutes, &c. The speech was sound, sagacious, and manly, such as befitted the occasion, and reflected honour upon the noble duke, who, with the duchess, during their stay in Manchester, let it be seen and known that they neither drank wine nor strong drink as an ordinary beverage.

The President of the Poor Law Board, Mr. Thomas Milner Gibson, has addressed his constituents at Ashton, dwelling very much upon the advantages of the French Treaty, and especially dilating upon the light wines that are coming into the country in such copious streams of beneficence and goodwill from our ancient and national enemy, who has now been converted into a good customer and fast friend. Mr. Gibson did not tell his constituents that the heavy wines of Spain and Portugal are coming in even faster than the lighter qualities of France; and that, indeed, scarcely any

any really 'light' wine will find its way to John Bull, nor would he care for the sour stuff if he got hold of it.

At Tavistock we have had Sir John Trelawney treating upon the Treaty, the Paper Duty, the Ballot, our War Expenditure, &c. Mr. Berkeley has made another ballot speech. Mr. Bass, the brewer, has tried to be statistical in a new direction, having counted the number of times each member of the House of Commons opened his mouth during the session. He made a special thrust at the member for the Tower Hamlets, Mr. A. S. Ayrton; and that honourable gentleman has returned the compliment in appropriate terms. The pale ale brewer will be cautious, in future, how he foams at Mr. Ayrton, who is not unacquainted with either the tactics or the tricks of the trade. Another M.P. brewer, Mr. Buxton, has announced, in one of his public addresses, that a valuable substitute has now been adopted, or is about to be adopted, by the London brewers. He does not think they have used it before. The only drawback to the excellent qualities of the 'bitter' ingredient is, that it has been calculated that it will kill fifteen per cent. extra of their customers. But, notwithstanding that trifling difficulty, the strychnine must be used, and perish their customers must. Surely some member will ask the honourable gentleman, when the House sits, to explain the political economy and ethics of this wonderful discovery.

At Greenock, Mr. Dunlop, M.P., in discoursing before his constituents, declared himself favourable to the extension of the wine licence scheme of the Chancellor to Scotland; but, at the same time, he also declared that he would be favourable to the permissive power being given to the people to sweep away the whole liquor traffic. At Exeter, the other day, Sir L. V. Palk, bart., M.P., presided over a meeting in favour of the Permissive Bill as expounded by Dr. F. R. Lees. The worthy baronet delivered an able and eloquent speech, and said that a more important resolution than the one adopted by the meeting had never been confided to him, and that he should have the utmost pleasure in forwarding it to the Premier and the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Mr. John Bright has addressed large meetings at Birmingham, Wakefield, and Leeds, on all the most stirring and important topics of the day, with but one exception. And, unfortunately, that is an exception Mr. Bright always studies to make. He could not so utterly and constantly avoid the great question of the intemperance of the nation if he did not deliberately and purposely resolve to shun it. He never makes a speech, but the question seems to lie right before him and invite his attention; but he always manages to skip it, shirk it, or blink it. He cannot be blind to it, and yet he will not see it, or, at least, he will not say a word about it, though he must know that millions would respond to any honest utterance from his eloquent lips on that great question of real and practical philanthropy, as well as of wise and magnanimous statesmanship, the repression of intemperance by the permissive power of the people.

In America we have seen a magnificent struggle, and a glorious result. The dominance of the slave power in the Federation Council is now, we may hope, destroyed. Freedom now breathes freer, and all the hopes of humanity have a more glorious future. The crisis is not over, but the die has been cast, and Liberty waves her star-spangled banner aloft.

On the continent of Europe we have another glorious spectacle—a UNITED ITALY—free, with a self-acquired liberty. Rome and Venetia have not yet been rescued from the Austrian and French bayonets; but Garibaldi has pledged his word; and none of his words, hitherto, have failed. May liberty be preserved and extended without any further effusion of human blood! but if anything is worth living or dying for, it is simply liberty and fatherland.

We have no space and no heart to refer to China, Australia, or India. English honour, English diplomacy, and English statesmanship do not shine with much splendour in these far-off regions.

Mr. Cobden has, at length, nobly completed his great diplomatic and statesmanlike achievement—the new commercial treaty with France. And in this magnanimous effort, Mr. Cobden has not only added to his former world-wide renown, as a clear-sighted and honest-hearted statesman, but he has laid the foundation of national prosperity

prosperity and of international amity, we doubt not, for centuries to come. The only great drawback we can perceive is one which Mr. Cobden, we would fain believe, has rather accepted from the political exigencies of the case than deliberately chosen and adopted. If Mr. Cobden has not forgotten or recanted some of his own once deeply cherished sentiments, even he cannot but regret that feature of his great commercial treaty, which will facilitate the exchange of the solid and most useful products of English soil and English labour—our coal, and iron, and earthenwares, for the delusive and pernicious French wines, an article which as diet is utterly worthless, as a luxury is deleterious; but as a means of intoxication is only calculated further to demoralize and impoverish the people. The only way open to Mr. Cobden to redeem himself from the moral responsibility of this blunder, will be for him to join heart and hand in the great movement in behalf of a Permissive Prohibitory Liquor Law.

At Glasgow a memorial has been adopted and extensively signed, praying the municipal authorities to prohibit street-smoking; and in the Manchester City Council, on the motion of Mr. Fieldes, a memorial was unanimously adopted, praying the government to institute an inquiry into the effect of capital punishments, with a view to their abolition.

Co-operative institutions, street railways, a system of cheap telegrams, the deodorizing of town sewage, steam agriculture, and various other schemes of improvement, social and mechanical, are being initiated and put into practical operation, the results of which, there can be no doubt, will tend to inaugurate a yet higher and happier state of civilization and social well-being.

The nation and the world have recently had to mourn the decease of some of our great men who have been in the foremost ranks of action or council in connection with those great events which give their impress upon the age and its history. Lord Dundonald, better known as Lord Cochrane, Admiral Sir Charles Napier, the Earl of Aberdeen, the Duke of Norfolk, Baron Bunsen, and other names of illustrious mark, are now all inscribed upon the tablet of earth's departed great.

## ART. X.—LITERARY REVIEWS.

*Academic Reform and University Representation.* By James Heywood, F.R.S., B.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, London: Whitfield, 1860.

THE author of this volume has a right to claim the attention of the public. He acted as the pioneer of University Reform, and has been, from the first, successful in clearing away obstacles and defeating opposition. In 1848, his supporters presented a memorial to government in favour of an inquiry into the universities, and in 1850 royal commissioners were appointed to inquire into the 'State, Discipline, Studies, and Revenues of the Universities and Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge.' The result of these inquiries was a bill of reform which introduced the following changes—The abolition of religious tests for inferior degrees, the opening of fellowships and scholarships to merit, the extension of the professionate, and a modification of the existing university constitution. In carrying on the work of reform the commission had of course considerable difficulties to contend with. Old statutes were clung to with some tenacity and in most cases a compromise had to be effected. This fact accounts for the imperfection of the results attained. Reform must necessarily be progressive; and a reformer who at once proposes extreme measures often hinders the accomplishment of his ultimate object.

We cannot say that Mr. Heywood has been so successful in book-making as he has undoubtedly been in bill-making. He falls into a fault which is becoming too common amongst writers of the day. The chief merits of a compilation are just discrimination and careful arrangement; but these qualities require labour, which few compilers of facts now-a-days care to bestow on their works. A writer of newspaper correspondence may justly lay claim to some excuse for saying 'what comes uppermost,'

uppermost,' but we expect more methodical composition from a writer on university reform. The reader is disappointed, therefore, when he finds mingled together in curious confusion memorials, examination papers, short prayers, German rationalism, and American development.

Mr. Heywood apparently considers that no distinctive theological tenets should be held by the governing body of an university. They may, to be sure, recognize the existence of a Supreme Being (p. 296), but beyond that anything definite is injurious. In his discussions on this topic our author seems to confuse two things—religious tests and religious discipline. The former are not only injurious but futile, religious discipline, however, is necessary to the true life of a college, and unless tyrannically used as a substitute for a test can be open to no reasonable objection. The recognition of the fact that Christians have differences as well as more essential points of agreement will do more to promote a spirit of true charity than a spurious liberality which would merge all distinctive doctrines in a dim and hazy eclecticism. A liberality of this kind pervading a college would lead the authorities to look with much more dislike and intolerance on any student who held distinctive religious views than would exist under a true system of religious discipline kindly administered.

When a new Reform Bill shall have removed the few restrictions which still remain in the universities as the results of compromise, we shall see these venerable corporations becoming truly national and thoroughly educational, and sending forth year by year men fully equipped for their labour of life, and willing to lend a hand in helping forward every good word and work.

*Historical and Descriptive Geography of Palestine.* with Illustrations. By Joseph A. Meen.

*Bible Months; or, the Seasons in Palestine, as illustrative of Scripture.* By W. G. Groser, F.G.S.

*Branches running over the Wall; or, Incidents illustrative of the Collateral Benefits of Sunday-school Instruction.* By R. E. Cranfield. London: Sunday-school Union.

The Sunday-school Union has done great service to the Christian instruction of the young throughout this empire; but its beneficial influence on teachers is not the least of its philanthropic works. By means of its serial literature—whose aggregate circulation in 1860 was 1,300,000,—its preparation and model classes, its conversaziones and its libraries, it has done much to develop the efficiency of a most useful class in the Christian church, Sunday-school teachers. In an age like the present, when common school instruction is advancing so rapidly under able and intelligent teachers, there is danger lest Sunday scholars, accustomed to such thorough education during the week, should not be sufficiently interested in the lessons of the Sabbath-day when they are under non-professional teachers. It is therefore of the highest consequence that Sunday-school teachers should cultivate their abilities and improve their adaptation to their work. They should be thoroughly informed on Bible doctrine and illustration, and be able to teach with tact. A great service is rendered to them by the publications of the various Sunday-school organizations throughout the country, and by none more so than by the Union which has issued the books on our table.

Mr. Meen's work on the *Geography of Palestine* is an admirable text-book. It is compiled with care, and written with clearness of style. Within small compass, it condenses much information. The subject is so intimately interwoven with the Holy Scripture, that it ought to be familiar to all teachers, who will not easily find so accurate a compendium as that which Mr. Meen's industry and skill have furnished them.

*Bible Months* contain a calendar of the Holy Land, and is a most ingenious and instructive book. Every month of the year has its chapter full of matter on the seasons to elucidate the Bible. Accuracy is guaranteed by the best authorities, and interest is sustained by the happy style of description. Pictures, too, aid the realization of the scenes described. The other work contains sketches calculated to encourage the patient labour of Sunday-school teachers. It is well written, and fitted for the libraries of schools.

The serial publications for the year 1860 are, with a few exceptions, before us. They include two magazines for Sunday-school teachers; along with a 'Biblical Treasury' for illustrating Scripture, and 'Notes on Lessons,' and a Pocket-

a Pocket-book, elegant and useful, all full of suggestive matter; a magazine for young men, another for Bible classes, and a third for children, each skilfully edited and adapted to the intelligence of the youth. To these are added music both for congregations and schools. Select Psalmody, including many chants, has just been issued. When we mention that its only fault, in our esteem, is its size, readers may believe it has many excellences. Much good may be done by Sunday-school teachers regularly perusing such of the above as are suited to themselves, and endeavouring to get one magazine into the hands of each scholar of their respective classes. By such means the minds of teachers and scholars are kept interested all the week in the exercises of the Sunday.

*Science and Suffering: Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. John Morison, D.D., LL.D., late Minister of Trevor Chapel, Brompton.* By the Rev. John Kennedy, M.A., F.R.G.S. London: Ward and Co. 1860.

THIS volume traces the career and labours of a most excellent, zealous, and useful minister. It is performed with much judgment and good taste, and well calculated to instruct and stimulate the minds of all who peruse it. There is not too minute detail, while there is ample material for forming a right estimate of the man. This is biographic wisdom worthy of Mr. Kennedy's abilities. The book is divided into three parts—the learner, the worker, and the sufferer. The first contains an interesting sketch of the state of religion in the north of Scotland in the early part of the present century. The second exhibits a busy minister in the difficult sphere of the metropolis, where Dr. Morison not only provided for the spiritual instruction of a congregation, but conducted the 'Evangelical Magazine' for more than thirty years, and prepared several works for the press. In this we have quite a model of clerical devotedness and philanthropic zeal. The third part draws aside the veil of domestic life, and reveals a sufferer who for twenty-five years scarcely spent a whole night in bed, and whose family was thinned by very trying bereavements.

*Our Exemplars, Poor and Rich; or, Biographical Sketches of Men and Women, who have, by an extraordinary use of their opportunities, benefited their fellow-creatures.* Edited by Matthew Davenport Hill, Recorder of Birmingham. With a Preface by Lord Brougham. London: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin. 1861.

A VERY laudable effort is made in this book to hold up to admiration persons of eminent worth. It is not high talent, great wealth, or brilliant genius which is pointed out; but personal excellence in public usefulness. There are twenty-eight sketches of real philanthropists, several of them yet alive. They belong to different classes, from the king and the peer down to the humble domestic servant, and to various countries. Their walks of usefulness were such as can be followed by many; for in our world opportunities are numerous and necessities great. In this book 'social reformers' occupy an honourable position. By the extensive circulation of a volume so suggestive and stimulative, incalculable good will be done. Both Lord Brougham and Mr. Hill deserved a place among Our Exemplars; but that will yet be done for them which they have here done for others.

*Mary Bunyan; or, The Dreamer's Blind Daughter.* By S. R. Ford. *The Journey of Life.* By Catherine Sinclair.

*Life in Israel.* By Maria T. Richards.

*Nemesis; or, The Avenger.* By the author of 'Alone.' London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

THESE volumes belong to what is popularly known as 'The Run and Read Library,' which for high moral and often Christian tone stands quite at the head of libraries for railway reading. In 'Mary Bunyan' we read anew the touching story of the great dreamer's sorrows. They are vividly described by the writer, and must deeply interest readers.

Miss Sinclair's 'Journey of Life' contains many striking anecdotes of the good regarding the solemn realities of life in relation to a world to come. Though connected by the faintest thread of argument, the chapters will be perused with interest and profit in the homes of affliction.

'Life in Israel' exhibits the facts of Hebrew history in the attractive garb of tales, and the attempt is most creditable.

'Nemesis'

'Nemesis' has not much merit as a story.

Altogether we hail this library, and should rejoice to learn that its volumes find their way to the homes of the people by the book-hawkers who perambulate the country.

*Sermons preached in Marlborough Chapel.* By J. Gage Pigg, B.A. Second edition. London: Ward and Co.

THESE discourses are evidently the production of a mind highly cultivated and endowed with the gift of expressing noble thoughts in graceful eloquence. In some of them we should have liked a more distinct doctrinal utterance, especially where 'Reconciliation to God' is the theme. But it is hardly fair to judge an author's orthodoxy by his omissions in a volume of sermons, which represent but a small portion of his pulpit instruction. Yet when any preacher ventures into print we expect more in a discourse than might be contained in an average sermon. There are many beauties, much suggestive thought, and spirit-stirring appeals in the sermons of Mr. Pigg.

*Pilgrimage from the Alps to the Tiber: or, the Influence of Romanism on Trade, Justice, and Knowledge.* By the Rev. J. A. Wylie, LL.D., author of 'The Papacy,' &c. Edinburgh: A. Elliot.

WE know of no volume of its class to compare with the one before us. For profound argument, impressive example, entertaining incident, graphic description, and lofty eloquence it stands alone in the realm of literature like Tabor among the mountains of Galilee. When travelling through Italy, Dr. Wylie kept both eye and ear open: and while, on the one hand, he has been enwrapt with the sublime beauties of nature and art, he has, on the other, been unspeakably distressed with the moral and religious state of the different localities he visited. In this goodly volume he has honestly and fearlessly recorded his judgment of the relative merits of Romanism and Protestantism, viewed socially, commercially, and politically. Such a work most eminently deserves a place in every library throughout Christendom: and no doubt will obtain it in the course of time.

*Life in Bethany; or, the Words and Tears of Jesus.* By the Rev. Edwin Davies. London: Heylin. 1860.

THE family of Bethany has occupied many pens, but this new volume is fresh and engaging. It is written with much taste, and pervaded by a generous sympathy and earnest piety, which make it eminently fitted to comfort the sorrowful and edify the Christian.

*Tercentenary of the Scottish Reformation, as Commemorated at Edinburgh, August, 1860.* With Introduction by the Rev. James Begg, D.D. Edited by the Rev. J. A. Wylie, LL.D. Edinburgh: Maclaren. 1860.

THIS volume contains many of the papers read, speeches delivered, sermons preached at the National Convocation at Edinburgh last autumn to commemorate the great Reformation of the sixteenth century. The sermon of Dr. Guthrie on 'God's Truth and Man's Freedom' is a noble production—sufficient to float the volume into fame: but we greatly regret that the editorial scissors were used in this masterpiece of Christian oratory which the audience could not hear without expressed enthusiasm. It is a splendid contribution to truth and liberty, and closely connected with social science. The other papers are worthy of their authors, and contain much information, some of it new, all of it interesting. The volume forms a valuable permanent record of a most becoming commemoration.

*Lives made Sublime by Faith and Works.* By the Rev. Robert Steel, author of 'Samuel the Prophet,' &c. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1861.

THIS volume is handsomely got up, and contains a gallery of portraits deserving the study of those who would consecrate common life by Christian faith and works.

*Altar Light: A Tribute to the Memory of the Rev. Alexander Fletcher, D.D., London.* By the Rev. John Macfarlane, LL.D., Glasgow. London: Nisbet and Co. 1860.

AN eloquent and merited eulogium on one of the most useful preachers of the metropolis. The sermon will be read with interest and pleasure.

*Similitudes and Substance.* By the Rev. John Cox, of Ipswich. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

MR. COX has unfolded with much tact sundry

sundry Old Testament parables and apologues, and delineated well some phases of the Saviour's character in this volume. Its application of divine truth to common life are admirable.

*Cœlebs in Search of a Cook.* London: Blackwood.

Old bachelors will find much refreshment and useful counsel in this racy book. But his views are not all sound on social subjects.

*The Dramatic Works of William Shakespeare adapted for Family Reading.* By Thomas Bowdler, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A. With Engravings. London and Glasgow: Griffin and Co. 1861.

We only need to mention this edition to commend it to the family circles of our readers. Lord Jeffrey long ago, in the 'Edinburgh Review,' complimented Mr. Bowdler on the fine discrimination and good taste with which he had executed the difficult task of pruning Shakespeare. The praise was just. We can only add that this edition is very portable, and neatly printed.

## Pamphlets.

*Letter on the Debate in the House of Commons on Ragged and Industrial Schools.* By Mary Carpenter. Bristol: Arrowsmith.

Few individuals are more entitled to a hearing on this subject than Miss Carpenter, who has devoted so much of her life to the reformation of poor and delinquent children. There are special reasons why she should receive respectful and considerate regard for the question introduced by this pamphlet. In the year 1856 the Committee of Privy Council passed a minute to give ragged and industrial schools a fair share of the money voted by Parliament for educational purposes. The effect of this was to stimulate voluntary effort, to erect new schools, and to provide for an additional number of neglected children. Yet strange to relate, the Committee of Council recently passed another minute almost undoing what they had so auspiciously begun, and reducing the aid to these schools. The immediate result has been to cripple the energies of friends of ragged schools. Dr. Guthrie's school in Edinburgh received this year 225*l.*, instead of 840*l.* in 1859. The school in Bristol, in which Miss Carpenter takes so deep an interest, instead of a half of the expenditure, as in former years, received only one-sixth. Another received 84*l.* instead of 332*l.* The matter was brought before the House of Commons last session by Sir John Pakington; but his motion to give the ragged and industrial schools a fair proportion of aid from public money was lost. It is hoped that the right honourable baronet will repeal his motion during the ensuing session with more success, and to further this Miss Carpenter's letter ought to be in the hands of every member of Parliament.

*Charge of Matthew Davenport Hill, Esq., Q.C., Recorder of Birmingham, delivered to the Grand Jury of that Borough at the Michaelmas Quarter Sessions, 8th Oct.*, 1860.

*Suggestions for the Repression of Crime, contained in Charges to Grand Juries of Birmingham, supported by additional facts and arguments.* By M. D. Hill. London: J. W. Parker and Son. 1857.

We class these two together, for they belong to a series of important charges delivered by the learned author during the last twenty-one years. The volume contains twenty-two of these, along with much additional matter connected with the great social questions so ably discussed. Mr. Hill has been a social reformer of long standing. *Cheap literature* is indebted to him for its tone of ability and popular style. *Reform of criminal law* received his active support when he was in Parliament, standing beside Sir S. Romilly and Sir J. Mackintosh. *Prison discipline* has had in him an intelligent advocate, and the *reformation of prisoners* an earnest and persevering friend. But *prevention of crime*, no less than its healthful punishment, has occupied his attention, and to this his last charge is chiefly directed. For this, five years ago, he supported the Maine law, and nine years ago he was the means of assembling a conference at Birmingham to consider the best means of preventing crime by the reformation of youth. Age seems to increase his tender sympathies, and to draw forth his concern for the rising generation. In his recent charge he deplores the reduction of aid by Government to ragged and industrial schools, and says,

says, 'I must unite my humble protest to the masterly argument of Sir JOHN PAKINGTON in the House of Commons, the fervid appeals of Dr. GUTHRIE, and the unanswerable remonstrances of MARY CARPENTER against the huckstering frugality with which our ministers let go their coin, shilling by shilling, to the ragged schools—a parsimony which, when contrasted with the plenitude of our munificence in favour of classes in the community able and willing to contribute to the education of their children, strikes me as the most astounding example of inconsistency which has occurred in my time.' To support such schools, Mr. Hill advocates the union of voluntary and state aid. The body of subscribers become responsible for its management, and the state by local or general taxation and efficient inspection secures the adequate support and public confidence. It is very important that these be both maintained, that voluntary and state effort may work harmoniously.

*Beacon Lights for British Youth.* Edited and partly written by J. Harding. Nos. 1—4. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

THESE tracts all bear directly against the fleshly sins of youth, and are able, earnest, and pointed.

*Apostolic Nephalism; or, the Teetotalers and the Dean of Down.* Liverpool.

A SPIRITED exposé of the dean's logic.

*Self-Culture: Intellectual, Moral, and Religious.* By the Rev. John Jeffrey, of the Presbyterian Church, Gateshead.

WE are always gratified when ministers of religion exercise their influence for encouraging the thoughtful development of young men. The lecture before us is an admirable specimen of stimulus given to youth by a superior and well-informed mind.

*The Total Abstinence Movement.* A Letter to the Rev. Thomas Todd, M.A., Rector of Newtown, Lincolnshire. By John Hunt. Grantham: L. Ridge.

THIS letter was called forth by a sermon of the divine in which total abstinence was rather ungenerously dealt with. Mr. Hunt took up the defensive, and in good temper, good sense, and good logic replied.

*Confessions of an Old Smoker, respectfully addressed to all Smoking Disciples.* London: Elliot Stock. 1860.

THIS ought to be placed in the hands of all smokers, but especially of those who, though teetotalers, continue attached to the Indian weed. Its arguments apply with great force to smoking ministers.

*The Compressed Air-Bath: a Therapeutic Agent in various affections of the Respiratory Organs, and other Diseases.* By R. B. Grindrod, M.D., LL.D., F.L.S., G.S., R.G.S., &c., Author of 'Bacchus.' London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

THE compressed air-bath has been a most useful therapeutic agent, as testified by the various cases recorded in this pamphlet. Dr. Grindrod has done a service to medical science and to the afflicted by its publication.

*The Claims of the Temperance Movement on Christian Ministers.* By the Rev. Richard Jones. Manchester: United Kingdom Alliance.

THE arguments on this most important subject are exceedingly well put in the pamphlet before us. The extent of the liquor traffic and of drunkenness, the results of the drinking system, and the remedies proposed, are discussed with clearness, and pressed upon ministers of religion with great force of reasoning. This ought to be placed in the hands of all Christian clergymen.

The argument has no sectarianism, but is pervaded with general philanthropy.

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## ERRATUM,

In page 203, note. The common potato is not 'Atropa belladonna,' but '*Solanum tuberosum.*'

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4. *Reformatory Discipline in County and Borough Gaols.* By Captain Maconochie. Birmingham: Grew and Son. 1851.
5. *Account of the Public Prison of Valencia, with Observations by Captain Maconochie.* London: Gilpin. 1852.
6. *Penal Discipline. Three Letters to the 'Daily News.'* By Captain Maconochie. London: Thomas Harrison. 1853.
7. *Irish Convict Prisons.* By Matthew Davenport Hill, Q.C. London: Parker and Son. 1857.
8. *The Immunity of 'Habitual Criminals.'* By Captain Walter Crofton, C.B., Chairman of the Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland. London: Bell and Daldy. 1861.
9. *The Convict Service. A Letter to Sir George Cornewall Lewis, Bart.* By C. P. Measor, Esq., Deputy-Governor of Chatham Convict Prison. London: Robert Hardwicke. 1861.

FEW individuals, we may safely aver, have exercised an influence beneficial to their fellow-men at once so widely extended and so little recognized, as the late Captain Maconochie. His name, it is true, has for many years not been unfamiliar to the public, simply because no opportunity was ever lost by him of uttering the truths he held to be vital; of fulfilling the duty he set himself when a residence in Tasmania having opened his eyes alike to the horrors of the convict system there, and the errors of prison discipline at home, he resolved he would do what in him lay, at any cost to himself, to initiate a reform in England's treatment of her criminals. But the popular mind holding that the object of punishment is to deter, and will be achieved by temporarily depriving the offender of the physical ability to do wrong, is slow to grasp the doctrine taught by Captain Maconochie, that its aim should be to implant the will and teach the way to do right. Oblivious of the painful and long-continued effort it costs the best of us to overcome even one bad habit, the suffering inevitably inflicted by that system which

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obtains from the deeply-dyed criminal voluntary obedience to the command—'Cease to do evil, learn to do well,' was ignored, and Captain Maconochie, when he sought to substitute moral for coercive discipline, was regarded as an amiable visionary, who vainly desired to coax by weak indulgence those who could effectually be governed by the lash alone. Bit by bit, however, though too often without acknowledgment of their authorship, his plans have been adopted, until in 1856 a Committee of the House of Commons embodied in its resolutions most of the principles for whose acceptance by the Legislature he had struggled incessantly from the time he first enunciated them in 1837. His advocacy was still unrecognized; but the genuine philanthropist cares little for the acknowledgment of his efforts if their end be attained; and had those resolutions embraced the substitution originally suggested by Archbishop Whately, of *task* for *time* sentences, which constitutes the keystone of Captain Maconochie's system, he would have felt amply repaid for twenty years of toil, disappointment, and pecuniary loss, whether his name had been associated with the triumph or not.

Born in 1787, and entering the navy at fifteen years of age, he saw much active service, and attained his captaincy before the downfall of Napoleon put an end to the war. Thus he had had experience in the management of large bodies of men, and had already tested the value of the principle of mutual responsibility which afterwards became an important feature in his plan for the treatment of criminals, when in 1836, upon the invitation of his old friend Sir John Franklin, appointed Governor of Van Diemen's Land, Captain Maconochie accompanied him thither as his secretary; and his thoughts would probably have occupied themselves with the subject of convict management, even had they not been specially turned in that direction by a request from the Prison Discipline Society to correspond with them on the subject.*

In the early days of the colony, what is termed *Assignment* had had much to recommend it. Free labourers were too few in number to form a class distinct from the bond, and the latter would dwell with the masters to whom they were assigned by Government almost on terms of equality, common hardships and dangers creating a friendly sympathy. The convict, removed from evil associations and companions, would feel that he was beginning life afresh, with his fate in his own hands; while the primitive state of the society of which he found himself a member, would afford few of the temptations to evil to which he had succumbed in the old world. Moreover, he would be purified by those genial influ-

* Life of Captain Maconochie, in 'Our Exemplars, Poor and Rich.' Edited by Matthew Davenport Hill. London: Cassell and Co. 1861.

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ences of domestic life, to secure which, by artificial combinations, where the real family is unattainable, is now the special aim of the most enlightened criminal reformers. Indeed, a system of apprenticeship, in principle akin to assignment, though far better guarded from abuse, is at the present time, in the backwoods of America, training up thousands of destitute and criminal juveniles to be good and happy men and women.

But the Australian colonies rapidly advanced in prosperity. Free labourers poured in, thrusting the convicts downwards in the scale, until they were regarded as pariahs. Meanwhile, the temptations to crime incident to wealth and numbers rapidly multiplied, and the masters having been amply supplied with physical means of repression, too often abandoned all attempt to restrain their assigned servants by moral influences. Having thus begun to fall back, mutual deterioration rapidly ensued; and years before Capt. Maconochie arrived, a system of virtual slavery, in some respects almost as atrocious even as that of the United States, threatened ruin, moral and material, to the community. It would be unjust not to except many masters from condemnation; and the honest discharge of their duty towards their dependents was still often rewarded by the faithful service and subsequent good conduct of the latter. In the thickly-populated districts especially, public opinion in some degree shielded the convict from the extremity of oppression; but that great tyranny was exercised even at the seat of government, (though sinking to a trifle when compared with the cruelty perpetrated up the country), the following conversation in 182—, will serve to show. The speakers are the author of 'Settlers and Convicts,' and an old resident in the colony, who narrates a few instances of such horrors as afterwards came to the knowledge of Captain Maconochie by hundreds.

'You may wonder, my lad,' he said, 'at what you read about the treatment of prisoners; most people do when they first come. But you'll see things yet up the country, that these Sydney doings are only child's play by the side of.'

'You don't mean to say,' I replied, 'that I shall meet with anything worse than this case I have just read. Here is an offence called by three different names; three several charges are made upon it; three several trials, three several sentences, and three several punishments following. A man gets drunk, has his clothes stolen, and is afraid to go home to his master. He is tried first for drunkenness, a second time for making away with his clothing, and a third time for absconding. His sentence is in sum total one hundred lashes, which, with the cat-o'-nine-tails, is really nine hundred lashes.'

'Why, I have known the same act to be called by five different names and five sentences passed upon the prisoner for it. It was in the case of a Government servant belonging to a magistrate near me. The man, as in the case you read, had got a drop of liquor from a travelling dealer. His master's son, a very pert young fellow, began to curse at and threaten him. The man retorted; a constable was sent for, whom he knocked down and escaped from. He then ran off into the bush, taking with him, as he passed his own hut, about three parts of a cake he had by him ready baked. The young fellow prosecuted him for drunkenness, insolence, theft (the piece of bread, for rations are considered the master's till used), and bushranging; and then the magistrate made the constable swear the

 assault

assault against him. He got twenty-five lashes for drunkenness, twenty-five for insolence, fifty for bushranging, six months to an iron gang* for stealing the cake, and three months for assaulting a peace-officer in the execution of his duty. The flogging he got before going to the iron gang frightened him; and on receiving sentence for some trivial offence at the iron gang, he escaped before the punishment was inflicted, took to the bush, joined a gang of bushrangers, who had arms, committed several robberies with them, was taken with arms in his hands, and hanged. The man was a quiet, hard-working, honest fellow, but he could not stand flogging, and he was fond of liquor. The crime he was sent here for he committed when drunk, and it was perhaps the only one he had to answer for. That man was murdered; and so hundreds upon hundreds have been, and are being, every year in this cursed country.'

* * * * *

'The fact is, flogging in this country is such a common thing, that nobody thinks anything of it. I have seen young children practising on a tree as children in England play at horses. I have now got a man under me who received 2,600 lashes with the cat in about five years, and his worst crime was insolence to his overseer. The fact is, that the man is a red-hot Tipperary man, and when his blood gets up, you could not make him hold his tongue if you were to threaten to hang him. Since I have had him he has never had a lash, just because I take no notice of what he says. The consequence is, there is nothing in the world that man would not do for me if he could.'

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'What I tell you now, I tell you on the authority of my own eyes. I was sent for to Bathurst Court House, to identify a man supposed to have taken the bush, from the farm I have charge of. I had to go past the triangles, where they had been flogging incessantly for hours. I saw a man walk across the yard with the blood that had run from his lacerated flesh squashing out of his shoes at every step he took. A dog was licking the blood off the triangles, and the ants were carrying away great pieces of human flesh that the lash had scattered about the ground. The scourger's foot had worn a deep hole in the ground by the violence with which he whirled himself round on it to strike the quivering and wealed back, out of which stuck the sinews, white, ragged, and swollen. The infliction was one hundred lashes, at about half-minute time, so as to extend the punishment through nearly an hour. The day was hot enough to overcome a man merely standing that length of time in the sun; and this was going on in the full blaze of it. However, they had a pair of scourgers who gave one another spell and spell about, and they were bespattered with blood like a couple of butchers.'†

The evidence given by Colonel Arthur before the Transportation Committee of the House of Commons in 1837 was to the same effect; and yet so ignorant was he of the true principles of punishment, so prejudiced in favour of assignment (and in these respects we may regard him as the fair representative of the state of public opinion in the colony), that, to quote his own avowal, he said, '*I think it affords a better prospect of reformation than any other species of punishment I am aware of!!!*'

Arriving in Van Diemen's Land, Captain Maconochie found himself an abolitionist in a land of slavery, and bitter was the animosity excited by the declaration he made of his opinions. Social advantage and pecuniary interest alike prompted silence. Both were unhesitatingly sacrificed. He had put his hand to the plough, and he never looked back. In the following year he

* Prisoners working in irons.

† Settlers and Convicts.' London, Cox. 1852.,

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forwarded to the Home Government three elaborate reports upon the social condition of the colony, but chiefly as it concerned the convict population. He pointed out the cruel injustice of a system of which the degree of punishment it imposed must be quite uncertain, as wholly dependent upon the character of the master who administered it; he declared the suffering it inflicted to far surpass that attributed to it in England, and showed how it was felt most acutely by the best-disposed prisoners, its effect being gradually to reduce all to one dead level of hardened crime. Of good conduct no official record was kept, that which was punishable being alone noted, while this was infinitely increased, and the distinction between right and wrong broken down by the arbitrary multiplication of conventional offences. The labour of the convicts he showed to be worth less than half that of free men, the settlers themselves declaring it to be not worth even a quarter;* while by official papers transmitted with his report he proved that, as regarded reformation, the system was not only a failure, but that it was actually productive of crime to an enormous extent, both by instigating to further wrong-doing its immediate victims, the convicts, and by the corrupting influence it inevitably exercised upon the free population. That the wretched prisoner, he said, did not become an absolute devil, was solely to be attributed to the unquenchable divine spark in every human breast; and he touchingly illustrated the convict's abasement among his fellow-men, and at the same time his yearning for sympathy, by allusion to the passionate love he feels for his dog, who alone of all living creatures respects him.†

Having demonstrated the evils he sought to exterminate, and shown that the interests of society and of the malefactor, erroneously regarded as antagonistic, are, in truth, identical, he proposed a plan in substitution of the existing system of criminal discipline both in England and the colonies. We cite it from a Report by a Committee of the Law Amendment Society upon Captain Maconochie's writings, drawn up in 1846, when time and four years' practical experience had matured and in some degree modified his views.

'1. Captain Maconochie's plan had its origin in his experience of the evil tendency of sentences for a time certain, and of fixed gratuitous gaol rations of food. These he practically found opposed to the reformation of the criminal. A man under a time-sentence looks exclusively to the means of beguiling that time. He is thereby led to evade labour, and to seek opportunities of personal gratification, obtained, in extreme cases, even in ways most horrible. His powers of deception are sharpened for the purpose, and even when unable to offend in act he seeks in fancy a gratification by gloating over impure images. At the best his life stagnates, no proper object of pursuit being presented to his thoughts. And the allot-

* This proportion obtains at the present day in England, a navvy excavating eight cubic yards while the convict excavates two.—*The Convict Service.*

† 'Thoughts on Convict Management.'

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ment of fixed gratuitous rations, irrespective of conduct or exertion, further aggravates the evil by removing even the minor stimulus to action furnished by the necessity of procuring food, and by thus directly fostering those habits of improvidence, which, perhaps even more than determined vice, lead to crime.

'2. In lieu of sentences to imprisonment or transportation measured thus by months or years, Captain Maconochie recommends sentences to an amount of labour, measured by a given number of marks, to be placed to the debit of the convict, in books to be kept for the purpose; this debit to be from time to time further augmented by charges made in the same currency for all supplies of food and clothing, and by any fines that may be imposed for misconduct. The duration of his sentence will thus be made to depend on three circumstances: first, the gravity of the original offence, or the estimate made by the judge of the amount of discipline which the criminal ought to undergo before he is restored to liberty. This regulates the amount of the original debit. Second, the zeal, industry, and effectiveness of his labour in the works allotted to him, which furnishes him with the means of payment, or of adding from time to time to the credit side of his account. And third, his conduct in confinement. If well conducted, he will avoid fines, and if economical in food and such other gratifications as he is permitted to purchase with his marks, he will keep down the amount of his debits.

'3. By these means Captain Maconochie contends that a term of imprisonment may be brought to bear a close resemblance to adversity in ordinary life, which being deeply felt is carefully shunned, but which, nevertheless, when encountered in a manful spirit, improves and elevates the character. All the objects of punishment will be thus attained. There will be continued destitution unless relief is sought by exertion, and hence there will be labour and suffering; but with exertion there will not only be the hope, but the certainty of recovery, whence there will be improvement in good habits and right thinking. And the motives put into operation to produce effort and economy being also of the same character with those existing in ordinary life, will advantageously prepare the prisoner for their wholesome action on him after his discharge.

'4. . . . . After the prisoner has passed through a term of probation, to be measured, not by lapse of time, but by his conduct as indicated by the state of his account, he shall be advanced from separate confinement into a social state. For this purpose he shall become a member of a small class of six or eight [associated by mutual consent]; these classes being capable of being separated from each other just as individuals are separated from individuals during the earlier stage. The members of each class to have a common interest; the marks earned or lost by each to count to the gain or loss of his party, not of himself exclusively. By this means Captain Maconochie thinks prisoners will be rescued from the simply *gregarious* state of existence, which is, in truth, a selfish one, now incident to imprisonment in those gaols to which the separate system is not applied, and will be raised into a *social* existence. Captain Maconochie is convinced, by observation, that much good feeling will be elicited among them in consequence of this change. Indolence and vice, which either prevent the prisoner from earning, or compel him to forfeit his marks, will become unpopular in the community, and industry and good conduct, as enabling him to acquire and preserve them, will, on the contrary, obtain for him its approbation. On much experience he asserts that no portion of his *modus operandi* is more effective than this,* by which even in the depraved community of Norfolk Island, he succeeded, in a wonderfully short time, in giving an upward direction to the public opinion of the class of prisoners themselves.'†

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'* Sir George Gipps, in 1839, tried it with his road-parties near Sydney with complete success; and last year Mr. Foster, late Comptroller-General of Convicts, in Van Diemen's Land, who was otherwise strongly opposed to the system, tried it to the letter, even to distributing the men in detached huts, and giving them the choice of their associates, in one of his districts, with the same results. The Rev. Mr. Ewing, a clergyman recently returned from Van Diemen's Land, who furnishes this statement, himself inspected the parties so managed, and testifies to their superior conduct.'

† 'Crime and Punishment.'

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The Committee then proceeds to consider the various objections which from time to time had been urged against the Mark System, as the Captain entitled his plan. These it satisfactorily answers, and concludes by urging its adoption as an experiment.

One change of opinion, frankly avowed by Captain Maconochie, and of great importance as a testimony to the soundness of the doctrine that the sole object of the punisher must be the reformation of the punished, we must specially note. Before he went to Norfolk Island, he regarded the primary stage of his system—namely, separate confinement, under conditions of much severity—as punishment for the past; while probation, or training for the future, commenced with the second or associate stage. His experience there, however, convinced him 'that there ought to be no vindictive punishment at all; but the stricter coercion in the beginning, and the lighter coercion in the end, should be, not two processes with different objects, but two parts of one process, sliding imperceptibly into each other, and having only one common object, the reform of the individuals under treatment.' *

This may appear a mere verbal difference, since the discipline to be pursued remains the same. But it, in fact, involves a fundamental principle, disregard of which may cause the administrator to drift as far from the right path as would the ship whose helmsman neglected to use his compass.

Before proceeding further let us disclaim, as Captain Maconochie earnestly disclaimed himself, originality in the principles he advanced. But for the promulgation of those principles, in season and out of season, for the beautifully devised system he founded upon them, and for the practical testimony to its efficiency his administration of it afforded, our gratitude is due to his genius and perseverance, his Christian philanthropy and entire self-devotion.

Regarding punishment as a benevolent means instead of a vindictive end, Captain Maconochie, in his earliest treatise, defined vice to be a disease, and penal science to be moral surgery. In prison discipline, as in medical treatment, the cure of the patient is the end to be attained; and while, on the one hand, no genial influence which can accelerate that process should be wanting, neither, on the other, must any remedy, however painful, if essential to recovery, be withheld. The moral effect of looking upon punishment from this point of view he considered most beneficial.

'The situation of a gaoler, or other minister of penal law, is considered at present searing to the feelings; and the interior of a prison is believed to exhibit little but the severe infliction of restraint and suffering, on the one hand, and their patient endurance on the other. It is not so with the practice of surgery, or the interior of an hospital. In these, extreme suffering is often inflicted

* MS. Memorandum, by Captain Maconochie, of his experience at Norfolk Island.

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and endured, yet it neither sears nor irritates the feelings of either party concerned, but, on the contrary, frequently refines and elevates them. And the nearer we can make the *benevolent intention* of the one set of acts as obvious, both to actor and sufferer, as that of the other, the nearer we shall bring the results to resemble also.'* And elsewhere he says: 'The tone and spirit in which criminals are now received and treated in prison should be greatly modified. This is at present supercilious, and, in many cases, even contemptuous, and habitually denunciatory; and it should, instead, be rather that in which patients are received into an hospital. The hatefulness of the crime that has been committed, or the contempt excited by it, should be indeed freely expressed; on this head there should be no compromise: but the criminal should be studiously regarded apart from it as an object of compassion, now sadly fallen indeed, but yet recoverable, and sent to be recovered. A tone of hopefulness for his case should thus be maintained, and of confidence that when put in the right way, he will be manly enough to abide in it. This idea of manliness, as attached to virtue, and of weakness and pusillanimity, as exhibited in yielding to vice, should be especially insisted on. I have seen the greatest benefit derived from it in dealing with rough and fallen natures.'†

It has been a common error, among superficial inquirers into Captain Maconochie's system, to regard its lenient features alone, ignoring its sterner characteristics. Yet an integral portion of his scheme demands that the prisoner should be required to earn by hard labour, combined with good conduct, not only every privilege he is allowed to enjoy, but every necessary of life, food included; even—in accordance with the law of nature, which Captain Maconochie sedulously copied—to the extent of leaving him to starve if he would not work,—a contingency, however, it must be owned, barely possible under the influence of the moral as well as physical incentives to exertion which the same scheme brings into operation. Disapproving of rations under any circumstances, he especially deplored those rules of the English convict prisons which insure to the inmates, without effort on their part, an ample supply of food, far superior in quality to that which the honest labourer can procure by the hardest toil. True, this abundance of nourishment is found necessary to keep the convicts in health. Indeed, notwithstanding such support, they not unfrequently lose strength and weight; but it is to the mental and moral depression resulting from a coercive system that this physical deterioration is owing. 'Give me a crust and *liberty*,' was a petition based on the soundest physiological principles; and very frugal fare, combined with such liberty of choice as Captain Maconochie's system accords, suffices, it is well known, to maintain the prisoner in vigorous health.

Having thus indicated his plan of criminal discipline as fully as our limits will allow, though compelled to omit many minor points of deep interest which we hope our readers will study for themselves in his various publications, we must hasten to show what results have been attained by his theory when reduced to practice, both under his own administration, and more recently, in Ireland,

* 'The Social System of Convict Management.'
† 'Penal Discipline.'

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by Captain Walter Crofton, who, while further developing, and in some respects modifying the plan pursued at Norfolk Island, has avowedly based his noble scheme of criminal reformation upon the principles contended for by Captain Maconochie. With reference to one feature of the system, we may quote the following passage from Captain Crofton's recent pamphlet, to which we shall have occasion to return: 'The manner in which a criminal works himself into different stages of progress is by means of marks, which simply and intelligibly note and measure his improvement. A system of marks was originally devised by the late Captain Maconochie, of which the Irish system is but a faint copy; and although it answers its purpose, it is very far from being as complete as the originator would no doubt himself have made it.'* Time and not labour, it must, however, be observed, still defines the limit of imprisonment, remaining the bane at once of the prisoner, the community, and the enlightened administrator of justice; but this is an evil which the Legislature alone can redress.

While awaiting a reply to his report to the Home Government, Captain Maconochie received favourable opinions of his views on convict discipline, which he had meanwhile published, from many residents of high position in the colony, among whom were the Governor of New South Wales, Sir Richard Bourke, and Messrs. James Backhouse and George Walker, members of the Society of Friends, who visited Australia solely to examine into its moral state, and devoted several years to this investigation.

At length an answer arrived in the form of permission to try his system as Superintendent of Norfolk Island, then the receptacle of doubly-convicted transports, undergoing sentences for offences committed in the colonies, and who were regarded as the very refuse of mankind; with whom were now to be combined new prisoners, sent direct from England, specially to be experimented upon by Captain Maconochie.

The inexpediency of this arrangement, the general unsuitability of Norfolk Island to his plan, and the fitness of certain other localities, was ably demonstrated by him in a series of letters to Sir George Gipps (Sir R. Bourke's successor), which we hope may one day be published. Remonstrances, however, were unavailing; and, anxious to interpose no avoidable obstacle to the commencement of a happier era in the treatment of criminals, he consented to proceed to Norfolk Island, and arrived there in February 1840. Its exquisite beauty and delicious climate made it appear a very paradise; but it was a paradise inhabited by demons—by men at least sunk as far in the 'lower deep,' as early error, aggravated by repeated crimes too often caused by the ignorance, selfishness, and

* 'The Immunity of Habitual Criminals.'

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tyranny of their fellow-men could plunge them. The moral abasement in which he found them, the energy and skill, the patient sagacity and unwearied benevolence, above all, the faith which never flagged, by which he sought to raise them, have been elsewhere narrated.* We must content ourselves with a few anecdotes and some statistics indicating the results he obtained, pausing only to remark, what cannot be too earnestly impressed upon all who seek to elevate human nature—that while rejecting none of the more potent agencies within his reach, though the simpler their form, the better they approved themselves to his judgment, no means were in his estimation too humble to be employed for the attainment of his end. 'Condemned to use only common instruments in their common way, and to advance, at only their common pace,' he wrote, 'the framer of a system of moral influence, unlike the contriver of a mere fabric of coercive violence (which delights generally in striking details), is minute, patient, inventive, persevering, and steadily hopeful, even under many discouragements.' † Thus in his sedulous efforts to raise again the convicts' self-respect, so fearfully outraged—especially at Norfolk Island, where they had been treated rather as brutes than human beings—permission to use knives and pannikins (previously they had torn their food with their hands and teeth, and drunk from buckets), a plot of garden to cultivate for their own benefit, and for the first-class men, clothes somewhat better than the ordinary gaol dress, were found potent means in influencing them for good.

Captain Maconochie remained four years on the island. He found it a hell; he left it a well-ordered community. Before he arrived, the prisoners had worked heavily ironed, and even then the Superintendent dared to approach them only when guarded by two armed orderlies. He speedily removed their chains, and alone or with his wife went unarmed among them from the first, while men, women, and children soon traversed the island singly and without fear. The amount of work performed by the convicts was increased, while offences rapidly diminished. But the true test of his success lay in the conduct of the men when no longer under his influence. The reconvictions up to July 1845, of men discharged by him were under 3 per cent., while during the same period, of those discharged in Van Diemen's Land they amounted to 9 per cent. Upwards of four-fifths of his men were in private service, or otherwise earning a respectable livelihood, while the proportion of Van Diemen's Land men thus conducting themselves was under three-fifths.‡ Yet two-thirds of his prisoners had been under colonial sentences, and regarded as the offscourings of the earth. Nobly did these men redeem their pledge, when a Govern-

* 'Our Exemplars.' † 'Thoughts on Convict Management.'
‡ 'Crime and Punishment.'

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ment decree deprived them of the benefit of the Mark System, that they would yet do the Captain credit.

'Captain Maconochie,' wrote the author of 'Settlers and Convicts,' after a residence of many years in New South Wales, 'did more for the reformation of these unhappy wretches, and in amelioration of their physical circumstances, than the most sanguine practical mind could beforehand have ventured even to hope. It is greatly to be regretted that his views were not carried out to their fullest extent, in the most cordial spirit. My knowledge of the convicts' character warrants my saying expressly that they offer the only approximation that has ever yet been made to a correct penal theory. The Imperial Government, with the results of the experiment already made of these principles in their hands, are ill executing the trust which the nation and which God has reposed in them, so long as Captain Maconochie shall continue uninvested with full power to repeat his process on a scale of extent equal to the materials themselves.'

A few anecdotes in illustration of the class of men he had to deal with, and the effect he wrought, we cannot forbear inserting, want of space compelling us to refrain from quoting at greater length from the touching revelations the history of his sojourn at Norfolk Island contains.

'An unhappy prisoner, one of a most unhappy family, of whom the mother, two brothers, and a sister, had all been executed for different acts of violence, and who was himself little better than a wild beast, was tried for his life on the island for stabbing the gaoler; and the line of defence that he took was to plead insanity and act accordingly. Being an ignorant, coarse-minded man, his only idea of this was to address volleys of obscenity to the Court and all concerned with it on trial, and this he maintained for a considerable time. At length he ceased, and was found guilty and sentenced to death; and when led away, being asked how he came to falter in his purpose, he replied, "Didn't you see Master A— come in? I couldn't go on that way before him." This was one of my sons, then a boy of fifteen, who, even at that age, had taken much to the object of reforming the prisoners, and used frequently to attend the gaol, and read the Bible with them; and this wretched man so much respected his youth and innocence that he compromised what he must have considered his only chance of life rather than pollute his ears with his previous abominations.'*

The following is from a letter by Mrs. Maconochie, quoted from an article in the 'Scotsman,' of September 29th, 1841.

'Soon after arriving, Captain Maconochie and myself walked down to a quarry: there were three men working in chains. They looked as if they wished to speak to us. We went forward. They entreated Captain M. to relieve them of their chains, which he said he would do, provided they would answer for each other. One of them, Docherty, a fine young man of eight-and-twenty, hesitated, saying he had a very passionate temper, and when the overseers were saucy and overbearing he could not answer for himself [not] knocking them down, and he would bear any punishment himself, but could not think of bringing his companions into any risk. Captain M. pointed out to him this would be a strong motive for commanding his temper. "Oh, sir, when my blood gets up it is just impossible, and it is such a comfort to get it out." There was a struggle of generosity among them; at last he was prevailed upon to try. This man had originally been in the Guards, sent out to Sydney for some insubordination towards his sergeant, and sent here for endeavouring to escape; a man, Burns, had been with him in all his troubles here, and their attachment was quite extraordinary. These men had each, in eighteen months [received] 2,200 lashes, twelve months in prison on bread and water alternate months, and chained in a damp cell. Poor Docherty, [after five months' steady good behaviour, attempted to hang himself; he was fortunately cut down and recovered, but though very weak, would not stay

* 'Reformatory Discipline in County and Borough Gaols.'

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in the hospital for fear they should say he was malingering. He continued very weak: he would work, though not very able for it. The medical man told me his digestive organs were quite deranged, and it would require care and time to recover him. I sent for him, and told him that we wished to get his health reinstated, and that I would have him to work in my garden to do as much or as little as he liked, and that the food proper for him should be sent from the house to him. He appeared most grateful, but moped for want of Burns, and he used to carry some of his good things to his friend. We brought Burns to work with him. We often talked to him, while the tears would rush to his eyes, and he became gentle, even to timidity. But he gradually sank into low spirits, and one morning flew to the guards begging they would kill him. [The physical and mental sufferings the prisoners at Norfolk Island had undergone consigned fearful numbers to the lunatic asylum or a premature grave.] For some days he continued very vehement; the paroxysm subsided, and he returned to his garden, with Burns to take charge of him. But he gradually got worse, and at last was forced to be confined, first in the hospital and then in the prison, Burns tending on him night and day. Captain M. went often to see him; and one day, when sensible, he said: "Oh, sir, when I used to be in trouble, and did not care what I did, I was quite well; but now that I see my bad ways, and wish to turn to my Maker, and you are all kind to me, I can't bear my own thoughts, and this heavy trouble comes over me." His fear and anxiety was, that he should do any harm in the attacks; urging upon Burns to kill him rather than run any risk. These men were considered wild beasts, and on our arrival, we heard one *officer* boast of his courage in having gone near where they were standing! Kindness had come too late. Yet it did what no harshness could have done. Poor Docherty literally sank under the weight of it. One time, on recovering a little, he wanted to walk in the bush; the authorities would not hear of it, saying he wanted to be after mischief. Burns came to Captain Maconochie, and offered to be chained by the leg with him to satisfy those who were afraid; but this Captain Maconochie would not allow, and as he had no fear ordered them to be permitted [to go.] There are few friends would have asked for such a thing, merely to gratify the craving of an insane man. The insanity became confirmed, and he is now gone to the Sydney Asylum. Burns is now free.'

Of the 1,400 colonial convicts Captain Maconochie found in Norfolk Island nearly a hundred were murderers, whose sentence to capital punishment had been commuted to imprisonment for life in an ultra-penal settlement, a far worse doom. The following is the history of one of them:—

'Charles Anderson was born at Newcastle-on-Tyne. His father, a sailor, was drowned, leaving a widow and two little sons. She soon died, and her children, helpless and friendless, were sent to the workhouse. There, untaught and uncared for, they remained until old enough to go to sea. At nine years of age, Charles was apprenticed to a collier, where he was knocked and buffeted about, and weathered many a storm. His apprenticeship over, he joined a man-of-war, and was in the battle of Navarino, where he was severely wounded in the head. He recovered, but ever afterwards irritation or drink would bring on violent fits of excitement. In a seaport in Devonshire a street-row arose among a party of drunken sailors, in which Anderson engaged. Some shops were broken into, and he, no doubt violent enough, was arrested, tried, and sentenced to seven years' transportation for burglary. With no one to interpose in his behalf, the sentence was fulfilled, and at the age of eighteen he was sent to New South Wales. Doomed to a punishment involving the deepest degradation for a crime of the committal of which he was not conscious, the bitterest hostility against his kind took possession of his breast. Utterly ignorant, both mentally and morally, he had little idea of patient submission, which, indeed, physical disease rendered impossible. No wonder, then, that violence created violence. His floggings were almost innumerable; but sturdy and staunch for good or evil, punishment had no effect upon him. His was no spirit to give in to harshness, and kindness was never dreamt of.

'Upon

'Upon his arrival in the colony he was sent to Goat Island (an insulated rock), in Sydney harbour, famous in the records of convict discipline, as an English or first-convicted prisoner. He remained there about two months under treatment so severe that, to escape it, he absconded. Apprehended and taken to Sydney Barracks, he there received 100 lashes for this offence; and upon being returned to Goat Island he received 100 more lashes, and was to wear irons for twelve months, in addition to his original sentence. Before completing it he had received 1,200 lashes for trivial offences, such as looking round from his work, or at a steamer in the river, &c. He again absconded, was reapprehended, taken back to the island, and received 200 lashes; afterwards he was tried for the same offence and was sentenced to 100 lashes more, and to be chained to a rock for two years with barely a rag to cover him. He was fastened by his waist to the rock with a chain twenty-six feet long and with trumpet irons on his legs. A hollow scooped out in the rock large enough to admit his body, served for his bed, and his only shelter was a wooden lid perforated with holes, which was placed over him and locked in that position at night, being removed in the morning. He was fed by means of a pole with which the vessel containing his food was pushed towards him. None of his fellow-prisoners were permitted to approach or speak to him under penalty of 100 lashes, which his former messmate underwent in consequence of giving him a piece of tobacco. Regarded as a wild beast, people passing in boats would throw him bits of bread or biscuit. Exposed to all weathers, and without clothing on his back and shoulders, which were covered with sores from repeated floggings, the maggots rapidly engendered in a hot climate feeding upon his flesh, he was denied even water to bathe his wounds, such denial being not an unusual portion of the punishment to which he had been condemned; and when rain fell, or by any other means he could obtain liquid, he would lie and roll in it in agony.

'Several weeks had thus been passed in torture, when Sir Richard Bourke hearing of him repaired at once to the spot. He asked Anderson if he would work, but he answered he would not; adding, that if he worked, he would be punished, and if he did not work, he would be punished the same. His Excellency then sent him to Macquarrie for life. There he was set to labour in irons, his occupation being to carry lime in baskets on his back, from the kilns to barges in the Government service lying off the settlement. His overseer, Anthony, a Frenchman, used to threaten that the lime and salt water should burn the flesh off his back, and in effect it did burn off the skin, causing excruciating agony. Again the unhappy man absconded, and travelling several hundred miles, joined the aborigines. His native associates having attacked and killed some settlers, were pursued by the police, who, falling in with Anderson, seized and carried him back to Macquarrie, where he received 200 lashes, and was returned to his gang. Three months afterwards a fellow convict and he agreed to kill Anthony, and Anderson declaring himself tired of life, said he would do the deed, and be hanged for it. Accordingly, next morning he felled Anthony to the ground with his spade, and death ensued. The soldiers on guard stabbed Anderson in five places, and when seized, he had to be conveyed to the hospital. His wounds being cured, he was tried at Sydney and sentenced to death, but was respited and sent to Norfolk Island to work in chains for life. When Captain Maconochie subsequently arrived there, the offences on the island recorded against Anderson were—ten times violent assault, and three times scheming to avoid labour, besides charges of insolence and insubordination. Though then only twenty-four, he looked forty years old. The captain was told he was "cranky," and he found that his fellow-prisoners amused themselves with teasing and making him vicious. This was at once forbidden. Anderson being one of the colonial convicts, the prohibition from Government to place that class under the mark system, precluded him from its influence. Casting about, therefore, for any means of reclaiming the unhappy creature now sunk deep in wickedness, Captain Maconochie thought some unruly bullocks which had to be kept in bounds, would usefully exercise his superfluous energies, and would, besides, separate him for a time from his fellows. Many thought "Bony," as he was nicknamed, and his bullocks would come to grief. But strict orders were given that none should interfere with him, and very soon a marked change was apparent in the man. He became less wild, felt himself of some value, and won praise for his good conduct and successful management

ment of his bullocks. He and they grew tractable together. He knew instinctively that high and strong tempers will not bend to the lash; and often were the anxious watchers of the experiment amused by the just insight into criminal discipline which Anderson displayed in the treatment of his charge. The cattle-training served its purpose well for a time, but as his mind improved, sailor-like, he hankered for his own old work. His physical liability to excitement continuing, Captain Maconochie feared collisions if he associated with the other men: moreover, his constitution was so shattered as to unfit him for hard work; and it occurring to the captain that a signal-station on Mount Pitt (the highest point on the island) would be an advantage, he resolved to erect one, and place Anderson in charge. His delight was extreme, for he now felt himself a man again; and dressed in sailor costume, he soon regained the bearing of a man-of-war's man. The top of Mount Pitt was cleared, a hut built, and a flag-staff, provided with a code of signals, was raised. The smallest boat could there be seen, and the settlement at once knew if anything were in sight. Anderson's patch of garden was his great delight; the gift of a new flower was highly prized, and the best potatoes on the island grew there. Of these it was his special pride to bring a freshly dug basketful, to be served at the captain's dinner table.

'Sir George Gipps visited the island three years after Captain Maconochie's arrival, and while driving through its beautiful scenery, Anderson was seen tripping along in his trim sailor dress, full of importance, with his telescope under his arm. "What little smart fellow may that be?" asked Sir George. "Who do you suppose? That is the man who was chained to the rock in Sydney Harbour." "Bless my soul, you do not mean to say so!" was the astonished rejoinder.

'As he regained his self-respect, Anderson revealed a noble, generous heart, and a gay and sociable disposition; but his excitability eventually became madness, and not long after the benefactor who had restored him, and hundreds like him, to the feelings and the duties of humanity was peremptorily recalled from the scene of his philanthropic labours, Anderson was seen in a lunatic asylum by one whom he had known as a friend of the captain at Norfolk Island. The poor fellow recognized his visitor, and spoke of nothing but Captain Maconochie and his family.'

The early portion of this narrative was taken chiefly from Anderson's own lips at Norfolk Island, and cannot, therefore, be wholly relied upon for accuracy; but the terrible incident of his being chained to a rock was well known in the colony, and Captain Maconochie had heard it spoken of long before he saw the man; while the other events in his career were but too common to need corroboration. We have given it as a specimen of those revealed to the captain by his prisoners, and by no means as an exceptional or rare instance of the sufferings and crimes engendered by the system to which they had been subjected.

More than one moral may this fearful history serve to point. In the neglect of his orphan childhood, when the workhouse taught him nothing, and turned him adrift, at nine years old, without one friend in the wide world; in the license granted by Government for the sale of that poison which, acting upon a brain permanently injured in fighting for his country,* converted Anderson into an irresponsible

* Bearing Anderson's fate in mind let us recall the words of Campbell in his 'Stanzas on the Battle of Navarino.'

'Hearts of oak that have bravely delivered the brave,
And uplifted old Greece from the brink of the grave,
'Twas the helpless to help, and the hopeless to save,
That your thunderbolts swept o'er the brine:
And long as your sun shall look down on the wave,
The light of your glory shall shine.

'Prouder

irresponsible madman; and in the system of vindictive punishment, to which he was then consigned, we mark how 'hardened offenders' are made. Bitter will always be the reproach, while human nature retains its characteristics, cast by society upon him who continues to sin against light; and regarding our criminal discipline as 'light,' those whom it failed to reform, have, in consequence, incurred the heaviest opprobrium. But what if, instead of light, it was darkness we shed around upon ourselves and our criminals alike! And what if, when the light really came, they repented and tried to mend their ways, while we wilfully shut our eyes to the beneficent ray, and blundered on as before! Which in this case *is* the 'hardened offender'? Is it the poor wretch thrust into an abyss of misery and crime, who, when the path of redemption was pointed out to him, strove to climb it, steep and stony as it was, and succeeded; or is it society, who, when shown by what means crime is produced, and taught by what means criminals may be reclaimed, still countenances the one, still rejects the other? That England has incurred this fearful responsibility, the general distrust excited by the humiliating results of her convict management, even professedly improved as it has been of late years, may raise a just suspicion; but suspicion is changed to certainty as we peruse the important pamphlet issued by Mr. Measor, since we began to write these pages. Had any surprise mingled with our regret at the recent mutiny among the convicts at Chatham prison it would have been dispelled by this unreserved revelation from the Deputy-Governor of that establishment of the influences, moral and physical, to which they are subject. His testimony is the more valuable as having been given prior to the most serious of the outbreaks (those of Feb. 8th and 11th), which have thus in their turn yielded 'damning proof' of the justice of his deductions. While dissenting from some of Mr. Measor's views of prison discipline, we heartily concur with him in the main, and regard his pamphlet as a very valuable contribution to the literature of this subject. Indeed, the improvements he recommends are identical with the leading features of Captain Maconochie's plan; and in showing what mischief has been wrought by neglecting them, Mr. Measor pays as marked a tribute to the value of that system, as do the Irish Convict Prison Reports, crowned by Captain Crofton's late pamphlet, in demonstrating the success consequent upon its adoption.

Before this is in the hands of our readers, a full and authentic

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'Prouder scene never hallowed war's pomp to the mind,
Than when Christendom's pennons woo'd social the wind;
And the flower of her brave for the combat combined,
Their watchword humanity's vow:
*Not a sea-boy that fought in that cause but mankind*
*Owes a garland to honour his brow!*'

narrative

narrative of the Chatham revolt will probably have been demanded by the public, and a brief *resumé* of the facts gleaned from the documents within our reach—the public journals—will therefore suffice here. It commenced early in January, as Sir G. C. Lewis stated in the House of Commons in answer to a question from Mr. Alderman Salomons, with the attempt of six convicts to make their escape.* They failed, but their endeavour became known to their comrades, who, testifying their sympathy by a general and continued uproar in both cells and chapel, proved the public feeling of the prison to be on the side of wrong.† After the lapse of several days order was restored, and no further outbreak occurred until Friday, February 8th. Upon that day when dinner was served to the men on St. Mary's Island several—

'Began complaining that the food was not "good enough" for them, and that the soup was "poor." Mr. Burton, the principal warder, promised that their complaint should be inquired into, when he was answered with an oath, and the contents of one of the soup tins dashed in his face. This was the signal agreed upon for the commencement of the outbreak; and immediately afterwards the contents of innumerable tins of soup were thrown over Mr. Burton, who was quickly drenched to the skin. The greatest uproar now ensued, the convicts yelling, hooting, and swearing, hurling their dinner utensils about, smashing the windows, throwing the remainder of their dinner at the warders, and commencing to tear up the tables and other articles of furniture. . . . The more desperate characters likewise commenced pulling down the spouting round the building, with which they armed themselves, while others endeavoured for this purpose to force away the iron bars of the windows." Subsequently, most of the convicts returned to their work, but on the arrival of a strong body of warders a large number were marched heavily ironed to the punishment cells, where, throughout the following Saturday and Sunday, they "created the greatest disturbances by kicking the doors, hooting, and yelling."‡ This proved, however, but the precursor of an outbreak "of a far more terrible character than any which has yet taken place at this prison, spreading the utmost terror, not only amongst the prison officials, but also throughout the whole town, when the fearful excesses which were being enacted at the prison became known. When it is stated that the whole 1,100 convicts succeeded in overpowering the keepers, and obtaining complete possession of the establishment, which they held for some time, actually setting fire to the prison, some idea of the alarming nature of the outbreak yesterday may be imagined. . . . . The keepers on duty, about 150 in number, were all driven from the prison yard with threats that they would all be murdered if they did not make their escape. . . . The wildest uproar now ensued, and the scene which at this time presented itself in the interior of the prison is described by the officials as baffling description. . . . . On hearing of the outbreak, Captain Gambier and Captain Powell (the Governor), together with the Deputy-Governor, and the other principal officers of the establishment, were immediately in the prison yard with the hope of restoring order and inducing the prisoners to return to their cells. With some hundreds of infuriated ruffians to deal with, their efforts were of course useless; and there is no doubt that had they remained among the convicts their lives would have been sacrificed." A large number of the convicts rushing into the chief warder's office, "commenced destroying the books and papers, and every other available article on which they could lay their hands—desks, tables, chairs, and everything which could be broken up being quickly destroyed. They then endeavoured to set the prison on fire, and the building was actually fired in two or three places, from which the flames began to pour forth." A thousand troops were now summoned from the garrison, and

* 'Times,' Feb, 16, 1861. † 'Western Daily Press,' Jan. 21, 1861.
‡ 'Times,' Feb. 11, 1861.

700, who

700, who " were received by the convicts with the most dreadful yells," charging the prisoners, with the assistance of the warders " using their truncheons with the utmost freedom," drove them back into their cells.'*

Involuntarily we contrast this and the similar employment of military force to quell the outbreak at Portland Convict Prison some time ago, with the scene on Norfolk Island, when Captain Maconochie, six months after his arrival, employed the prisoners themselves to dismount the cannon which, until then, had always guarded the Superintendent's house, never afterwards to be used during his stay but to fire a complimentary salvo. The amount of damage done in Chatham prison has been estimated at 1,000*l.*† Sir G. C. Lewis, however, stated that 'the convicts broke some windows and upset some stores. That was, he believed, pretty nearly the extent of the mischief they did;'‡ and he limited the number engaged in the revolt to 'about 850.' It is certainly a striking circumstance that although the prison authorities were for a time completely at the mercy of the convicts, none, as Sir G. C. Lewis stated, suffered personal injury. Concerning the cause of the mutiny—

'He had investigated the matter with some care, but was unable to give any very clear explanation of the affair, nor could the officers of the prison satisfactorily account for it. The general cause, however, which certainly operated to a very large extent, was, that the refuse of the hulks was transferred to Chatham prison on its first opening, and tainted the prison population, and some even of the inferior officers.(!) Hence strict discipline could not be enforced without creating discontent, and the discipline at Chatham was strict compared with that which prevailed in the old hulks.' §

Of the strictness of the discipline the readers of Mr. Measor's pamphlet will judge. That it involves much physical coercion, however, is but too true; and this having failed, the *degree*, not the *nature* of the treatment is supposed to be in fault, and a stronger dose is administered.

'Nearly the whole day' [Wednesday, February 13th], we read in the 'Times,' 'was occupied in flogging those convicts who were examined yesterday by Sir Joshua Jebb and Captain Gambier, and who were proved to have been the ringleaders in the revolt on Monday afternoon. The convicts flogged were brought from the cells one at a time, and having been stripped, were fastened up to the halberds, when each man received three dozen lashes, laid on with terrible effect. Many of the convicts received their punishment with scarcely a cry; but as stroke after stroke fell on the backs of some of the most ruffianly characters, who particularly distinguished themselves in the recent outbreak, they set up piercing shrieks, mingled with frightful oaths and threats. Several of the men, on being released from the triangles, behaved with the greatest bravado, notwithstanding the intense pain they were enduring, and frequent threats were made that the " business was not yet done," and that on the first opportunity murder would be committed.'‖

The complaint made by the convicts of their food, drew forth a letter from Mr. Measor, published in the 'Times' of February 15th, in which he says: 'As to the quality of their diet, I can answer

* 'Morning Star and Dial,' Feb. 13, 1861. † Ibid.
‡ 'Times,' Feb. 16, 1861. § Ibid. ‖ 'Times,' Feb. 14, 1861.

for it from daily inspection, that it has been undeniable;' and in the same newspaper for February 19th, a paragraph at once informs us what is the quantity of that food, and enables us to compare it with the amount supplied to the inmates of Chatham workhouse.

'The amount of food given to each convict weekly at the Chatham establishment is as follows:—189 oz. of bread, 42 oz. of cooked meat, free from bone, &c., 7 pints of tea, 5½ pints of good soup, 7 pints of cocoa or gruel, and 7 pounds of vegetables; in addition to which, certain of the convicts are allowed cheese and porter on Sundays. The weekly quantity of food supplied to each pauper in the Chatham workhouse is 112 oz. of bread, 16 oz. of meat, pudding and vegetables, 4 oz. of cheese, 7 oz. of butter, and 1 oz. of tea.'

Porter, we thus learn, is supplied to our convicts at home. Grog is regularly served to them in Gibraltar and Bermuda, where one of their most common offences, according to the official record, is 'drunkenness.'* Medical men are agreed in the opinion that fermented liquors are unnecessary to the maintenance of health, while universal experience proves that when abstaining from intoxicants, men are far more capable of hard labour and every other form of physical endurance than when taking them; and yet we find that, heavy as are our taxes, our burden must be augmented that our worst criminals may be confirmed in the use or rather abuse of intoxicating drinks, indulgence in which is proverbially acknowledged to be the source of nine-tenths of the crime which afflicts our land! Swelled by such items of expense, and by the gratuities of from 10*l.* to 20*l.* and upwards to convicts upon discharge obtained by no personal sacrifice, and by the very mildest effort of prison virtue and diligence, we must not be surprised to find that our convicts cost us at least 35*l.* a year each,† excepting the value of their labour, which, however, Mr. Measor shows to be a lamentably trifling amount. And this sum, involving a total outlay of nearly half a million for our English and colonial convict establishments alone (and exclusive of our county and borough gaols, costing upwards of half a million more), is lavished upon a system whose failure as a means of curing our criminal fellow-subjects is flagrantly demonstrated in the increasing number of their reconvictions,‡ by the same Government which has lowered its grant in aid of ragged schools to the miserable pittance of 5,000*l.* in the teeth of overflowing and irrefragable evidence to the potency of those institutions in preventing its lieges from ever becoming criminal at all!§

We gladly turn from facts so humiliating to the hope of 'a better time coming' held out to us by Captain Crofton.

At the request of many persons, both in the United Kingdom

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* 'Our Convict Service.' † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

§ Mr. Samuel Redgrave has estimated the total annual cost of our criminals to the country at ten millions!—*Judicial Statistics*, 1858, p. xxxiv.

and

and on the Continent, where the advocacy of the most distinguished criminal jurists has excited a deep and favourable interest in the course of discipline pursued in the Irish convict prisons, Captain Crofton has recently published his views upon 'Secondary Punishments,' to which his experience gives the greatest possible weight. Notwithstanding the success which has attended his efforts in Ireland, a class of 'habitual criminals' still exists there who cannot be reclaimed under the prevailing system of short sentences; while in England this is 'a dominant and aggressive' class, amounting to many thousands who 'prey upon society ostensibly and nearly as openly as honest men ply their vocations.' When we find that 22,024 known thieves and 51,563 suspicious characters, exclusive of those returned as 'prostitutes,' 'vagrants,' or 'drunkards,' were proceeded against summarily, or by indictment in 1859, 'it is not possible to ignore the conviction that the criminal vocation is a profitable one, and that it is carried on with comparative, and an alarming, impunity. We are bound also to conclude, from the evidence so constantly given by the police, that liberated convicts are very deeply concerned, both as principals and accessories in carrying on this vocation.'*

Amendments in our system of dealing with criminals have rendered it, however imperfectly, still in principle reformatory; but while its faithful administration in Ireland exhibits that system as a beneficent reality, with us it has remained a practical sham. To effect, then, a reduction in the number of English offenders proportionate to that arrived at in Ireland, we, too, must adopt the means which have there won success; and among these we would specially note subdivision of the period of imprisonment into numerous stages,† the last of which should be passed in Captain Crofton's admirably devised 'Intermediate Prison.' This, besides preparing the convict for liberty, renders easy that 'individualization,' the importance of which Captain Maconochie demonstrated and Mr. Measor implies,‡ and which the Directors of Irish convict prisons consider 'the basis of the success of any system of reformation.'§

But a large class of offenders will yet remain, to deal successfully with whom a considerable extension of the terms of punishment to which they are now usually adjudged is absolutely necessary. Such extension Captain Crofton strenuously urges; and combined with due police supervision, and the consequent means of proving all former convictions, together with a well-regulated

* 'Immunity of Habitual Criminals,' pp. 17, 18.

† Mr. Measor shows that practically at Chatham there are but two.—*Our Convict Service.*

‡ Ibid.

§ 'Notes on Colonel Jebb's Report on Intermediate Prisons,' by Captain Crofton. Dublin, 1858.

system of emigration for a certain portion of the provisionally liberated, to Western Australia, and special treatment for prisoners under 'life sentences,' will, he confidently believes, while reforming the offender, deter others from offence, by rendering crime an unprofitable pursuit.

With the following triumphant figures we must close our article.

On January 1st, 1854, Ireland had in her convict prisons 3,933 convicts, besides 345 under detention in county gaols, and several hundreds in Bermuda and Gibraltar, subsequently discharged in Ireland. These numbers have steadily declined, until on January 1st, 1861, there were only 1,492 in the convict prisons, none in the county gaols, and but 30 in Bermuda and Gibraltar.* Of 1,462 tickets of leave issued during the last five years, under 7 per cent. have been revoked, although the conditions of the licences are stringently enforced. Of the whole 89 revoked, 30 were for irregularities not criminal, and many of the holders have again been conditionally released. Only 114 persons who had ever been convicts were sentenced in Ireland during 1860; and of these, some had been discharged eight or ten years before, and consequently had never undergone the new treatment.

With such testimony to its success patent to all, can we marvel to learn that the government of Oldenburg has made the Irish convict system the law of the land; that an association of eminent foreign jurists having started a weekly paper at Leipzig for promulgating sound views on prison reform, give a prominent place to that system; that the venerable Professor Mittermaier, at Heidelberg, has for years past made its principles familiar to his students and readers; that Baron von Holzendorff (Professor of Law at the Berlin University), lecturing upon it at Hamburgh, was received with enthusiasm; and that a meeting (not the first) to consider it, held lately at Berlin, has resulted in its adoption in the Prussian prison of Moabit? No; we reserve our wonder for the apathy of England, who, abandoning her post in the van of social improvement, leaves the prison discipline of Ireland to find imitators abroad, while her thousands of unreclaimed criminals reproach her civilization—while their crimes spread alarm through the land, and augment her fiscal burden by millions!

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* The term *convict*, as used in blue books, differs from the legal meaning of the word. In the language of official men a convict is a criminal sentenced to transportation or penal servitude; but in legal acceptation every person is a convict who is adjudged by a court of criminal jurisdiction guilty of any offence known to the law. It is hardly necessary to explain that when it is said that there are no convicts in the Irish county gaols, it is not meant to state that these contain no convicted prisoners of any kind, but merely that all sentenced to transportation or penal servitude have been removed to the government prisons, where they are under the control of the Board over which Captain Crofton presides.

ART. II.—*On the Present State of Education amongst the Working Classes of Leeds, and how it can be best improved.* By James Hole, Hon. Sec. of the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes.

THE return of the parliamentary session regularly and naturally reintroduces us to an agitation upon the subject of primary instruction as the basis of national education. This is at once the most important and the most difficult of the social questions with which we have to deal; and whilst its importance forbids us to let it sleep, its inherent difficulties, requiring most serious thought and searching inquiry, ought to prevent dogmatism and uncharitableness as to the proper mode of dealing with it on all sides.

Forty years ago the only schools existing in this country for the children of the working classes were a few Lancasterian schools, attended principally by the children of Nonconformists, a few national (Established Church) schools, and the now almost extinct dame schools. The public school buildings were generally either rooms in buildings erected for other purposes, or the merest brick and mortar shells, open at the roofs to the slates; with brick floors, occasionally covered with sawdust in winter, a few desks fastened to the walls and supplied with shallow beds of sand to teach writing in, the tip of the first finger serving the purpose of pen or pencil.

The teachers were too often men who had failed at other occupations, 'who could not work and to beg were ashamed,' and so took to teaching, not because they were fit for the task, but because they could very well do with the pay. Even these schools met with much opposition. It was feared that to teach working-class children to read and write, would unfit them for their worldly duties; and it came within our own experience to hear a national schoolmaster rebuked by a trustee for attempting to teach the meanings of words, and rudely reminded that if he taught the children to read their Bibles and to write their names he would do quite enough. The Bible was the only reading-book in national, and selections therefrom the chief one in Lancasterian schools. It is a fact, 'that in the nineteenth century a manual of arithmetic was published by a learned divine, an excellent person, for the use of national schools; in which, in order to give children a reverence for sacred things, the sums set were drawn from historical statements of numbers in the Holy Scriptures.' 'There were twelve patriarchs, twelve apostles, and four evangelists; add the patriarchs and the evangelists together; subtract the apostles; what is the remainder?' 'Solomon had so many wives and so many concubines; add the concubines to the wives and state the result.'

Subjected to the opposition of rich obstructives, and with such teachers and such materials for teaching, no very brilliant result could

could have been hoped for, even if the teachers had been freed from all anxiety except in connection with their proper work. But the school pence (where any were charged) had to be eked out by 'voluntary' contributions, which had often to be collected by the teacher himself, who was obliged frequently either to leave his pupils to be taught entirely by monitors no older than themselves, or else to turn out and beg the bread at night, in the form of subscriptions, which he had earned during the day. Of the dame-schools perhaps the less said the better: the children were intended to be kept out of harm's way, and if they got no injury it was well; but when twenty-five or thirty tender infants were crammed into a brick-floor kitchen constructed for three or four persons only, and at the time of life when frequent change and motion were most requisite, were forced to sit still for three hours at a stretch, it is impossible not to see that a large amount of infant mortality is thus accounted for. Our infant-schools of the present day are nurseries and playgrounds; the dame-schools of the past were prisons and places of torment; and it was a common sight, in working-class neighbourhoods, for children of three or four years of age to be dragged along or beaten to school, much as the worst members of society are now dragged by policemen to prison. True, there were not many old towns or cities without 'grammar-schools,' founded by good and pious souls for the benefit of poor students; but most of these date from a time when all learning was included in the 'dead languages,' and, alas for human frailty! they had dwindled, through generations of self-appointed trustees, till many schools existed only in name; and where any life remained, education in one of these 'free schools,' besides being valueless for commercial purposes, generally cost more than it would have done if paid for elsewhere. We recollect one such school where a head master and a second master, with good salaries, had, for a considerable number of years, only one pupil; whilst since the appointment of the Charity Trustees' Commissioners, the same school, having added English and commercial instruction, now suffices for hundreds of boys.

But the education spirit was abroad; earnest men were at the work; and about twenty-seven years ago, the late James Simpson, of Edinburgh, and Thomas Wyse, M.P. for Waterford (now her Majesty's ambassador at the court of Greece), traversed the country lecturing and holding public meetings in favour of national education. This movement was supported principally by the non-conformist bodies, and by persons who were unattached to any religious denomination; and many petitions to Parliament for 'national unsectarian education' were adopted and presented. The partisans of the Established Church held counter meetings, and petitioned to the effect, that if any national scheme were adopted

adopted it should be in accordance with the principles and forms of the Church as by law established. This agitation was continued with more or less vigour until 1839, when the Government, unable to see its way to the adoption of any comprehensive scheme, established a Committee of the Privy Council, to which, after the adoption of certain 'Minutes' or rules, was confided a grant of 20,000*l.* for distribution in aid of the voluntary efforts of the various sects of religionists who were willing to comply with the terms of the 'Minutes.' Of course so important a measure met with much opposition, principally from the Nonconformist body, which, either from a clearer perception of its own principles, or from some other cause, had begun to change its tactics, and to announce that education was out of the range of governmental duties. This opposition exhibited its greatest strength when Sir James Graham, in 1843, introduced into Parliament the Factories Education Bill, obliging all factory owners, who employed children under thirteen years of age, to provide for their instruction during a certain number of hours per week, thus originating the system of half-time working. This Bill was denounced, not only as introducing the Government into a department which belonged to parents alone, but also as an unwarrantable interference with the laws of political economy and with the rights of property. Nevertheless, the Bill became law, and it is doubtful if its greatest opponents are not now thankful for their defeat; for although many factory schools have been but sorry shams, yet there have been and are noble exceptions, and many thousands of persons owe what instruction they have obtained to this system; and those factory owners whose schools are well conducted freely admit, that the conduct of the children who pass through the schools to the mill, as compared with others who are above the school age, and whose education has been neglected, well repays them for any inconvenience occasioned by the operation of the law.

The parliamentary grants, commencing with 20,000*l.*, went on annually increasing, notwithstanding the objections of the dissenting bodies, who said to the Government: 'You tax us for the support of schools in which doctrines are taught of which we do not approve—which are, in our estimation, false; you thus violate our consciences and take away the means which ought to and which would otherwise be devoted to our own schools; you put a premium upon false teaching, and you pay that premium with our money.'

The reply of the Committee of Council was: 'You also can get aid on the same terms as others; if you choose to submit to the conditions here is money for you,' not, apparently, seeing that two wrongs cannot make one right; and that, if it was wrong to take the money of the Nonconformist to teach doctrines, which, in the estimation of the contributor, were false, so it would be equally wrong for

for the said contributor to accept money extorted from a religious opponent to teach his own creed with. Many other objections were urged against the plan of the Committee of Council, some of which were against 'State education' *in toto*, and others against the details of 'the Minutes.' The bodies already spoken of repeated that Government ought to have nothing to do with religion; that it was a question for the parents of children alone, thus assuming that education must be essentially dogmatically religious. They also sympathized with the political objection, that, to subsidize teachers throughout the country was to teach dependence on Government instead of 'self-help;' was to raise up a grand system of centralization which might end in a system of espionage or a cruel despotism. On the other hand, the recipients of the grant advocated its extension and improvement, for they agreed with the opponents, that, to aid voluntary effort by a money measure only, was to give most help where it was least needed, and to give none where it was most necessary; an argument which induced an alteration and increased the discretionary power of the Committee of Council over the grants.

The growing importance of the education question, and the many difficulties surrounding it, induced Mr. Samuel Lucas, of Manchester (now of London), to put forth, about 1847-8, a scheme for 'secular instruction,' to be supported by local rates, and managed by local authorities elected by the ratepayers.

The secular instruction was to be given in 'free schools' during the regular school hours, but times were to be set apart during which the various ministers of religion might assemble such as would voluntarily attend for doctrinal religious instruction. This scheme was adopted by many leading men, and an association, called 'The Lancashire Public School Association,' was formed, and afterwards transformed, at the request of adherents from various parts of the country, into 'The National Public School Association.' When a considerable amount of popularity had been gained, another organization was started by supporters of the Minutes called 'The Manchester and Salford Committee on Education.' The plan of this Committee was to take 'the Minutes' for a basis, and to levy local rates in aid instead of depending wholly on children's pence and the aid of the Government. In common with the National Public School Association, they wished to generalize education, but on the religious or rather on the various religious bases instead of on the secular. The advocates of national education 'at any price,' amongst whom was the late Joseph Brotherton, M.P., tried to effect a compromise between the two schemes; but notsucceeding, the rivals made their appearance in Parliament in the session of 1852, and were sent to the same Select Committee, which Committee was reappointed in 1853, and not

not agreeing upon a report, published only the evidence in two blue books.

The advocates of the religious and those of the secular scheme, agreed, that in Manchester and Salford, there were about 30,000 children of the school age, viz., from 3 to 14 years, who were neither at school nor at work, and 23,000 between 3 and 10 in the same predicament. One of the witnesses for the secular scheme (Dr. Watts) gave the result of an inquiry into 3,520 families, having 973 children between 13 and 14 years of age, whose amount of day-school instruction is shown, in the following table, viz.:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Never been to day-school | 289 |
| Had been for less than 1 year | 32 |
| " " 2 " | 53 |
| " " 3 " | 70 |
| " " 4 " | 93 |
| " " 5 " | 99 |
| " " 6 " | 85 |
| " " 7 " | 76 |
| " " 8 " | 73 |
| " " 9 " | 51 |
| " " 10 " | 33 |
| Upwards of 10 " | 19 |
| Total | 973 |

The Rev. Canon Richson, who appeared on behalf of the religious scheme, showed the results of an inquiry into the circumstances of persons whose children attended 23 schools, partly supported by voluntary contributions, to be as follows, viz.:— 19⅓ per cent. of them resided in houses assessed at less than 5*l.*; 57½ per cent. from 5*l.* to 10*l.*; 17 per cent. from 10*l.* to 18*l.*; 5½ per cent. from 18*l.* to 50*l.*; and ½ per cent. above 50*l.*

He showed, further, that in 48 Church schools, the removals in a single year were equal to 77 per cent. of the whole attendance; and that in 17,426 families visited there were 36,527 children from 3 to 14 years of age, 14,197 of whom were at school, 5,153 at work, and 12,067 kept at home on the ground of poverty.

The Rev. Dr. McKerrow (who supported the secular scheme) had made inquiries from extensive pawnbrokers: he found 168 pawnbrokers in Manchester and Salford, and was advised, that, upon an average, each of these would take in 700 pledges per week; and allowing 6 pledges to each customer, there would be 19,600 persons regularly resorting to the pawnbroker. Returns of the Manchester Statistical Society showed that in 1834-5 there were in attendance at day-schools 1 in 10½ of the population, whilst in 1857, according to the census returns, they had fallen to 1 in 13½.

In opposition to this evidence, the late Mr. Joseph Adshead (on behalf of the voluntaries) showed, that of 6,066 persons employed in 12 mills, there were 2,051 who attended Sunday-schools, and 3,714 who had formerly attended, making together 95 per cent. who

who were then or had been formerly under Sunday-school instruction; that out of 116,281 persons employed in 42 mills in 1844, no less than 82 per cent. could read; that of 1,000 families visited by missionaries, and containing 3,204 children, there were 1,353 attending Sunday-schools, 671 attending day or evening schools, 1,789 were in employment, and 1,401 were at home.

Mr. Baines (now M.P. for Leeds) thought a smaller proportion of pupils must be expected in Manchester than elsewhere, in consequence of the greater demand for juvenile labour. In 1833 the per-centage of day scholars to population in Lincolnshire was 12, whilst in Lancashire it was only $7\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. On the other hand, the Sunday scholars were in Lincolnshire 10 and in Lancashire 15 per cent. He thought the indifference rather than the inability of parents was the cause of want of education. At the same time, the day-school attendance of working-class children throughout the country had increased from 1 in $10\frac{3}{4}$ in 1818 to 1 in $2\frac{1}{3}$ in 1846.

He thought it important that the religious should be blended with secular instruction; but it was unfair to tax all for the benefit of a part. Education, like industry, would be best off when left to shift for itself. The amount of government aid was insignificant when compared to the whole cost of education.

Making allowance for differences of opinion, it appears therefore to have been made out that in 1852 there were in Manchester and Salford from 20,000 to 30,000 children of from 3 to 14 years of age who were neither at school nor at work; and if we may trust the accuracy of the table put in by Dr. Watts, 1 child in every $3\frac{5}{9}$ in the working-class districts is escaping the schoolmaster altogether, growing up and passing into the world without any efficient instruction to fit them for the duties required of them. If Manchester be, as Mr. Baines thinks, exceptional in its character, it is of less importance than if it be a fair sample of our large towns and cities; and it seems to us a great misfortune that the coming census will not enable us to settle that point.

In this Committee the religious and the secular national educationists agreed that there was a great deficiency of education, and that it was useless to expect that voluntary effort or willinghood (as Mr. Miall calls it) would in any reasonable time make it up. They were agreed as to the desirableness of local taxation and control, combined with government inspection; but the advocates of the religious system would have retained whilst the others would have abolished the Committee of Privy Council. The former would have applied government and local aid to all efficient schools where the Scriptures were daily read, and would have left the internal management of the schools intact. The latter, whilst not excluding the Scriptures, where the reading was not offensive, would have excluded distinctive doctrinal teaching from the regular

regular school hours, and have provided special times for it; leaving the performance of the duty, however, to voluntary effort: and they would have put all schools under the management of a general committee chosen by the ratepayers. The objections against the first scheme were by the voluntaries and the advocates of the secular plan, that they were setting up a great centralized power, and giving it to Government as a duty to subsidize the teachers of youth throughout the country, a power which might easily be very much abused. Second, that by endowing the schools of all sects, they were, in effect, endowing all forms of religion, and thus practically teaching that there was nothing to choose between truth and error; and that by enforcing payment of taxes for this purpose, they would violate the religious conscience. The reply was, that the principle was already adopted and acted upon with parliamentary sanction under the Minutes; and that if every parent had the choice of a school for his child, the religious conscience was sufficiently protected.

To the secular plan the objections were by the voluntaries, that it included the same political errors as the other plan, and jointly with the religious educationists, that it proposed to completely upset existing arrangements, to take education out of the hands of those who had fostered, and at present had charge of it, and to give it to others who were not used to the work, and whose interest could not be so great; and second, that in excluding religion from the ordinary teaching, it violated the religious conscience. The reply was, that if the public paid for the teaching, the public ought to have the control of the schools, and would doubtless choose proper persons for the office; and to the second objection, it was replied that secular and moral instruction were matters about the communication of which there was no important difference of opinion; that it was equally for the good of all, and might very safely be provided for by taxation; but that religion was a matter between each individual man and his Maker; that the religious conscience could not be violated by the teaching of subjects upon which all men were agreed; and that whilst it was admitted that the conscience of the religious man required religious teaching, he could not require it at the cost of those who differed from him, for that would be to violate the consciences of other men for his convenience; but that the adoption of the secular plan would lead to arrangements between parents and the officials of the various religious sects to occupy the times set apart, and thus to supplement the ordinary teaching by efficient religious instruction. Amongst these differing parties the parliamentary committee could not decide, so neither of the bills became law, and except for the progress of the annual votes under the Minutes, the subject of national education went again to sleep.

The

The following is a summary of the conditions of the parliamentary grant as published in April 1860:

The Committee of Privy Council on Education affords aid towards primary education, out of the parliamentary grant for the erection of schools, in amounts not exceeding one half of the whole cost in cases where a necessity for the school is shown, and the trust-deeds and plans are approved; but the school must either belong to some recognized religious denomination, or it must be a school in which, besides secular instruction, the Scriptures are read daily in the authorized version. The remainder of the cost may be supplied by subscriptions from persons within four miles of the proposed school, or by collections in churches or chapels within the same radius, or may be the proceeds of the sale of old materials (deducting the allowance of any former grant), or the value of a site given without any valuable consideration; and may include the value of any gratuitous cartage certified by the parochial surveyor of the roads. Aid is also given towards the purchase of books, maps, diagrams, and scientific apparatus. The books must be chosen from an approved list of works, purporting to convey secular information in the form of class-books for children or text-books for teachers, and the maps and diagrams must be upon a large scale. This grant will not exceed twenty pence per scholar in average attendance, nor will it exceed one-third of the whole cost of the books, and the order must be for not less than three pounds in value. This grant may be renewed every third year, or oftener in cases where the scholars have increased in the meantime 25 per cent. This grant is extended to evening classes in places where the population is sparse, and it is also available to 'schoolmasters' associations,' to the extent of ten shillings per member, on condition of an equal amount being subscribed. The grants in aid of scientific apparatus are in the proportion of two-thirds of the whole cost to schools where the master has given satisfactory proof of his ability to use the instruments to advantage. This grant is also occasionally available to schoolmasters' associations. One-half of the original proportion is again available after three years, in order to replace any instruments spoiled by use; and on the original conditions for instruments, for a branch of science not included in the original grant. Grants are also made in augmentation of the salaries of teachers who have undergone examination, and received certificates of competency, provided they be paid by the managers of the schools 60*l.* per annum at least, and provided also that 30*l.* of this be raised by voluntary contributions, exclusive of any endowment. In such cases the Committee of Council will add 30*l.* to the annual salary. Teachers who have not obtained certificates may yet be registered as competent, and may, in common with the certified teachers in some cases, have pupil teachers apprenticed to them, in the ratio of

of one for every forty scholars, but not more than four in any one school. The grant for one pupil teacher is 5*l.*; for two, 9*l.*; for three, 12*l.*; and for four, 15*l.* per annum to the principal teacher. The Committee of Council also provides for the annual stipend of the pupil teacher; for his first year, 10*l.*; second, 12*l.* 10*s.*; third, 15*l.*; and fourth, 17*l.* 10*s.* A special augmentation grant is given to teachers of drawing: for free-hand drawing, 2*l.*; for linear geometry, 1*l.*; for linear perspective, 1*l.*; and for model and object drawing, 1*l.* per annum.

Special augmentation grants exist also for schools in which the Welsh or Gaelic languages have to be spoken.

Capitation grants are made towards the general expenses of schools where the pupils pay not less than 3*s.*, nor more than 16*s.* per head per annum. These grants are in boys' schools, where the pupils are under fifty, 6*s.*, and for girls, 5*s.* per head per annum. Where the pupils are from fifty to one hundred—boys, 5*s.*; girls, 4*s.* per head. Where the pupils are above one hundred—boys, 4*s.*; girls, 3*s.* per head per annum.

Annual sums of 1,000*l.* to the National (Established Church) School Society, 750*l.* to the British and Foreign School Society, and 500*l.* to the Education Committee of the General Assembly of the Established Church of Scotland, are allowed for the support of normal schools for the training of teachers. Grants for books, maps, and diagrams, equal to 10*s.* per student to each 20*s.* subscribed, are also available for these schools; and for scientific apparatus, equal to two-thirds of the whole cost, but not exceeding 100*l.* in one grant. To certificated assistants in these schools, grants equal to one-third of their salary are made. For lecturers, in the proportion of one lecturer to thirty students; but to not more than three lecturers in one school. The grants are 100*l.* per annum to 150*l.* of salary.

'Queen's scholarships' of 23*l.* for males, and 17*l.* for females, with a further allowance for personal and travelling expenses, are connected with these normal schools, and may extend to ten per cent. of the students, provided so many pass the examinations satisfactorily. There are also grants towards the general management of these schools, according to the number of students who pass the annual examinations.

For the first year's residence the allowance towards management expenses is from 13*l.* to 20*l.*, according to proficiency; second year from 16*l.* to 24*l.*; and for the third year, from 16*l.* to 24*l.* per student.

The Committee of Council has also at its command the sum of 6,500*l.* per annum, in 20 pensions of 30*l.* each, 100 of 25*l.* each, and 150 of 20*l.* each; with donations or special gratuities to make up the remaining 400*l.* These are intended for teachers who have become incapacitated for the efficient conduct of a school. The pensioner

pensioner must have conducted a school for fifteen years, during seven of which it must have been under inspection, and the applicant must be recommended by the inspector, and by the trustees and managers of the school.

For ragged or industrial schools there are special grants in addition to those which are common to other schools. They consist of one half the rent of the premises in which industrial instruction is carried on, one-third of the cost of tools and raw materials for labour, and 5*s.* per annum per scholar for the average number under instruction. All these grants of course subject the schools to inspection by her Majesty's inspectors. Where grants are made for building purposes, the schools must be permanently open to inspection; where aid is given for books, maps, or diagrams, the right of inspection lasts for seven years thereafter. But if the grant is annual, the visit of the inspector may at any time be declined when the grant is given up.

Under these various regulations the Committee of Council last year distributed 723,115*l.*, and since the commencement of their operations in 1839, they have distributed 4,378,183*l.*

Of course progress is every year making both in the diffusion and in the quality of instruction given in working-class schools; and an effort was made (without success) by the Right Hon. C. B. Adderly last year to pass a bill, the effect of which would have been to extend the provisions of the Factory Education Act to all employments, and thus to oblige all employers to provide for the instruction of all children under thirteen years of age whilst in their service.

We learn that it is proposed to reintroduce the bill this session.

The advocates of the secular plan, in order to dispel the fears of the religious world, set up a model school in Manchester in 1844, and have since that period been educating upwards of 300 boys. The annual reports show that the qualification for admission is 'honest poverty,' and the regularity of attendance by the pupils is certainly wonderful; it averages 93 per cent. of those on the books. There is no religious teaching in the ordinary sense, not even the reading of the Bible, but 96 per cent. of the pupils attend Sunday schools.

What progress education has made in Manchester since 1852 we have no means of showing; but Mr. Hole's book comes in opportunely to show the condition of Leeds, which is, in many respects, similarly circumstanced.

The population of Leeds increased between 1839 and 1851 from 82,121 to 172,270 persons; and the attendants at day-schools from 1 in 12·15 to 1 in 7·89. Mr. Hole asserts that the improvement in the quality of instruction between these periods was much more remarkable than the increase in quantity, and he attributes the

the stimulus almost entirely to the operations of the Committee of Council on Education; and thinks that if Dissenters had availed themselves of the facilities afforded by the Government in the same proportion as the Church of England, we should have had very little to regret at this time.

In 1853 the Church had in Leeds 30 schools, with 5,500 pupils under inspection; the Wesleyans, four schools, with 1,335 pupils; the Catholics, one school, with 200 pupils; whilst there were three British schools, with 791 pupils; making a total of 6,529 in average attendance, being fully equal to one-third of the whole average attendance at day-schools in 1851. What progress had been made in the two years up to 1853 does not appear; but it is quite clear that in 15 years from the establishment of the Committee of Council the Government had got the control of one-third of the working-class pupils in Leeds; and the state of Leeds is probably similar to that of most of the large towns in England. The progress during the last seven years has not been at a much less rate; and we are not therefore surprised when Mr. Hole tells us, that, as a consequence of the superior instruction given in inspected schools, private schools for the working classes have almost ceased to exist.

At the present time (May, 1860) there are in Leeds:—

| | Children. |
|---|---|
| In public schools, under inspection . . . | 10,017 |
| „ „ not under inspection . . . | 1,994 |
| Private day schools . . . . . | 2,454 |
| Total . . . . . | 14,465 |

This number, as we learn from the author, accounts only for the working-class schools, and does not, therefore, form a basis for calculation as compared with population, unless we add one-fifth for middle-class schools, when the proportion will be about 1 in 10 of the population. Dame schools are also excluded from the return. The parliamentary grants to schools in Leeds for primary instruction, for building, for apparatus, for teachers, pupil teachers, and capitation grants since 1839, have been 49,427*l.* 0*s.* 8*d.*

One great difficulty of the question in Leeds as in Manchester appears to be the demand for juvenile labour.

Our author gives returns from ten schools, showing that the average age of the last one thousand children who have left them to go to work has been 9·59 years; that they have averaged 4·73 years each at school, including infant-schools; and that they have left for wages averaging from 3*s.* 2*d.* to 5*s.* per week. And he quotes the Rev. F. Watkins, her Majesty's school inspector, who says that as the schools improve in quality, the age at which children leave descends.

The remedies proposed are the adoption of an educational test for

for employment, and the extension of the Factory Schools Bill to all employments, so as to oblige all children who are at work, under thirteen years of age, to spend half-time at school; and the pleasing fact is again put forth, that half-timers in the best factory schools make almost as much progress as those who spend their whole time at school. To show how effectively such a law would work, Mr. Baker, factory inspector, is quoted as follows—

'Having had occasion to request certain certifying surgeons to test the educational powers of the children and young persons of between eight and sixteen years of age who presented themselves for surgical certificates, and a supposition getting abroad that shortly no child would be allowed to work in the mills that could not read;—from that moment the applications for admission to the schools were so great in the district that within a fortnight all the schools were filled.'

The number of evening pupils in Leeds in 1858, was 3,582, one-third of whom were in the hands of the Established Church, one-third of other religious denominations, and the remainder in mechanics' and other secular institutes. Those in the hands of the religious sects were free scholars. The number of pupils in the School of Art in Leeds and immediate neighbourhood is 1,949.

Speaking of crime, our author tells us that of 1,993 offenders in 1858 and 1859 only 26 were returned as well educated; whilst 1,001 had received no instruction at all, and the remainder very little. Out of 847 prisoners committed in one year 512 had been committed before, and the total number of committals for these 847 persons was about 2,400, or an average of nearly three committals each.

To show the value of reformatories, statistics are given, to the effect that, since their establishment in this country, the committals of youths under sixteen years of age have rapidly decreased from 13,981 in 1856, to 8,913 in 1859.

The pecuniary saving to the country from the action of these institutions must have been immense, to say nothing of the moral results. An adult thief cannot exist at less than 100*l.* per annum loss to society, independent of the cost of prosecutions and convictions. If, therefore, we save 5,000 youths from a life of theft, we have saved for society half a million sterling per annum.

But there is no disagreement about the duty of Government in regard to convicted felons, nor in regard to the children of paupers; in both these cases the Government is admitted to stand *in loco parentis*, and therefore entitled to give any instruction which it may deem proper.

It is argued that if it be right for Government to punish, it is also right for it to prevent, crime; and the conclusion is drawn that education is the best if not the only preventive. And undoubtedly, according to the constitution of England, any duty which does not violate the religious conscience and oblige a man to resist the operation of the law on the ground that he ought to obey

obey God rather than man may be delegated to the Government, central or local.

But then come the political and religious difficulties which we have already set forth. The voluntaries, led by the author of 'Social Statics,' by Mr. Baines, and Mr. Edward Miall, desire to confine the operations of Government within the narrowest possible limits; whilst the religious educationists, composed chiefly of adherents of the Established Church and the Wesleyans, would enlarge the sphere of government influence; and the advocates of the secular scheme seek a medium in local government. Sir James Kay Shuttleworth, who supported the religious scheme started in Manchester (and who was the first Secretary to the Committee of Privy Council), speaking on this subject, says:—

'We are now spending in Great Britain at least two millions annually on the support of elementary schools. The annual local cost (without accounting for the expense of training colleges, of inspection, and of administration) for each elementary day scholar in an efficient school in Great Britain, in 1859, was 1*l.* 7*s.* 1½*d.* or at the rate of 6¾*d.* per week for 48 weeks in the year for 748,164 scholars, who, on the average, were in the inspected and aided schools. Of this, the parents pay weekly rather more than 1¾*d.* The private contributions, endowments, and the sums derived from other sources, amount to rather more than 2¼*d.* per week; and the Government at present provide towards pupil teachers, for the augmentation of teachers' salaries, and for other objects contemplated by the Minutes of 1846 and 1853, the remaining 2¾*d.* per week. This was the proportion in 1859 for Great Britain. The two millions, which is the lowest estimate of what is annually spent in Great Britain on elementary education, include the cost of day schools receiving no aid from the Government, as well as of night schools and mechanics' institutions. The sum actually expended by the Committee of Council in the support of the inspected elementary day schools in Great Britain, in the year ending December 31, 1859, was 413,673*l.*, and of night schools only 1,321*l.*; whereas, in the same inspected schools, 341,614*l.* 19*s.* 11*d.* was derived from private contributions and endowments, while 259,394*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.* was derived solely from school pence; so that the whole income of the inspected schools thus aided by Government was 1,014,682*l.* The second million which, besides the foregoing, I estimate to be at the least annually expended on elementary education, is solely derived from voluntary subscriptions or from school pence; so that 1,600,000*l.* are now annually raised from private sources. In the schools which derive no aid from Government, the proportions of the school pence to the subscriptions probably exceed those of the elementary schools inspected and aided. They would, I think, amount to one half of this million. If that estimate be accurate, the Government pay 413,673*l.* annually, the middle class and upper classes, by subscriptions and endowments, 841,614*l.*; and the working classes, 759,394*l.*, towards the local support of elementary day and evening schools. When 1,601,008*l.* is annually derived from subscriptions, endowments, and school pence, and of this sum 759,394*l.* is paid directly from earnings of working men towards the support of schools, any Government which should, in a spirit of short-sighted economy, determine to stint the application of the public revenues to education, must be indifferent to its highest obligations.'

Here, then, is our question:—There are now, in all probability, in England and Wales nearly a million of children of school age, who are neither at school nor at work: out of this class come most of our paupers and criminals. Shall we leave it to voluntary benevolence to impress the parents of these and future generations of children with the value of education; or shall we, by a national

effort, provide at once for their mental and moral development? And if we go to work nationally, what system or combination of systems shall we adopt? Or shall we leave the matter in the hands of the Government, and see the annual vote increased to one and a half million sterling; putting the working-class schoolmasters entirely in the hands of the national executive for the time being, and extinguishing the schools of all who conscientiously object to share the grants? We believe that the present Government would be glad to have the matter taken out of their hands, for its management involves immense labour and responsibility; but without either the inauguration of a national scheme, or the absorption of the neglected by voluntary means, the Government cannot now give up.

To these questions we ask the serious attention of our readers, with the conviction that, whether an Education Bill be or be not passed, great practical good will result.

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ART. III.—1. *Experiments and Observations on the Gastric Juice, and the Physiology of Digestion.* By William Beaumont, M.D., Surgeon in the United States Army. Plattsburgh: 1833.

2. *An Experimental Inquiry concerning the Presence of Alcohol in the Ventricles of the Brain, after Poisoning by that Liquid; with Experiments illustrative of the Physiological Action of Alcohol; for which a Gold Medal was awarded by the Medical Faculty of the University of Edinburgh.* By John Percy, M.D. Nottingham: 1839.

3. *Digestion; the Influence of Alcoholic Fluids on that Function.* By Robert Dundas Thomson, M.D. London: 1841.

4. *Scientific Teetotalism; exhibiting a view of the accordance of Teetotalism with Organic Chemistry, and explaining the modus operandi of Alcohol, firstly, on the function of Respiration, and, secondly, in the formation of Fat.* By Dr. F. R. Lees. March, 1843.

5. *Uber das Verhalten des Alkohols im Thierischen Organismus.* Von Dr. Duchek. 1853.

6. *Du Rôle de l'Alcool et des Anesthétiques dans l'Organisme.* Recherches Expérimentales par Ludger Lallemand et Maurice Perrin, Médicins-Majors, Professeurs agrégés à l'Ecole Impériale de Médicine et de Pharmacie Militaires, et J. L. P. Duroy, Membre de la Société de Pharmacie de Paris. Paris: 1860.

THE discussions of the last thirty years on the doctrine of temperance, in its chemical, physiological, and critical relations, have illustrated an old and consoling truth; namely, that

that Providence is perpetually preparing for the progressive development of science, and constantly educing permanent and universal good out of temporary and partial evil. Not that we are prepared to justify the perverse way in which men shut their eyes to the dawn of evidence—the attitude of hostility assumed against the beginnings of truth—the prejudice which intercepts the straight path of light—much less the authoritative tone and acrid disposition in which the earliest developments of temperance doctrine have been combated by reputed chemists, physiologists, and divines. But while we must concede and lament the frequent absence of a conscientious, truth-seeking mood in the writers against temperance, we can now clearly perceive that the very intensity and virulence of this opposition, by compelling to minute and exhaustive investigation, has necessarily resulted in a wider grasp of the entire subject, and stimulated to that series of varied and luminous experiments which now for ever displace the few and faint illustrations which constituted our original knowledge of the *modus operandi* of alcohol upon the living body. This fact, surely, furnishes an additional incentive to patience and toleration under controversial antagonism, so that, while avoiding what is unbecoming in the manner and motive of gainsayers, we may accept opposition as the best opportunity for promoting that truth which benefits and blesses in common the entire family of man.

The movement which has now become known as teetotalism, originated amongst the working classes of Lancashire in the year 1832; and the zealous missionary labours of its earliest advocates —especially of James Teare, Joseph Livesey, Thomas Swindlehurst, Henry Anderton, and Edward Grubb—quickly discipled many thousands of the hard-working men of the North to this new scheme of redemption from the thraldom and degradation of drink. Several important physical truths became manifest as the result of this grand practical induction: namely, that hard work could be done with greater ease, and with less subsequent fatigue, on the abandonment of alcoholic liquors; that the extremes of heat and cold could be better sustained; that body and temper were both improved; and that teetotalers enjoyed a comparative immunity from the pain and expense of sickness, to which, as limited drinkers, they had been strangers.

Earnestly commending these truths of experience to the working classes, the first apostles of temperance were soon obstructed by the mischievous authority of medical men, an authority which chimed in at once with interest and appetite; and the question before the public assumed the shape of alleged Science *versus* Popular Reform. This compelled the temperance advocate to formulize his doctrine, to study chemistry and physiology, so that

he might challenge the opposer upon his own ground. Whether it was owing to this antagonism, or to the circumstance that the continental teachers of physiology were far better instructed in organic chemistry than the English doctors, the fact is certain, that while the profession abroad have generally treated the question of abstinence from alcohol in a respectful and philosophical spirit, the great body of medical men at home have dealt with it in so crude, dogmatic, and insolent a manner, as to call down upon themselves the most severe but merited exposures.* The *rôle* of the controversy has somewhat changed since then, but the temper of the profession is as intolerant as ever. The 'Medical Gazette,' in reviewing the French experiments, pronounces them all the more valuable, 'seeing that they are not contaminated with teetotal fanaticism.' Now since their philosophical conclusions coincide precisely with the original basis of the temperance doctrine, we must infer that the 'fanaticism' consists in contending for the practical application of the philosophy! The 'British Medical Journal' recently declares that 'the subject of the use of alcohol is daily becoming one of more importance. The question of its influence on the body in health, is being daily canvassed by the chemist and physiologist; and as far as their lights reach, it would seem that not only is alcohol not of service to the body, but is actually injurious.'

While vituperating teetotalers in the style just exhibited, the faculty, we learn, are preparing to abandon their untenable position in the field of 'science,' and to occupy the 'vantage-ground upon which the 'fanatics' themselves have stood so firmly and so long. 'We are certainly not disposed,' says the Medical Journal, 'to allow the chemist or the physiologist to settle a question of this kind, for there is one great authority, Experience, which is greater than theirs.' Whether they will fare any better in their new position, we may safely leave to the issues of time; but the declaration itself is a remarkable example of the tenacity of prejudice.

The formula of the teetotalers in 1832, and subsequently, was this: That alcohol is essentially an irritant and narcotic poison. That this brain poison is the intoxicating element alike of the fermented and distilled liquors used by the people, so productive of physical disease, social disorder, popular degradation, and premature death. That it is injurious in proportion to the frequency and amount of its consumption. That it enters the body as alcohol, excites violent reaction in every part of the circulation

* Vide 'Fallacies of the Faculty' in works of Dr. Lees (vol. i. and iii.), where an analysis of 230 pages will be found of the strangest blunders ever put forth by an educated faculty, including such men as Drs. Paris, Lankester, Barclay, and Chambers.

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from the heart to the brain, and is eliminated as alcohol, in some measure from the breath and skin, and plentifully from the kidneys. Hence, therefore, as wanting in the two essential marks of innocency of action and capacity of assimilation, alcohol could not be ranked in the category of food.

The American Temperance Society was formed in the year 1826. Prior to that event, the remarkable accident to Alexis St. Martin had happened, of which the particulars are given in the first work named at the head of this article. Whilst the philanthropists were busy with their social and moral reformation, a physician in the Far West was experimenting upon a living man, into whose stomach an opening had been made, whereby, as through a window, could be seen, even when not felt, the irritating and disturbing action of alcoholics. When, in Britain, in 1833, the principle of abstinence from spirits was developed into teetotalism, and the absurd objection put forth that alcohol in wine was different from alcohol distilled out, Dr. Beaumont's book was received in the nick of time for confuting the distinction. 'The whole class of alcoholic liquors, whether simply fermented or distilled, may be considered as narcotics, producing very little difference in their ultimate effects on the system.' (P. 50.) It was also shown that 'the free use of any intoxicating liquors, when continued for some days, has invariably produced morbid changes in the stomach, visible to the naked eye.' (P. 239.)

This case greatly aided the temperance movement, and was used with vigour and skill in popular advocacy. In December, 1841, Mr. E. C. Delavan, of Albany, published, and circulated with a princely liberality, the 'Enquirer,' No. 1, containing Professor Sewall's 'Pathology of Drunkenness,' illustrated with coloured plates of the stomach, exhibiting the inflammatory action of strong drinks. These plates, with additional matter and drawings, were afterwards reproduced in England by Dr. Lees, in connection with his 'History of Alcohol.' In that work, and the 'Standard Temperance Library,' published in 1841, are to be found collected most of the facts and experiments then known concerning the behaviour of alcohol within the organism; but while very significant, they were unquestionably fragmentary.

In 1679, M. Courten, of Montpelier, injected two drachms of spirits of wine into the crural vein of a dog, which died in a very little time. The blood was concreted into a great many hard clots in the cava and right ventricle of the heart. Three drachms made another dog apoplectic, as if he were half dead. He grew giddy, reeled, and fell down. His eyes were red and fiery, his sight so dull that he did not seem to notice anything. In four hours' time he grew better. 'We injected into the crural vein of a dog five ounces of strong white wine, which made him very drunk,

drunk, and little different from what a less quantity of spirits of wine would have done.'*

In Dr. Beddoes' 'Hygeia' (1802) some curious experiments of Mr. Pilger and of the great surgeon, John Hunter, are recorded, but they cast no light on the course of alcohol in the body. The experiments of Dr. (now Sir B.) Brodie in 1811,† and of Orfila, which simply confirm M. Courten's, and those of M. Flourens,‡ which show that alcohol disorders the action of walking or flying by its specific influence on the 'cerebellum,'—pretty nearly exhaust our information on this topic up to 1830. In that year Dr. Kirk, of Greenock, in his address to the Leven Temperance Society, details his examination of the brains of some men who had died after drinking, from which he had obtained by distillation a quantity of alcohol, still retaining the smell of whisky, and burning with a blue flame for several seconds. Dr. Ogston, of Aberdeen, confirmed this startling fact, by the examination of the brains of persons who had died under similar conditions.

These last experiments seem to have suggested the subject for Dr. Percy's prize thesis in 1839; which is certainly one of the most important and satisfactory contributions ever made to our knowledge of the action of alcohol, and which has long been employed as a text-book by the few leading advocates of temperance who have taken the pains to study this question, as a barricade against the inroad of foreign theories which our medical and literary men have accepted in so servile a spirit, partly because they felt their own want of mastery of the subject, and partly because they fancied they had discovered an argument against the temperance reformers of their own country.

Dr. Percy established the following truths in that essay, beyond all reasonable cavil and contradiction:—

1. That the distillation of the blood of dogs and men, after the injection of alcohol by the stomach, yielded a liquid, which dissolved camphor, and burnt with a blue flame.

2. That after the use of alcohol to the point of common intoxication, the substance of the brain yielded a larger measure of alcohol than a much greater weight of blood. "Indeed, it would almost seem that a kind of affinity existed between alcohol and the cerebral matter." (P. 104.)

3. "The rapidity with which alcohol may, under favourable circumstances, be absorbed from the stomach and conveyed to the brain, is remarkable."

4. "That alcohol may be detected in the blood, the urine, &c. It may be separated with great facility from the bile and liver." . . . . "I obtained the urine of a man who was in a state of intoxication—he had taken in all about a bottle of whisky. [Half a pint of alcohol.] The urine was clear and of a pale straw colour. I subjected five ounces to distillation, and drew over one drachm, which was put into a test-tube, containing sub-carbonate of potass: instantly on agitation, a perfectly colourless stratum appeared, which dissolved camphor, and burnt with a blue flame."

5. Experiment viii., "illustrates the intensely irritant action of alcohol. The

* 'Philosophical Transactions,' 1712. † Ibid., 1811.

‡ 'Recherches sur les Fonctions du Système Nerveux,' 1824.

dog

dog vomited frothy matter, strongly tinged with blood. The lungs were slightly congested. Dark blood was contained in all the cavities of the heart. The stomach bore the marks of the most intense inflammation. Solid viscera healthy." (P. 73.)

6. That alcohol can destroy life by shock upon the nervous centres. In experiment vi., "a full-grown spaniel dog was killed before the injection of less than two and a half ounces of alcohol into the stomach was completed. Never did I see every spark of vitality more effectually and more instantaneously extinguished." (P. 60.)

7. "On opening the chest, a decidedly alcoholic smell was perceived, as evidenced by Mr. Wright, my brother (who was ignorant of the experiment), and myself. Not only must alcohol have been conveyed to the brain, in the course of two minutes, but a quantity must have passed into the circulation, for the actual quantity yielded by the brain in this instance, equalled what I have in general obtained when the poison has been allowed much longer time for absorption. The blood furnished an abundant quantity. . . . . The empty condition of the stomach may serve to explain the extraordinary rapidity with which the alcohol produced its effects." (P. 62.)

Notwithstanding these experiments, we shortly after find Liebig and the French and German chemists and physiologists affirming, with a single exception,* that alcohol is never eliminated by the secreting organs. This opinion was first given by Tiedemann and Gmelin,† repeated by Wœhler as a fact, afterwards echoed by a flock of writers on the Continent, and finally proclaimed as science by amateur physiologists in England. Certainly, error sometimes takes a good deal of killing.

Professor Schultz, in his work on 'The Rejuvenescence of Man' (Berlin, 1842), records some experiments which excited considerable attention, and led to others elsewhere. He states that 'alcohol stimulates the blood vesicles to an increased and unnatural contraction, which hurries them on to the last stage of development—that is, induces their premature death. The colouring matter is dissolved out of them, and the pale discs lose all vitality; whence less oxygen can be absorbed, and less carbon carried out. While congestion happens in the capillaries, irritation is present in the secreting organs, resulting in disordered function.' The later experiments of Böcker with spirits, wine, and beer (the results attested by the microscope), agree with these; and Dr. Virchow, the celebrated pathologist, concurs in the opinion that alcohol poisons the blood, and arrests the development, as well as hastens the decay, of the red vesicles.§

After this period, a numerous band of experimenters are found, all over Europe, busily endeavouring to determine the problem of the action of alcohol, amongst whom we may name as most successful,

* 'A l'exception de Klenke, qui a trouvé de l'alcool dans l'urine et dans la bile, les physiologistes avaient avancé que les organes sécréteurs, les reins en particulier, n'éliminent pas l'alcool.'—Lallemand, p. 73.

† 'Journal des Progrès,' 1827, ii. 109.

‡ See Dr. Barclay's assertion cited in Dr. Lees' works, i. p. clxv.

§ An abstract of these will be found in the works of Dr. Lees, vol. i. p. cciii. (1854).

Otto,

Otto, Huss, Vierordt, Nasse, Moleschott, Rösch, Böcker, Lehmann, Buckheim, Royer-Collard, Klenke, Duméril, and Demarquay.

The second stage of this discussion, which we may call the Chemical Epoch, opened with the year 1843, by the publication of Liebig's famous book on 'Animal Chemistry,' followed by his no less celebrated 'Letters.' In these works he advocates, with much brilliancy and plausibility, that luminous distinction of Foods into Elements of Nutrition, which chiefly take part in the composition of the frame, and Elements of Respiration, which mainly act as fuel for the production of animal heat. As regards the first class, it became at once apparent, that alcohol, as a liquid entirely destitute of the nitrogenous and mineral elements of the structures, had no title to be regarded as nourishment. This Dr. Liebig at once admitted. 'Beer, wine, spirits, etc., furnish no element capable of entering into the composition of blood, muscular fibre, or any part which is the seat of the vital principle.* But if alcohol could not claim to rank with albumen as plastic, histogenetic food, might it not, like oil, starch, or sugar, be included amongst the elements of respiration, which, uniting with oxygen, jointly 'conveyed by the circulation of the blood to every part of the body, is the source of animal heat?' Liebig looked at this theory with the favour and fondness of a doting parent. He considered that there was in the body a constant condition of eremacausis or decay, promotive of gradual combustion, a perpetual supply of oxygen to act upon the volatile alcohol circulating in the blood, and, greatest delusion of all, theorizing in the belief that alcohol, when taken in moderate doses, was never eliminated, he naturally concluded, and stoutly asserted, that it must be decomposed.

'If (an) individual adds to his (adequate) daily ration, a certain amount of alcohol, of which we know that its elements, in the circumstances under which they are exposed to the action of oxygen in the system, possess a far stronger attraction for oxygen than, for example, fat; then it is obvious that the elements of the alcohol, and not those of the fat, will combine with the oxygen. If the amount of oxygen taken up remain the same (*i. e.* exercise), then fat will be deposited in the body, or it will go to increase the amount of fat in the blood, or it must be expelled (as waste) through the intestinal canal.† In the same way, by the presence of alcohol, the change of matter itself [which is life], in so far as the oxygen conveyed by the blood has a share in it, or the conversion of the products of the change of matter into oxydized compounds must be impeded or altered in its form,'—in plain English, the normal processes of health will be arrested. 'Besides the usual products, there must be formed nitrogenized or sulphurized compounds of another kind; or, if the normal action of the canal do not suffice, and be not excited by stimulants [aperients], then, by their presence in the blood, the vital processes must undergo a change, which must make itself known in some one of the functions of the body.'

How any one who understands this theory can deem it favourable to the use of alcoholics, we are at a loss to comprehend; but

* 'Letters on Chemistry,' p. 57. 1844.

† 'Animal Chemistry,' 3rd edit., 1846, p. 147.

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there is still another pregnant passage immediately following: 'On the other hand, if the elements of respiration be diminished by a corresponding amount, or the supply of oxygen increased, then the use of alcoholics, without any reference to the effect of alcohol on the nervous system,* will exert no unfavourable influence on the normal processes of the organism.' This is simply saying, that when quantitative obstruction is not created, only qualitative injury remains! These extracts, however, as will be seen in the sequel, are purely the expression of a hypothesis, and have no solid basis of fact. The opinion ought to have been tested at the time, but, instead, was elevated, by the concurrent faith of continental savans and British doctors, to the very pinnacle of science!

The theory of Liebig, however, was speedily seized upon by the superficial teachers of science, as a weapon against teetotalism; and by some very clever writers, of whom, in general, we must speak with a certain respect. Even Dr. Pereira said, 'The *tea*-total societies have quite overlooked this use of spirit! It cannot be doubted that it undergoes some change in the animal economy, and probably may be made some use of.' Nevertheless the fact was doubted. In a discussion in March, 1843, Dr. Lees boldly took the hypothesis by the horns, in the following words:—

'I am told that alcohol is an element of respiration. I will show you what the theory itself is worth; at present it is purely a question of opinion. I have frequently exhibited the true relations of alcohol to the respiratory process, which are not exactly what Dr. Pereira and Mr. Jeaffreson imagine. All that Liebig's theory would prove is this, that after a portion of spirit had acted as a poison on the stomach, the tissues, the liver, the heart, the lungs, and the brain, some portion of the poison is then made to answer the same purpose as sugar. . . . The wisdom of nature is displayed in this—that in the healthy operations of the animal machine, those elements of food which stand related to the process of nutrition do not disturb the function of respiration, nor, on the other hand, do the elements of respiration disturb the vital and nutritive functions, or, like alcohol, impair the nervous system. Professor Liebig supposes that alcohol is an element of respiration—"that the elements of alcohol combine with oxygen in the body; that its carbon and hydrogen are given off as carbonic acid and water"†—but granting that some portion of this alcohol may become decomposed in the blood, the question arises, Does this take place without injury to other functions of the system? If not, its use must be as indefensible as ever. I question, however, whether alcohol is so easily decomposed in the system as Liebig represents, and I contend that many physiological experiments, of which he does not seem to have had any cognizance, support the position, that this irritating and most indigestible substance, as regards the great bulk of it taken at any time, passes off from the system, through the skin and lungs, unchanged and undecomposed.'‡

Dr. Paris, the President of the College of Physicians, went further astray than Dr. Pereira. 'The teetotalers,' he says,

* At p. 41, Liebig himself remarks that 'every disturbance of the nervous system, or of the nerves of digestion, reacts visibly on the process of respiration.' This explains the susceptibility of drinkers to death by exposure to cold. Liebig elsewhere allows that the excitement of alcohol must end in the 'inevitable bankruptcy' of the vital force.

† 'Animal Chemistry,' 1st edit. p. 239.

‡ 'History of Alcohol,' Appendix A, p. xii. 1843.

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'are the more to be wondered at, considering the light which modern chemistry has thrown on the subject.'* He says that Liebig has 'proved' that alcohol is burnt up in the system! The 'Medical Review,' edited by Dr. John Forbes, physician to Her Majesty's housecoid, in reviewing Dr. Paris's book, plunges into the most astounding blunders, affirming that modern researches fully prove that alcohol is capable of assimilation, its carbon being available either to the support of certain tissues, or to respiration! Dr. Lankester, in 1851, partly propagated the same doctrine, which received its perfect development in Johnstone's 'Chemistry of Common Life,' and G. H. Lewes's pretentious article in the 'Westminster Review,' for July, 1855, the fallacies and falsities of which Professor Carpenter and Dr. Lees publicly exposed in Exeter Hall.† The temperance leaders, however, could hardly stem this scientific *stampede*, under the influence of which common sense and cool philosophy were for a while powerless; and they had to reason upon the supposition of Liebig's theory being true. Dr. Lees protested, and then showed that, if alcohol 'robbed the blood of oxygen,' that fact rather established than overturned their platform. Professor Carpenter, in the 5th edition of his 'Physiology,' admitted that alcohol was fuel in considerable quantities, and, as such, gave it a place as food in fever. Professor Miller, in his 'Alcohol,' and later still, in his 'Nephalism,' followed the pernicious example. But the seeds of revolution were germinating in the minds of many. A decade wanes away, and men learn first to doubt, and then to investigate: a second decade elapses, and, with evidence infinitely stronger than the hypothesis could ever boast, they begin boldly to refute.

Scientific men in vain attempted to fill up the vacant spaces in the theory of Liebig. Starting with the supposition that alcohol, in part at least, is oxydized in the circulation, they tested the blood for the products of alcoholic combustion—such as aldehyde and acetic acid.‡ In 1847, Bouchardat and Sandras, in the 'Annales

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* 'Pharmacologia,' 9th edit., 1848.

† It is but justice to the conductors of the 'Westminster Review' to record, that in the January number, 1861, the old opinions are thus referred to:—'Since the date of our former article, accurate research has brought to light important facts which necessarily modify the opinions we then expressed concerning the *rôle* of alcohol in the animal body. Faithful to the revelations of science, rather than mindful of consistency, we hasten to lay before our readers the last results of a long and laborious series of experiments bearing on the subject in question.' Nevertheless, in 1855, all the facts known were as much opposed to the article as are those of the kind now published. Mr. Lewes's article was a piece of special pleading based entirely on factors which he boldly proclaimed as facts.

‡ Alcohol C 4. H 6. O 2. If 2 equivalents of oxygen unite with 2 of the hydrogen of alcohol, forming water, we get

Aldehyde C 4. H 4. O 2. In a second process of oxydation, 2 H is replaced by 2 O, making

Acetic acid C 4. H 4. O 4.

de

de Chimie,' strove to sustain the theory that alcohol, by its affinity for the oxygen of the blood, asphyxiated animals poisoned by it. They denied that alcohol reaches the renal secretion † and detecting alcohol in the blood of the jugular vein in the first hour, but not in the second, they inferred that it was changed into acetic acid. One can hardly conceive of a poorer proof.

In 1853, Duchek, in a plausible paper, contended for the transformation of alcohol within the body, first into aldehyde; second, into vinegar; thirdly, into oxalic acid; and, finally, into carbonic acid and water. But his premises needed corroboration, and Buckheim, in the 'Lehrbuch der Arzneimittellehre,' speedily pointed out the hastiness of his conclusions. Whilst this chemist could find neither acetic nor oxalic acid, he confirmed the experiments of Dr. Percy as to the presence of alcohol in vapour of respiration and in urine, both in dogs and men.

A large number of additional facts had now gradually accumulated, tending to throw doubt on the theory that alcohol was an element of respiration; while some of its advocates, such as Dr. T. K. Chambers, in the 'Medico-Chirurgical Review,' for October 1854, in contending for its use as 'extra diet,' set up the incompatible pleas, that it is burnt as fuel, and also acts as a conservator of the tissues. In 1813, some experiments were instituted by Drs. Fyfe and Prout, of Aberdeen, respecting the action of alcohol on the function of respiration, and the excretion of carbonic acid.* These were for long, in conjunction with Percy's, the main evidence by which temperance advocates resisted the theory of Liebig. Dr. Copland, in 1828, in editing Richerand's 'Physiology,' well expressed the results: 'Grief, fear, and fatigue, and, in short, whatever diminished the powers of life, appeared to have the effect of diminishing the quantity of the carbonic acid expelled; but the greatest decrease experienced was from the use of alcohol and vinous liquors.'

'The use of alcoholic liquors,' says Liebig, 'causes a considerable diminution in the amount of carbonic acid given out.' ‡ These experiments, however, were not made, like some shortly to be noticed, on an empty stomach; and the results, therefore, are rather dietetic, than strictly pathological, in their teachings. Nasse, Vierordt, Böcker, and Lehmann in Germany, Dr. John Davy in England, and Dr. Hammond in America,§ have confirmed the results of Fyfe and Prout. Dr. Davy, by the test of the mercury, demonstrated that the temperature of the body is lowered by the use of wine.

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* 'Annals of Philosophy,' ii. 328; iv. 331.
† Vide 'Works of Dr. Lees,' iii. p. cc.
‡ 'Animal Chemistry,' 3rd edit., p. 27.
§ Dr. Lees' Works, iii. p. 56, note, vol. iv. Sequel, p. 42.

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A very unanimous conclusion has been gradually reached by the most reliable of the authorities both at home and abroad, on one point. Professor Moleschott, in his 'Theory of Nutrition,' while absurdly designating alcohol as a 'saving's box for the tissues,' admits that 'it does not deserve the name of an alimentary principle.' Professor Lehmann, in his 'Physiological Chemistry,' after an elaborate examination of the facts, says: 'We cannot believe that alcohol, theine, etc., which produce such powerful reactions on the nervous system, belong to the class of substances capable of contributing towards the maintenance of the vital functions.' Dr. Edward Smith, F.R.S., from a series of careful experiments on alcohol, tea, etc., arrives at conclusions differing in some respects from the preceding, but concedes that it is absurd to call alcohol 'food,' and speaks strongly as to its disturbing action upon the brain. In brief, no experimenter has ever denied the momentous fact, that whether alcohol is ever wisely usable as a drug, it is unquestionably a brain poison. This is equivalent to the statement, that it is a perverter of the intelligence of men, that faculty which is the basis alike of all good conduct and just government; and this fact, therefore, brings the question of the sale of alcohol most legitimately and logically within the scope of social legislation.

Dr. Smith* says that 'Hammond and all others found that alcohol lessened the quantity of carbonic acid expired, but no one pointed out the inconsistency of this statement with the chemical view to which all these observers have given their adhesion.' Now this is incorrect, since Dr. Lees, from the first, used the fact as a presumption against the theory. He also opposed the baseless hypothesis of Moleschott, as reproduced by Dr. Chambers in 1854, that alcohol specifically arrested metamorphosis of tissue, arguing that the facts simply proved that effete matter was retained, which dulled or deadened the processes constituting life. Here, as in other instances, while the scientific advocates of teetotalism are coarsely denounced as 'noisy, shallow quacks,'† it will in truth be found that science tardily treads in the footsteps of the temperance schoolmaster.

Dr. Hammond's experiments,‡ like Prout's, Vierordt's, and

* On the mode of action of alcohol in the treament of disease. 'Lancet,' Feb. 9, 1861.

† Vide G. H. Lewes, in 'Blackwood,' 'Westminster,' and 'Physiology of Common Life.'

‡ 'American Journal of the Medical Sciences,' October, 1856. Dr. Hammond shows, in common with all observers, that alcohol greatly lessens the excretion of urea, which phenomena was accompanied by indications of disease. 'The healthy action of my system was much disordered. My appetite was capricious. I think I should have been seriously ill if I had continued the investigation longer.' With liberal fare, in short, he was ill fed; with lessened transformation of food less urea was excreted. There was, as Liebig indicated in a previous passage, but for a different reason, an accumulation of fæces, which finally passed off in a violent diarrhœa. But Dr. Hammond's conclusion, that alcohol saved tissue, is Böcker's,

Böcker's, are exposed to several objections, which materially detract from their conclusiveness. The pulmonary exhalation was collected only for one minute three times a day; the respiration was regulated by the will, and through a volume of solution of baryta, which could not fail to impede the normal play of the function; and the influence of natural elements of food was erroneously assumed to be the same from day to day, and at the three particular minutes at which the carbonic acid was collected. Still, if not with scientific precision, Dr. Hammond does practically show that alcohol, taken with ordinary diet, has the same injurious effect as the excessive use of food; in other words, that its use is qualitative abuse, as really as gluttony is quantitative intemperance. On the other hand, if the food be deficient, the results are different; whence he infers, we think hastily, that alcohol 'cannot be exclusively condemned.' Why not? Alcohol, by thickening the circulating stream and retarding excretion, may arrest hunger and make the present supply of food last longer, but some of its present and ultimate results must be evil. If this be not so, then we may suppose that an attack of bile, supervening on a previously sound condition, inflicts no injury, and is as good as health! All false and abnormal action is bad. For our part, we cannot believe that any medicine (even if necessary) can be taken without corresponding injury. It appears to us a truism that, while the occasional use of alcohol may have some countervailing advantage, the continual employment of it must be an unmitigated mischief. That experiments lasting only for a few hours or days may not, owing to the peculiar conditions of the organism, always have perceptibly bad results, is readily conceivable. Sympathetic or vicarious functions, for instance, might, for a while, ward off mischief; but in course of time this would cease, and the organism would palpably register its own injury. This, in fact, agrees with a broad experience, and the most extended observation, in regard both to the benefits of abstinence and the evils of drinking. That alcohol should also contribute to the fattening process, under certain conditions, and produce in 'drinkers' the 'fatty degeneration of the blood,' follows as a matter of course; since, on the one hand, we have an agent that retains waste matter, by lowering the nutritive and excretory functions, and on the other, a direct poisoner of the vesicles of the vital stream.

Dr. Smith's experiments are far more satisfactory, the conditions

not warranted. He gained a fraction of a pound, he thinks, in his weight of 226 lb. How absurd! In five days he increased ·16 lb. on the average. But his figures show that the daily retention of urine during that time was ·74 oz., that of the fæces ·24 oz. = 4·9 oz., from which he ought in five days to have gained more than ·16 lb. Now, as these excretions were subsequently expelled, the plain inference is, that the increased weight was entirely due to the retention of waste matter.

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being well considered, and the apparatus perfect.* He collected the carbonic acid every quarter of an hour, and for five or ten minutes together, with the breathing quite free; he maintained an uniform state of rest, taking one moderate dose of alcohol at each experiment, and this in the absence of food, or any other recognized cause of disturbance; and his experiments, moreover, exceeded in number any previously recorded. We will now give, in Dr. Edward Smith's own words, the chief results of his various trials:—

'Alcohol, in every dose up to the usual one in taking spirits and water, increased the amount of carbonic acid evolved, but not with the uniformity of a food, nor to a greater average extent than ¼th to ½ a grain per minute. Rum increased it somewhat more, and on some occasions much more. It is a spirit coloured with burnt sugar, and we have proved that sugar very largely increases the evolution of carbonic acid. 1½ oz. of cane sugar gave an increase of about 2 grains of carbonic acid per minute, in less than half an hour.

'Tea and coffee are powerful respiratory excitants, producing an increase of from 1½ to 3 grains of carbonic acid per minute.

'Brandy and gin lessened the quantity of carbonic acid evolved to a moderate extent generally, but sometimes gin (unsweetened) caused great depression. The duration of this action was from one to two hours.

'The volatile oils and æthers, which give character to the various wines and spirits, always, when inhaled, lessened the quantity of carbonic acid and vapour exhaled; and this was the greatest when the aromas were the best, viz., in old and fine wines and spirits.

'Ales always increased the amount of carbonic acid evolved to the average degree of ½ to 1 gr. per minute. They contain, besides alcohol, sugar, nitrogenous matters, and volatile aromas. Rum and milk had a very similar, but greater and more sustained action.

'We are led to the following summary of the mode of action of alcohol:

'1. The action of the heart is reinforced, and by it the fulness and freeness of the circulation are maintained.

'2. The action of the skin is lessened, whereby the loss of heat is reduced, the urgent necessity for food and vital transformation is lessened,† and the sensation of warmth increased.

'3. Alcohol is probably not transformed, and does not increase the production of heat by its own chemical action, but indirectly by a general temporary increase in the vital functions.

'4. It interferes with alimentation, causes the retention of water, and thereby lessens the excretion of urea; and if it lessens muscular waste, which it has not been proved to do, it must be by lessening vital action. Its power to lessen the salivary secretion must impede the due digestion of starch.

'5. It greatly lessens muscular tone and power, and diminishes the production of certain secretions.

'6. There is no evidence that it increases nervous influence, whilst there is much evidence that it lessens the nervous power, as shown by the mind and the muscles.‡

'7. It varies the [normal] balance of the circulation at the centres and the superficies, and interferes with the production of heat.

'8. There are three actions due to alcohols. [As there is but one alcohol, the better term would be "alcoholics."] The general stimulating and disturbing one of alcohol itself, the conservative one of the aromas, and the digestive one of gluten and sugar.

'9. The dose influences the phenomena, but only in degree, although it is

* Vide 'Philosophical Transactions,' 1859.

† This is very different from that absurdity—'food-replaced.' It is, in reality, life-suppressed.

‡ Our readers will contrast with this, Mr. G. H. Lewes's[1] triple dogma, definition, and dialectic—'Food is force; alcohol is force; therefore, alcohol is food!'

common

common to consider the action to differ in doses which are called "moderate" and "excessive" respectively. So far as the direct action upon the mind and muscles is concerned, we could not perceive any difference. For all medicinal and dietetic purposes, I venture to affirm that the dose only affects the degree, and not the direction of the influence.

'10. Alcohol is not a true food, and it neither warms nor sustains the body by the elements of which it is composed.

'11. Although alcohols are not foods, and cannot supply the place of foods, they cannot be dispensed with (?), but should be prescribed medicinally, and as carefully as any other poisonous agent.

'12. Psychological actions. In from three to seven minutes the mind was disturbed (by a moderate dose, diluted). Consciousness, the power of fixing the attention, the perception of light, and we believe of sound also, and the power of directing and co-ordinating the muscles, were lessened; whilst there was a very marked, peculiar, continuous thrilling, not unpleasant sensation, passing downwards through the whole system, during thirty minutes. After this period the effect diminished, as shown by increased consciousness and the perception of light, as if a veil had fallen from the eyes; nevertheless, the last power to be completely regained was consciousness.

'Spirits made us very hilarious and talkative in ten minutes, and during twenty to twenty-five; so much so, that my friend was altogether a king. But as minutes flew away, so did our joyousness, and little by little we lessened our garrulity, and felt less happy, until at length, having gone down by degrees, we remained silent, almost morose, and extremely miserable. Then, indeed, we felt the horrors and the sorrows of the drunkard's lot, and saw, with a clearness which can only be perceived by such experience, how certain it is that he must again drain the intoxicating cup. Never were the extremes of happiness and misery brought so vividly before us, or seemed to be in such close proximity, as on those occasions; and never did we so deeply commiserate the slavish, miserable, and almost hopeless condition of the poor wretch who had become a victim to strong drink.

'In addition, every mental perception was darkened, and the dreaminess, which is not an unpleasant feature of it, is a condition in which neither thought nor imagination acquires power. We suspect very greatly the statements of those who profess that "fancy" is then on her most airy wing, or that thoughts spring forth without the efforts of parturition; and our most charitable reply to such statements would be, that it is all a dream!'*

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* Dr. Smith having 'established the facts,' proceeds to apply them to 'the views of the late Dr. Todd on the Therapeutic Action of Alcohols,'† including the following speculative extravagancies—which, however, were not too extravagant to be greedily imbibed (and, what is worse, acted upon) by the ruck of the medical profession: 'That alcohol, like other hydro-carbons, has great affinity for the nervous system;—that when alcohol acts beneficially, there is no smell in the breath, when injuriously, there is;—that there is no true secondary depression, but when carefully taken, it upholds the calorifying process, and prevents oxydation of the tissues;—that it acts more quickly and certainly as a hydro-carbon than oil;—that it does not produce inflammation of the lungs and liver;—that the dose should be from a quarter ounce to two ounces, repeated with food, and as frequently;—that the general use of alcohols shows an instinct in man for them;—that it is very dangerous to withdraw the alcohol, and that coma and delirium from excess indicate that more alcohol should be given.' As Dr. Smith remarks, most of these inferences lose all value when it is shown that no transformation of alcohol in the system occurs, which is 'almost, if not quite, certain;' at any rate, it is demonstrable that Dr. Todd's repeated 2 oz. doses are not transformed. Whether any part of them is smelt in the breath will depend upon the fact of their being absorbed, and Cl. Bernard has shown that in many diseases 'the process of absorption is suspended.' In cholera ingestions find an escape from the bowels. It is astounding to find a clever physician like Dr. Todd arguing that men have a natural instinct for an element that does not exist in nature; and which, after being invented by art and introduced into the kingdom of life,

† 'The Lancet,' March 2, 1861, p. 212.

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We now approach the admirable French work, 'On the Rôle of Alcohol and the Anesthetics in the Organism,' which is destined to complete the revolution of opinion so long before begun.

The laborious and careful experiments detailed in this volume show, in all essential biological respects, a perfect analogy between the behaviour of alcohol and that of chloroform in the body; so that we are shut up to the conclusion that, if alcohol be aliment, replacing food, so is chloroform; or, if chloroform be 'poison,' not less so is its analogue, alcohol. There is no solitary loophole of physiological difference in their actions through which the quibbler can creep out from this conclusion of joint condemnation or joint eulogy. Both substances are evidently regarded by the vital sentinels of the Temple as intruders, and are, as expeditiously and emphatically as the conditions permit, literally eliminated—kicked to the door,—for the organism never rests until the last atom is expelled. Both agents possess the same

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excites a rebellious action in every part, which no force can suppress until the alleged 'object' of the 'natural instinct' is expatriated in company with the filth and excretions of the vital system! That alcohol should create an increasing appetite for itself, and that frail and sinful beings like men should be tempted to seek for pleasure in the exciting cup, no more argues a natural instinct for it, than similar results following the use of other narcotics argues a natural instinct for chewing or smoking opium, bang, and tobacco, or, as in Madagascar and New York fashion, for eating snuff. Much less can the general, or even universal practice of this or that sin prove that 'Whatever is, is right.'

Dr. Smith sees 'no ground whatever for the statement that hydro-carbons have an affinity for nervous matter; neither has it been shown that alcohols improve the nutrition of the nerve cell and fibre in any special way—indeed, nutrition is a general, not a local act. All the phenomena of alcohols, when taken in quantities which render their effects noticeable, evince great nervous disturbance; and I cannot but believe that, whilst the nervous system is principally affected, it is *by the opposite of a healthy and nutrient action.*' This is an old temperance argument placed emphatically in italics as a physiological canon. (Works of Dr. Lees, vol. i. p. lxxxvii.) Alcohol arrests the function of the skin and kidneys, and thus accumulates water in the system. Now, Dr. Todd's alcoholic prescriptions were often accompanied by acetate of ammonia, which has a contrary effect; and by quinine, which would clearly counteract the depressing influence. In short, his treatment was complex, and, as statistics show, frightfully fatal; it killed others, and at last himself. Dr. Smith testifies to having seen cases of inflamed lungs after alcoholic treatment, when the action of the skin was depressed; but holds 'that a feeble pulse and an active skin are the clear indications of the requirement of alcohol.' Dr. Smith invests alcohol with no mysterious or superstitious potency. It is to its poisonous or disturbing action that he ascribes any medical virtues it may have; and his sole plea for it is that of a stimulant of one part of the system, and a depresser of another. 'The essential and direct actions of alcohols, as remedial agents, are—the increase of the force of the heart's action, the local stimulation of the stomach, and the diminution in the function of the skin; whilst the most dependent (secondary) actions are, the retention of urea and fæces, diminution of certain secretions, and derangement of the assimilative process.' Being perfectly persuaded that the dietetic use of alcohol is frequently either the proximate or ultimate cause of the disorders in which a general stimulant is indicated as the temporary cure, we are not disposed to dispute its intelligent, careful, and conscientious prescription; but in our character of moralists as well as physiologists, we must earnestly warn the patient against its dangers and its seductions.

fatal

fatal affinity for the substance of the liver and brain; both tend to disturb the perceptions and obliterate the consciousness of the soul.

The experiments of Drs. Lallemand and Perrin on alcohol are, in fact, the sequel to a series which they have been instituting for some years past as to the peculiar operation of anesthetic agents in general. They had discovered a new and more certain method of detecting chloroform in the blood and tissues, whereby they establish the fact that, when this agent is in-breathed, it is received in substance into the blood, and conveyed to the brain, from which it may be extracted after death; but whenever inhalation was suspended, the chloroform was quickly exhaled by the breath, never oxydized. Turning to alcohol, they proved its absorption into the blood, and its subsequent passage to the nervous-centres. Next, they sought for it in the breath, making two men, to whom they administered brandy, breathe through an apparatus for condensing the vapour of the lungs, and then distilling the liquor. Not a trace of alcohol was detected by this method; and yet alcohol was there; which evinces the small value of that mere negative evidence upon which Liebig and his school have built so much. By a lucky, or rather providential circumstance, a tube holding a solution of bichromate of potass in sulphuric acid had been placed at the end of the apparatus.* This is a red liquor, which, by the action of certain organic compounds, will change to an emerald green, the chromic acid becoming green oxide of chromium. Now, it was noted that the expired air, after the condensing of the vapour, quickly turned the red liquor into green, as it passed along the tube.

What was the value of this new test? They proceeded to question nature, and soon found that the breath of people who had recently taken no alcohol, left the solution unaffected in its colour. The inference was plain—that the alteration was due either to alcohol, or its derivatives, in the breath.

They next carefully analyzed the blood of animals to which alcohol had been given, in order to detect the presence of aldehyde: not a trace could be found, however, but only a trifle of acetic acid in the stomach, which is often generated by the action of the ferment in the gastric juice, even when no alcohol is present.

They subjected the blood and brain of animals poisoned by alcohol to the chromic test, and the results coincided with the proofs furnished by the distillation of alcohol itself from those portions of the body.

* The test is prepared by carefully dissolving one part of bichromate of potash in 300 parts of pure sulphuric acid, and it is used by passing the breath through about a drachm of it placed at the bottom of a tube, six or eight inches long. If alcohol be in the breath, the cherry-red fluid will change to 'green,' a curious kind of symbolical truth of nature, indicating the character of the action of drinking alcohol.

Having thus satisfied themselves of the trustworthiness of the new test, and, indeed, as compared with distillation, of its superior sensitiveness, they proceeded to inquire 'What becomes of alcohol in the body?'

The solution was again prepared, of definite strength, and a given quantity was put into a glass tube of a certain diameter. When the breath, charged with alcohol, passed through the liquor, it changed from red to green, thus furnishing a fixed standard of comparison. Quickly as the conversion of colour was complete, one tube was exchanged for another, until no further change could be perceived. Thus, in one experiment, where a man concludes at 10·30 his breakfast, with a litre of red wine ($1\frac{1}{10}$th French pint), of ten per cent. of alcohol, his breath at 12 and 1 o'clock P.M. converts a centimètre* of the test liquid in two minutes; at 2 P.M. in four minutes; at 4 o'clock in ten minutes; at 5 P.M. in fifteen minutes; whilst at 6 but a partial change is visible; at 7, none at all. This evinces how gradually, but surely, the poison was cast out of the system.

The urine being subjected to the same test, at the same periods, sixty grammes at noon yield alcoholic vapour sufficient to transmute the colour of sixteen cubic centimètres of the solution; at 2 o'clock the same quantity changed the colour of fifteen cubic centimètres: at 4 P.M. twelve; at 6 P.M. ten; at 8 o'clock four; at 10 P.M. one. At midnight the reaction was hardly perceptible. After the use of even a bottle of weak wine, the kidneys would secrete alcohol for the long period of fourteen hours.

The skin is also proved to be an organ for the elimination of the poison. Even an intoxicated dog (an animal not remarkable for the activity of its perspiration) was found to exhale alcohol, when placed in a glass case, with its head out.

Other tissues and organs of the body likewise yielded alcohol, especially the liver and the brain; though, as might be expected, in very different proportions when the alcohol was directly injected into the blood, and when absorbed into the stomach.

Flesh yielded a less ratio of alcohol than blood.

In the case of a strong man, who died thirty-two hours after drinking a pint of brandy, and notwithstanding that emetics brought back part of the half-pint of alcohol, the spirit was detected in abundance, not only in brain and liver, but in the blood.

Under the head of 'Applications to Physiology,' our authors ask, 'What is the mode of action of an aliment?' (P. 132.) Citing the experiment in which, after the use of thirty grammes of alcohol, the poison was found in the breath after eight hours, and

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* A *centimètre* is the 0·39371 of an English inch. A cubic centimètre is ·06102 cubic inch. A *gramme* is 15·44579 grains troy.

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in the urine after fourteen, they say: 'No aliment, plastic or respiratory, ingested, except in excess, escapes a normal transformation; it is never found unchanged in the products of excretion, being either completely metamorphosed in the organism, or partially converted into fatty matter.' Our authors completely vindicate the old definitions of food and poison given by the Temperance teachers. They show most lucidly, for example, that moderate excitement is simply a *lower degree of the same kind* of abnormal stimulation which is known as inebriation, and that alcohol never *gives* force, but merely *calls it out.*

'Facts establish, from a physiological point of view, a *line of demarcation between alcohol and foods.* These latter *restore* the forces, without the organism betraying, by disturbed functions or by outward agitation, the labour of reparation, *which is accomplished silently in the woof of the tissues.* Alcohol, on the other hand, immediately *provokes*, even in a moderate dose, an excitement which extends through the entire economy.'

At p. 142 they endorse the following description of Michel Levy, given in his treatise on 'Hygiène' (Paris, 1857), as to the essential action of the poison:—

'The influence of alcohol upon the nervous system, and particularly upon the brain, is manifest by *a progressive but constant series of symptoms*, which, in different degrees of intensity, are reproduced in *all* individuals. These constitute a *true poisoning* (intoxication), and this morbid state is exhibited under three phases—(1) SUR-EXCITATION, (2) PERTURBATION, (3) ABOLITION of the cerebro-spinal functions.'

Pleasure secured by such methods may be more or less philosophical or brutish, according to the degree of action; but surely in a moral and Christian point of view, the *sur*-excitation is not less really illicit because it is more refined and more seductive?

MM. Lallemand, Perrin, and Duroy, at page 229, give the following *résumé* of their results, which may be called 'The Alcoholic Aphabet:'—

A.—Alcohol, ingested into the stomach, applied to the skin, or introduced as vapour into the lungs, is absorbed by the veins, and carried by the blood into all the tissues.

B.—The injection of alcohol produces upon animals an intoxication that is marked by a progressive series of functional disturbances and alterations, the intensity of which corresponds with the quantity of alcohol absorbed.

C.—It manifests itself at first by a general excitement; but by-and-by the respiration and circulation are relaxed and the temperature lowered.

D.—The muscular power is weakened and extinguished; always beginning at the extremities.

E.—The insensibility gradually extends to the centres (as in dead drunkenness).

F.—The heart is the last to die (*ultimum moriens*).

G.—The time that elapses between the beginning of intoxication and death varies from forty-five minutes to three hours.

H.—When the dose is not sufficient to induce death, the excitability of the nervous system returns after a time, varying with circumstances.

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I.—The arterial blood remains rutilant, and preserves all its apparent qualities nearly up to the moment of death.

J.—Alcoholized blood contains, during life and after death, a great number of free fatty globules, visible even to the naked eye.

K.—The pathological alterations are: very vivid inflammation of the mucous membrane of the stomach; the accumulation of blood in the right chamber of the heart and the large veins; congestion of the *meninges*, and especially of the lungs.

L.—All solids or liquids in union with alcohol are easily separated by distillation, or proportionally, by the method of volumes.

M.—Alcohol, taken by the stomach, accumulates in the liver and the substance of the brain; if in the blood it is represented as 1·0, in the brain it is 1·34, in the liver 1·48.

N.—Diluted alcohol produces the same effect when introduced by injection into the veins as when taken into the stomach, but operates more rapidly. The animal succumbs in less than twenty minutes.

O.—Alcohol, injected into the veins, spreads to all the tissues, but accumulates most largely in the brain; being in the liver, 1·75; in the cerebral matter, 3.

P.—Death by alcoholic poisoning is due primarily to its special action upon the nervous centres.

Q.—After the ingestion of a small dose of brandy (25 grammes=360 grains), the blood continues to manifest the presence of alcohol by chemical reactions for many hours.

R.—We never found, in either the blood or tissues, any of the derivatives of alcohol (such as aldehyde or acetic acid).

S.—Only in the stomach was found a trace of acetic acid, generated from alcohol by the ferment of the gastric juice.

T.—Alcohol is rejected from the vital economy by divers systems of elimination, by the lungs, the skin, and the kidneys.

U.—These organs are found to eliminate alcohol after the ingestion of doses very small (*plus petites*).

V.—The elimination lasts many hours, even after an ingestion very moderate. The kidneys continue longest to reject it.

X.—Aldehyde (a derivative of alcohol) introduced into the stomach is readily found in the blood.

Y.—The aldehyde is, in great part, eliminated; in part transformed into acetic acid.

Z.—Alcohol has the same action, and produces the same effects, upon men and upon the lower animals.

These statements tempt to comment, but space forbids, and we must hasten to translate the 'Conclusions,' to which these experimenters have been conducted; and which may fairly be called 'The Seven Pillars of Temperance:'—

1. Alcohol is not food.
2. Alcohol is a special modifier of the nervous system. It acts, in a feeble dose, as an excitant; in a larger, as a stupefiant.
3. Alcohol is never transformed, never destroyed, in the organism.
4. Alcohol accumulates, by a sort of elective affinity, in the brain, and in the liver.
5. Alcohol is eliminated from the organism in totality and in nature. The channels of elimination are: the Lungs, the Skin, and, above all, the Kidneys.
6. Alcohol has a pathogenetic influence, material and direct, upon the development of many functional disturbances and organic alterations of the brain, the liver, and the kidneys.
7. Spirituous drinks owe to the alcohol they contain their common properties and the speciality of their effects. The use of fermented and distilled liquors is often noxious: it should be always very restrained; it should never be tolerated except in exceptional circumstances. (P. 233.)

Our authors, nevertheless, are not teetotalers; they go for light wines,

wines, on the principle, we suppose, that a minim of evil is a modicum of good! Their experiments, however, are none the worse that their practice lags behind their theory, which is no uncommon event in this disjointed world of human nature. We rejoice, once more, that Science has been made again to confirm the decisions of Experience. In this manner, during the last thirty years, Providence has compelled Science to lay successive offerings upon the altar of Temperance; and often, as in the present instance, through the medium of the reluctant hands and unsubmissive wills of a disobedient priesthood.

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ART. IV.—1. *The Coal-fields of Great Britain; their History, Structure, and Duration. With Notices of the Coal-fields of other parts of the World.* By Edward Hull, B.A., F.G.S. London: Stanford, 1861.

2. *History of Coal, Coke, and Coal-fields.* By. W. Fordyce. London: 1860.

IN the year 1306, a great alarm was felt in England respecting the use of coal as fuel, and the probable injury to public health from the smoke which issued from it into the atmosphere. The City of London petitioned the Parliament, and both Houses, sharing in the panic, respectfully addressed the king, Edward I., urging the prohibition of the common use of coal, and the destruction of all furnaces and kilns where any person should continue to burn it. The royal prerogative was exercised against the mineral; but King, Lords, and Commons failed to arrest the progress of the grand English innovator, to whose agency we are indebted for very much of our manufacturing and commercial greatness. Coal had not been much used as an article of common fuel prior to the period referred to. It is not accurately ascertained when it was first employed. Before the Christian era it is scarcely mentioned by any writer except Theophrastus, who lived 238 B.C. From the brief account which he gives of it, there is some reason to believe that its properties were known, and that it was sometimes used by smiths. The first thousand years of our era witnessed very few attempts to excavate the treasures of fossil fuel. Some have supposed that the ancient Britons had a faint idea of its uses, and that the Romans in Britain tried their hand at mining. In Roman remains discovered at Manchester, a few cinders have been seen, and near Wigan there is a fragment of a 'coal mine referable to the same period. In the Chronicles of Anglo-Saxon monks, there is satisfactory evidence that coal was then, to a small extent, employed for household fires. The Normans did not reckon the black mineral 'a pot of money' in the rich England which they conquered.

quered. It is not until the year 1259 that we read of any law affecting this great treasure. In that year Henry III. granted a privilege to certain of his subjects in Newcastle-on-Tyne to dig coals. Seven years afterwards, they began to be exported. But when tried in domestic fires, and in public manufactories, the smoke had well-nigh proscribed the use of this valuable production of the earth. Utility at last disarmed prejudice; and we find that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, several mines were wrought, and in the early part of the eighteenth century it was employed in the manufacture of iron both at Coalbrooke Dale and in Scotland. The consumption was for a time very small. In the year 1670, only 200,000 chaldrons were used in England, and nearly one hundred years later, there were only some 500,000 chaldrons consumed. So ignorant were scientific men, at that time, of the stores in the earth beneath their feet in this island, that apprehensions were entertained lest the supply should be very soon exhausted. The author of a 'Political Survey of Great Britain,' published in 1774, sought to allay the fears of his countrymen by assuring them that the mines then wrought would last for a series of years.

The science of geology has opened up the coal measures, and the invention of steam engines by Watt necessitated extensive mining; while the invention of the safety lamps, by Stephenson* and Davy respectively, rendered working in mines safe to the colliers employed. The production of coal in Great Britain and Ireland is now upwards of 70,000,000 tons annually, of which about six millions of tons are shipped to foreign ports. All the others are consumed at home.

The practical sagacity of George Stephenson suggested the probable origin of coal. Standing, on one occasion, with the eminent geologist, Dr. Buckland, a railway train whizzed past. 'What drives that train, think you?' said Stephenson. The doctor replied that it was very likely one of his host's own engines. But the thoughts of the father of railways had gone much farther back, and he stated that it was the rays of the sun, absorbed by the trees of bygone ages, and now burning as fuel, that gave, through a bucket of water, the greatest power on earth. This has been beautifully rendered by his illustrious son, Robert Stephenson, in the following words: 'We are living in an age when the pent-up rays of that sun which shone upon the great carboniferous forests of past ages are being liberated to set in motion our mills and factories, to carry us with great rapidity over the earth's surface, and to propel our fleets, regardless of wind and tide, with unerring regularity over the ocean.'

* Stephenson's safety lamp, though long ignored, is now recommended as more safe than Sir Humphry Davy's. See report on the late awful explosion at Risca.

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The vegetable origin of coal is established by the most satisfactory evidence. Its structure, as observed by a powerful microscope, the numerous fossil plants found within it, its combustible properties, and its position in the crust of earth demonstrate this. There have been, however, two different theories regarding its formation.

'The first, which would assign its origin to the drifting of vegetable matter by rivers and floods into estuaries and shallow seas, where, becoming water-logged, it formed a bed or stratum along the bottom, and was entombed by the overspread of sediment; the second, which refers its origin to the growth of successive forests in the positions, and over the areas now occupied by the seams of coal themselves.'*

We shall not, in these pages, enter into this controversy, which would be comparatively unintelligible to many of our readers. There is no doubt that the second view is largely susceptible of proof from our British coal-fields. Sir William Logan, in the course of his survey of the South Wales district of coal, found invariably that there was a bed of clay under every coal-seam, and the same has been observed in every other coal-field in Britain. The conclusion to which scientific men came from these observations, was, that the 'plants of which coal is formed grew on the spot where we now find them mineralized, and that the underclays were the soil from whence they sprang.' Two other conclusions follow from facts disclosed in the geologic appearance of the coal-measures: that the sea-bed must have greatly changed, for the strata contain evidence of marine origin; and, secondly, that an enormous time must have elapsed ere the seams of coal could have been formed.

'Recollecting,' says Mr. Hull, 'that every bed of true coal represents a land surface, when we find, as in the case of the coal-field of South Wales or of Nova Scotia, strata with coal-beds through a thickness of 10,000 or 14,000 feet, it is evident that this is a measure of the actual sinking of the sea-bed for this one geological period; or, to take an example:—the height of Mont Blanc is about 15,000 feet; now the vertical displacement which the South Wales coal-field underwent, was nearly sufficient to have brought the summit of the Alps to the sea-level. Of the lapse of time in the formation of our coal-fields we cannot have the faintest conception: it is only measured by Him with whom a thousand years are as one day. But the magnitude of the time is not surpassed by the boundlessness of the providential care which laid up these terrestrial treasures in store for his children, whom He was afterwards to call into being. Let me dismiss this profitless subject with one illustration. Mr. Maclaren, by a happy train of reasoning, for which I must refer the reader to his 'Geology of Fife,' arrives at the conclusion that it would require a thousand years to form a bed of coal one yard thick. Now in the South Wales coal-field there is a thickness of coal of more than thirty yards, which would have required a period of 30,000 years for its formation. If we now assume that the 15,000 feet of sedimentary materials was deposited at the average rate of two feet in a century, corresponding to the rate of subsidence, it would have required 3,807,000 years to produce this coal-field.'†

Though the subject is called 'profitless' by the author just quoted, it nevertheless gives us one of the most striking views that

* Hull, p. 26. † Ibid., pp. 44, 45.

we

we can receive of the immensity of the past in which the great Creator was pursuing His intelligent and glorious purposes. It opens up to us the vastness of that eternity, which, in relation to the past, as of the future, is an attribute of godhead. It is a view on which one of the recent preachers before the University of Oxford thought proper to dilate, in philosophic and eloquent terms. After stating how much modern science has expanded our ideas of the attributes of God, and instancing astronomy as stretching our conceptions of the present, he uses the following words:—

'It used to be considered, that about six thousand years ago the earth and the whole material universe were spoken into existence in a moment of time. We now understand that the Scripture account, which was supposed to imply this, can only relate to the preparation of this earth for the habitation of man, not to its original creation. For science has proved, by irrefragable evidence, that the first act of creation must be deferred to a period indefinitely but immensely remote; and that successive ages have passed over this globe, during which it has been the seat of numerous systems of organic life, differing from one another, yet all linked into a great system by a most perfect unity. The revolution of thought which reduced the world to its true position in the universe of space, did not more immeasurably enlarge our ideas of the Divine Being than this has, which has reduced the human history to its true position in the immensity of time.'*

It is refreshing to meet with such thoughts in a volume of sermons, and it indicates that there are not wanting those who can fully appreciate all evidence of a past antiquity of the earth, and who can, at the same time, maintain a reverence for the record of Scripture; who see in science and Scripture, 'not conflicting but conspiring forces,' to elevate and bless mankind—both originating from the same God, and marked by a similar Divine benevolence. There is no need to discredit the testimony of the *word* while crediting the testimony of the *rocks*. Schemes of reconciliation may not, as yet, fully satisfy us. But if we establish, as it has been established, a common authorship in nature and revelation; time and study, a sounder philosophy, and a more correct exegesis will eventually secure their harmony.

The great coal-fields of the world have, by a singular arrangement of Providence, been allocated to those nations where there are most freedom of thought, greatest manufacturing skill, and the most enterprising commerce. Taylor, in his 'Statistics of Coal,' informs us that in the United States there are no fewer than 132,132 square miles of bituminous coal; but the more recent researches of Professor Rogers, published in his 'Geology of Pennsylvania,' states that there is a total area of 196,863 square miles. This great tract is divided into five fields:—

* 'Science in Theology.' Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, by Adam S. Farrar, M.A., F.G.S., F.R.A.S., p. 29.

'The

| | | Square Miles. |
|---|---|---|
| 'The Appalachian basin—length, 875 miles, average breadth, 180 . . . . . | Area | 55,500 |
| The Illinois, Indiana, and Kentucky basins—length, 370, breadth, 200 . . . . . | „ | 51,100 |
| The Missouri and Arkansas basins—length, 550, breadth, 200 . . . . . | „ | 73,913 |
| The Michigan basin—length, 160, breadth, 125 . | „ | 13,350 |
| The Texas basin—length, 170 . . . . | „ | 3,000 |
| Total area . . . . | | 196,863 |

Some of these seams have a thickness bearing some proportion to their vast extent. Sir Charles Lyell mentions one in the Bear Mountains, 40 feet in thickness, which he calculates must have required vegetable matter from 200 to 300 feet in thickness, to be condensed to form it. When we consider that this vast field is at present yielding only five millions of tons annually, what a grand future does the supply of coal open up before the enterprise and industry of the American people! Were the produce equal to that of the smaller area of Great Britain, they ought to raise at least 450 millions of tons every year—a quantity sufficient to supply the grand development of ingenuity, commerce, and traffic in the population of a millennial age so often foretold by prophets, when science and mechanism, as well as religion, shall realize perfection.

British America contains 18,000 square miles of bituminous coal; but none of it is in Canada. All the coal-fields lie south of the St. Lawrence. In Newfoundland there is a field of 100 square miles in area. In Cape Breton there is an area of 200 square miles; in Pictou, 350 square miles; in Cumberland, 200; and in New Brunswick, 6,689 square miles. On the opposite coast, and in British possession, is the coal-field of Vancouver's Island, now being extensively worked for the steam navigation of the Pacific. In the United Kingdom there is an area of 11,859 square miles, of which 3,720 are anthracite and culm, and 8,139 bituminous coal. In other parts of the world the coal measures are thinly distributed. France has 1,719 square miles; Spain has 3,408 square miles; Belgium, 518 square miles; the Rhenish Provinces, 960; other parts of Germany about 4,000; while Russia, in its vast territory, has about 11,000 square miles, chiefly near the Ural Mountains, and not very workable.

The vast proportion of coal is in the hands of the Anglo-Saxon race. To this is associated the twin possession of iron. On these two depend, not only the industrial and mechanical greatness of a country, but also its capabilities of becoming an extensive blessing to mankind. Just as a steamer about to undertake a long voyage must possess a supply of fuel adequate to meet its great requirements, so has it pleased the Almighty Creator to supply that people

people whom He destined to be the greatest benefactors of the world, with the means of their philanthropic missions to all quarters of the globe. Next to the blessings of our religion and education, an open Bible and liberty of conscience, may be ranked the supply of coal and iron. 'England, indeed, was great and happy long before this element of her power had been in any considerable measure developed, and it might continue so, even were it now deprived of it; but it would exist in entirely a different character. It would be the England of Alfred or the Edwards, not of Victoria; a quiet, leisurely, thinly-peopled, agricultural country, with its neat little country towns and tiny seaports, the seats of a provincial civilization, but not the teeming, stirring, roaring workshop of busy life and untold wealth we now behold. We might have had our Canterburys, and our Winchesters and Chesters, these venerable fossils of the real old England, just as now; but our Manchesters, Birminghams, and Liverpools, and Glasgows, not to speak of imperial London, never could have existed.' We might have planted civilization and religion in heathen lands in some degree, as other countries have done; but the Protestant faith and British commerce have received from the possession of coal and iron, a marvellous means of development, now only beginning to be properly used, for the improvement and christianization of man. Coal is Anglo-Saxon, and coal is Protestant. Vast are the capabilities, and mighty the responsibilities, of our race and our faith by its potent and ubiquitous agency.

The English coal-fields are thus distributed over the country. South Wales contains the largest area, and with the exception of Nova Scotia, possesses a greater vertical thickness than any coal-field in the world, amounting to upwards of 10,000 feet. It extends from the shores of the Atlantic in St. Bride's Bay on the west, to Pontypool, in Monmouthshire, on the east; the latter distance fifty-six miles without a break, and the former, after crossing Caermarthen Bay, a distance of seventeen miles more to the east. Its greatest breadth is at Neath, in Glamorganshire, being sixteen miles. There is a vast supply in this district. It has been computed that this alone could, if it can be all wrought, 'supply the whole consumption of Britain for nearly 5,000 years.' But if it be possible to go no further down than 4,000 feet, which is the limit assigned by Mr. Hull, in the volume noticed above, there is a supply, at the present quantity of consumption, which is eight millions of tons annually, capable of extending over 2,000 years!

The Bristol and Somersetshire coal-field extends from Gloucestershire to Dorsetshire. Its length from Cromhall on the north to the Mendip Hills on the south is about twenty-five miles. There is a total thickness of strata of 5,128 feet, separated into divisions by hard massive sandstones. This latter circumstance, and the distorted

distorted state of many of the strata, make the field less productive than otherwise it would be. At present it yields about 620,000 tons annually, and is calculated to suffice, at the same rate of consumption, during 3,225 years.

The Forest of Dean has the most 'perfect basin of any coal-field in England, as the strata everywhere dip from the margin towards the centre, except at one part of the western side, where the oval outline is interrupted for a short distance.' It rests as a lake on banks of millstone grit and carboniferous limestone, and in a scenery rich and varied. Its area is thirty-four square miles, with thirty-one seams of coal. As in South Wales, there is abundance of iron, which produces upwards of 23,000 tons annually. The production of coal is 500,000 tons per annum, and at the present rate of consumption, it has been calculated by Mr. Brough, the Government Inspector of Mines, to last 1,120 years. The Forest of Dean possesses a singular but very interesting history, of which an entertaining narrative was recently published.*

Passing over the district of the Forest of Wyre, in Worcestershire, and the Clee Hills in Salop, where there are small beds of inferior coal, we come to the Coalbrooke Dale coal-field in Shropshire, which has been well investigated. It is rich in organic remains, which are found chiefly in the ironstone, so very abundant in the district. The coal-field extends over twenty-eight square miles, but will be quite exhausted in the course of twenty years. There are twenty-seven blast furnaces on it, which yield upwards of 100,000 tons of pig-iron annually.

In North Wales 'an uninterrupted tract of coal measures extends from the northern slopes of the valley of the Severn, south of Oswestry, to the mouth of the estuary of the river Dee, in Flintshire, crossing the river at the entrance to the vale of Llangollen.' They rest on the same bed as the Forest of Dean, and form, in a range of hills, the boundary between England and Wales. In Denbighshire, the field is eighteen miles long and about four broad, in which are beds of ironstone, and many remains of fish. The coals produced average 527,000 tons annually, and the estimated supply is for 930 years to come. In Flintshire, the area of the coal-field is thirty-five square miles, which yields 515,000 tons a year; but if the present rate of consumption continue, the produce will cease in the course of the next half-century. In Anglesea there is also a coal tract which contains five collieries, and produces about 4,500 tons annually.

Staffordshire is very rich in coal and iron. In an area of ninety-three square miles there are 425 collieries and 147 blast furnaces. The former yield about five millions of tons of coal, and the latter

* 'The Forest of Dean.' By the Rev. H. G. Nicholls.

one

one million of tons of ironstone. The consumption here is very great, and cannot continue longer than two hundred years. But what vast riches have been already gathered out of this portion of the black country! In North Staffordshire there is an area of seventy-five square miles of coal measures. Iron also abounds, and in this district 'are situated the Potteries, a group of populous towns, from which all parts of the world are supplied with china-ware, rivalling that of Dresden, with vases and various kinds of vessels modelled after Etruscan patterns, but adorned with paintings after natural models, executed with a perfection of colouring and outline to which the Etruscans never attained. Here also are produced those tessellated pavements which adorn so many of our churches and public buildings.'* There have been collected from this field many fossil remains, including ichthyolites, mollusca, and plants of the carboniferous genera. There are 123 collieries over the district, which produce 1,295,000 tons of coal, and will last 1,270 years.

Lancashire has a coal-field covering an area of 217 square miles. In 1857 there were 8,565,500 tons raised, and at the same rate there yet remains about the depth of 4,000 feet, as much as will last for 445 years. There are 390 collieries, including 31 in Cheshire, in this extensive district. At Pendleton there is a colliery 536 yards deep, and at Dukinfield, in Cheshire, one 686 yards, beyond which it is scarcely possible to work the mines in this field, owing to the insufficient thickness of the lower coal-seams. Geologists have had many rewards of their observation in the fossil remains with which the Lancashire field abounds. There are valuable notes of these published in the 'Transactions of the Geological Society of Manchester.'

Following the course of Mr. Hull's book, which presents an able and very readable summary of the coal-fields of Great Britain, we proceed to the north, and arrive next at the Cumberland coal-field. It extends about twenty miles in length, and about five in breadth, making an area of twenty-five square miles. There is little probability of the present rate of production (809,546 tons), being available beyond one hundred years.

Having thus reached the northern limit, Mr. Hull takes his readers back to the south, and enters the Warwickshire field, where there is an area of thirty square miles, yielding 335,000 tons a year, and calculated to continue to do the same for 1,244 years.

In the Valley of the Trent the Leicestershire coal-field stretches over an area of fifteen square miles. Fourteen collieries send forth a supply of nearly 700,000 tons of valuable coal; but they are expected to do so for 215 years more. The next field extends over Derbyshire and Yorkshire, and is the largest in England, though

* Hull, p. 94.

not

not so extensive as that in South Wales. Its area of 760 square miles, had 541 collieries in the year 1857, and produced twelve millions and a half tons of coals. There are also 50 blast furnaces producing about 200,000 tons of pig-iron every year. The coals will last 700 years.

Durham and Northumberland contain also a large field on an area of 460 square miles. There are 268 collieries, yielding 15,826,525 tons of coal, and 69 furnaces, producing 347,750 tons of iron. It will last for 466 years at the present rate of consumption.

Mr. Hull presents us with the following table, showing the results of his investigations regarding the various fields:—

| Name of Coal Field. | Area, Square Miles. | Quantity of Coal to a depth of 4,000 Feet. | Under known formations to a depth of 4,000 Feet. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Area, Square Miles. | Quantity to a depth of 4,000 Feet. |
| | | *Millions of Tons.* | | *Millions of Tons.* |
| 1. Anglesea . . . . | 9 | inconsiderable. | | |
| 2. Bristol and Somerset. | 45 | 747 | 105 | 1,742 |
| 3. Coalbrooke Dale . . | 28 | 28 | .. | .. |
| 4. Cumberland. . . . | 25 | 97 | .. | .. |
| 5. Denbighshire . . . | 47 | 490 | 20 | 413 |
| 6. Derby and Yorkshire. | 760 | 8,828 | 400 | 12,390 |
| 7. Durham & Northumberland . . . | 460 | 4,274 | uncertain. | .. |
| 8. Flintshire . . . . | 35 | 21 | .. | .. |
| 9. Forest of Dean . . | 34 | 561 | .. | .. |
| 10. Forest of Wyre . . | | inconsiderable. | | |
| 11. Lancashire . . . | 217 | 4,012 | 25 | 500 |
| 12. Leicestershire. . . | 15 | 50 | 30 | 401 |
| 13. North Staffordshire . | 75 | 1,620 | 20 | 619 |
| 14. South Staffordshire . | 93 | 973 | .. | .. |
| 15. Shrewsbury . . . | | inconsiderable. | | |
| 16. South Wales . . . | 906 | 16,000 | .. | .. |
| 17. Warwickshire . . . | 30 | 418 | 107 | 1,767 |
| Total . . | 2,779 | 38,119 | 932 | 20,990 |

[a] Total area containing coal to a depth of 4,000 feet, 3,711 square miles.

[b] Total available quantity of coal within this depth, 59,109 millions of tons.

[c] Taking the annual produce of England and Wales at 60 millions of tons (the actual produce is 57 millions, but three millions may well be allowed for the increase of future years) the above supply of coal will last for about 1,000 years.

[d] If the above results can only be regarded as approximately accurate—and considering the nature of the inquiry they can scarcely pretend to more—they are at least sufficient to show that for many generations to come, the mineral resources of England are capable of bearing any drain to which they can possibly be subjected either for home or foreign consumption.'*

The consumption of the past year (1860) has exceeded any preceding one. The summer was unusually wet and cold, and the winter remarkably severe. London alone required 563,762 tons

* Hull, p. 138.

more

more than in 1859, and the whole country had a proportional increase. Exportation has also required more by 373,576 tons, of which a large share went to China. The total consumption of 1860 has reached the high figure of 75,000,000 of tons, showing an excess of 10 millions of tons over the year 1858, and 40 millions more than in the year 1845. If this increase is to advance as rapidly in succeeding years, and the recent treaty with France is expected to enlarge the demand for coals in that country, we may be sooner exhausted than the thousand years.*

Considerable latitude may well be given to the calculations made regarding the future. Most of them are based upon the consumption at the time of inquiry. Mr. Fordyce mentions a case:—

'Mr. Hugh Taylor, in his evidence before a Select Committee of the House of Lords in 1829, based his calculations upon the consumption of coal at 3,500,000 tons per annum, and therefore estimated the duration of the northern coal-field at 1,727 years. This opinion has been adopted by various subsequent writers, who, it would appear, have overlooked the annually increasing demand for the coal of the district. Were Mr. Hugh Taylor giving an opinion at the present time, with a consumption of about 17 million tons per annum instead of 3,500,000, it would only prove his statement to be pretty nearly correct as to the quantity of workable coal in the counties of Durham and Northumberland.'

Mr. Hull and Mr. Fordyce generally state the quantity of workable coal in their calculations, so that we may easily ascertain the probable continuance by a larger divider. The calculations of all, however, show that there is no ground for alarm respecting the supply of English coal for all necessary purposes during several hundred years to come.

Scotland also contains a great coal-field stretching from the Forth of Clyde in Ayrshire on the west to St. Andrew's Bay on the east; and from Glasgow on the north to Dunbar. 'The extreme length is 94 miles, and the average breadth 25 miles.'

Its formation belongs to the carboniferous period, and its base rests upon the old red sandstone. Until the geological survey is published, accurate statistics are wanting; but Mr. Hull estimates the area to be 1,720 miles, and the quantity of coal 153,916 millions of tons (though one authority calculates the quantity at 230,874 millions). The supply produced in 1858 was 8,926,429 tons. Regarding Ireland, our author thus writes:—

'That Ireland was once covered over two-thirds of its extent by coal-beds is a proposition which we may confidently affirm on geological grounds; but the misfortunes of the sister isle began long before the landing of Strongbow, for Old Father Neptune has swept the coal and coal strata clean into his lap, and left little but a bare floor of limestone instead. In plain words, if we examine a geological map of Ireland we shall find that the carboniferous limestone overspreads its greater part; and as we always find in England that this formation is ultimately surmounted by coal measures, so we may infer there was the same

* A French newspaper stated recently that English coal-fields would be exhausted in twenty-five years!!

order

order of succession here, before the sea, which more than once overwhelmed the country after the carboniferous epoch, remorselessly swept away the most valuable portion of this system of rocks, with the exception of a few isolated tracts.'

The total produce of Irish mines, in 1858, was 120,630 tons.

It is believed that mining can never be carried on at a greater depth than 4,000 feet, on account of the great increase of temperature as we descend, and the great increase of pressure on the human body. Some very valuable observations have been made in the Dukinfield Colliery, Cheshire, during the years 1848-1859, the details of which are published by Mr. Hull. The following table presents a summary which may interest some of our readers:—

TABLE showing the theoretical increase of temperature at several depths, the temperature of no variation being taken at 50·5° Fahr., at a depth of 50 feet from the surface.

| Depth in Feet. | Increase of Temperature due to Depth. | Increase of Temperature due to Density of Air. | Resulting Temperature. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1,500 | 21·42 | 5·0 | 76·92 |
| 2,000 | 27·85 | 6·5 | 84·85 |
| 2,500 | 35·5 | 8·5 | 94·00 |
| 3,000 | 42·14 | 9·83 | 102·47 |
| 3,500 | 49·28 | 11·66 | 111·44 |
| 4,000 | 56·42 | 13·16 | 120·08 |

Great care should always be taken at these depths to insure a sufficient supply of pure air; but we may hope, as science advances during the intervening years, that much may be done to promote the safe working of the collieries, on which so much of our national greatness and welfare depend. Hitherto far too little has been done to promote the comfort or to insure the safety of the miners. Government inspectors have very frequent complaints to make of the want of attention on the part of masters to their suggestions.* Social reformers regret to find so little done by the owners to ameliorate the condition of the colliers. It is true that carelessness causes many accidents, and drunkenness much misery to the mining population; but an improved tone of the miners would do a great deal to remove these occasions of death and woe. There cannot be a doubt that fatal accidents have been fearfully numerous during late years. The condition of the people is deplorable. Those who are the sinews of our national wealth ought to receive much of our philanthropic effort, and be provided with proper instructors, and preserved from the temptations to drink which have so long been the scandal of masters and the curse of the men. The recent Act of Parliament forbidding public-houses to be contiguous to the places where wages are paid is an important

* See 'Meliora,' No. 6, Article on 'Death in Coal-pits.'

gain:

gain: but an Act which would permit the miners to abolish the sale of liquors in their localities would be a still greater boon.

The recent tragic explosions at Risca and other places have again aroused attention to the state of colliers; and we sincerely trust that Government will insist on strict and rigorous measures to secure the lives of the lieges employed n mines. During the last five years 856 persons, mostly in the prime of youth, have been killed in coal mines. The lessons of the past should enforce their solemn impressions on the minds of all coal-masters, whose prospects for the future are as bright as in the past, to take a paternal and Christian interest in the physical and moral condition of the men whom they employ. Those seated around the warm fire on a winter's eve, or enjoying the comfortable roast on a dinner table, or illuminated by the glare of gas, should think of the condition of the men who hazard their lives and consume their strength to contribute so largely to the comforts of our English homes. Should not worshippers in church and chapel remember in their prayers the miners whose industry has contributed to their illumination?

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ART. V.—*Abraham Lincoln: a Biography.* London: Sampson Low, Son, and Co.

THE present constitution of the United States is now exactly seventy-two years old. During that time there have been eighteen elections for President, and sixteen individuals have occupied the highest office in the great transatlantic republic. The following are the more important clauses in the Constitution which regulate those elections:—

'The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States; he shall hold office for four years, and, together with the Vice-President chosen for the same term, shall be elected thus:

'Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no senator or representative, or person holding any office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

'The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; the President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those

those voted for as President, the House shall choose immediately by ballot the President.

'But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the 4th day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

'No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained the age of thirty-five years and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

'In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.'

Under these provisions twelve southern and six northern Presidents have been elected including the re-election of five of the former. We append

A List of the Presidents of the United States, with the Dates of their Entry upon Office.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | George Washington | Virginia | April 30, 1789. |
| 2. | John Adams | Massachusetts | March 4, 1797. |
| 3. | Thomas Jefferson | Virginia | March 4, 1801. |
| 4. | James Madison | Virginia | March 4, 1809. |
| 5. | James Monroe | Virginia | March 4, 1817. |
| 6. | John Quincy Adams | Massachusetts | March 4, 1825. |
| 7. | Andrew Jackson | Tennessee | March 4, 1829. |
| 8. | Martin Van Buren | New York | March 4, 1837. |
| 9. | Williams H. Harrison | Ohio | March 4, 1841. |
| 10. | John Tyler | Virginia | April 4, 1841. |
| 11. | James Knox Polk | Tennessee | March 4, 1845. |
| 12. | Zachary Taylor | Louisiana | March 4, 1849. |
| 13. | Millard Fillmore | New York | July 9, 1850. |
| 14. | Franklin Pierce | New Hampshire | March 4, 1853. |
| 15. | James Buchanan | Pennsylvania | March 4, 1857. |

Of these it will be seen that Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Jackson were re-elected. Harrison died one month after his inauguration, and was succeeded by the Vice-President as appointed by the Constitution. Taylor inhabited the White House for rather more than a year, died, and was also succeeded by the Vice-President. Of the whole fifteen whose names are given above, every one was either himself a slaveholder or supported by Southerners. Abraham Lincoln, the existing President, is neither the one nor the other. The period of four years,

for which the President holds office, was by the founders of the Constitution believed to be too short. Jefferson strongly contended for a seven years' term without re-election, but ultimately a compromise was agreed to and the present term carried.

During the early presidencies a re-election was the rule, and the exception made in the case of John Adams, of Massachusetts, was intended by the people and was deeply felt by him as a mark of disapproval and disgrace. Gradually re-election has become obsolete; and the struggle for place and power and pay has no sooner been terminated by the election of one President than it recommences in anticipation of the next.

Abraham Lincoln, who was inaugurated on the 4th March President of the United States, was born in Kentucky, but may be regarded as a citizen of Illinois. His father and mother were border settlers, at a time when border life called into existence the highest courage and perseverance. To this early training of necessity may be ascribed much of the native power which has carried forward Mr. Lincoln to political success. Not that he can be regarded as a great man, or even as the greatest man of his party. It is one of the misfortunes of American politics that their great officers are necessarily selected, not as the ablest men, but as the men who will afford to the antagonist the least prospect of successful opposition. Hence, since the time of Quincy Adams, the United States' Presidents have undeniably been men of mediocre ability, and have by no means exhibited the most favourable view of the party which has carried them to power.

The early days of Abraham Lincoln, whether as agriculturist or 'flat boatman,' present but little beyond the average results of a life of honest and courageous toil. His biographer, seeking for incidents with which to gild his youth, is unable to find anything more remarkable than the fact, that 'with the help of John Hawks, a relation of his mother, he in one day *split three thousand rails.*'

Our temperance readers will be interested to know that Mr. Lincoln is a steadfast and thoroughgoing teetotaler and prohibitionist, and that he will not in any way countenance the drinking customs of society.

At the age of twenty-three he entered upon political life, unsuccessfully endeavouring to obtain a seat in the state legislature of Illinois, a position which he, however, gained two years after. He then turned his attention to the study of the law, a profession which appears to be largely conducive to political advancement among our transatlantic brethren. At last, in 1846, Mr. Lincoln entered Congress as a Whig, and speedily assumed an active and prominent position. In the same Congress, Mr. Douglas, who was to be Mr. Lincoln's repeated opponent, also took his seat for the first time. The Congress terminating in 1849, Mr. Lincoln's congressional

congressional career came to an end. But he was, especially in his own State, regarded as the champion of the Whig party; and the 'forty times about' that he had voted for the Wilmot proviso, of which the distinguishing feature was opposition to slavery extension, were forty proofs of the consistency of 'honest old Abe,' as he had come to be called. In 1848, the Whig party became paralyzed, and in 1854, it was dead. But from the ashes of the old parties arose new ones, some of the old associates falling away on one side, some on another.

Lincoln joined the Anti-Nebraskians, afterwards to become the Republicans, but at present consisting of a medley of politicians, whose bond of union was opposition to a repeal of the Missouri compromise.

With the exception of Massachusetts, every original State of the Union has at one time or other been overshadowed by slavery. The Northern States, however, from the days of Washington, have aimed at its ultimate abolition, by means of non-extension; but the influence of the Southern States has been too powerful. The nearest approach to the object contemplated was the Missouri compromise, by which slavery was confined within limits south of latitude 36° 30'. The biographer of Mr. Lincoln gives the following brief, and in the main accurate, account of the circumstances attending that measure.

'In 1817, the eastern half of the Mississippi territory became the territory of Alabama. New States were at this time rapidly forming, and on the 14th December, 1819, Alabama became a member of the Union. It was a Slave State. Meanwhile the slave-holding territory Missouri was a candidate for admission, and an angry discussion arose whether she should be admitted as a Free or as a Slave State. Two reasons were urged why Missouri should be a Free State. Since the date of the Constitution, eight new States had been admitted, four Free and four Slave; the last—Alabama—had been Slave: the first reason urged, therefore, was that it was the turn for a Free State; the second reason was based upon the broader principle that "slavery ought not to be permitted in any State or Territory where it could be prohibited." On this question, so hot waxed the strife between North and South, that it provoked from Jefferson the bitter words, "The Missouri question is a breaker on which we lose the Missouri country by revolt, and what more God only knows. From the battle of Bunker's Hill to the Treaty of Paris, we never had so ominous a question." Presently a new feature is given to the appearance of affairs: Maine separates from Massachusetts and applies to be received as a State. Here, cries the South, is a solution of the difficulty, here is the Free State to set off against Alabama; let Missouri alone with her slaves. But the obvious reply to this was that Maine, being but a division of Massachusetts, brought no accession of strength to the North, and the breach between North and South was wider than ever. At length a compromise was proposed by the North: by it the North yielded the claim to Missouri as a Free State, and the South yielded up the vast region from Missouri to the Pacific. This was in the Senate, where Maine and Missouri had been united in the same bill, without any restriction concerning slavery. But the House of Representatives would admit Missouri only separately from Maine, and under the slavery restriction. Great was the war of words between the two branches of Congress, but, at length, after repeated conferences, both Senate and House agreed upon a bill admitting Missouri (after her constitution should be formed) free of restriction, but prohibiting slavery north of 36° 30'. But Missouri adopted a constitution denying the rights

of citizens even to free negroes. And it was not until August 10, 1821, when the legislature of Missouri had solemnly covenanted to guarantee the rights of citizenship to "the citizens of either of the States," that her admission as a State was definitely accomplished.'

An opportunity was found, a few years since, by the Southerners to repeal this compromise, in the fact that a slip of Texas lay north of the line, Mr. Lincoln not only opposing the repeal, but strongly advocating the running still further south of the line of limitation.

In 1849, Mr. Lincoln for a time relinquished political life, and did not reappear until the presidential election of 1852, when his party were defeated, and he again retired to be again roused to an active opposition to Mr. Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska Bill. In 1856 he was ardently supporting Colonel Fremont against Mr. Buchanan, and in 1858 was defeated by Mr. Douglas for a seat in the senate, only to be in his turn the victor in a more important struggle. The republican National Convention of 1860 met at Chicago, and from among seven names presented, it soon became evident that the candidate of the party for President would be either Lincoln of Illinois, or Seward of New York. On the first ballot the votes stood—Lincoln 102, Seward 173; on the second, Lincoln 181, Seward 184; on the third, Lincoln 231, Seward 180: and at last four Ohio delegates voting in favour of Lincoln, he had the required majority of the whole, the total number of votes being 466. The Republican candidate then nominated became elected to the presidency, on the party succeeding in carrying the various States as provided in the Constitution.

Mr. Lincoln's general opinions on the question of slavery may not unfitly be gathered from the following extracts from one of his speeches during his contest with Douglas in 1858:—

'I think I have no prejudice against the southern people,' said he at Peoria; 'they are just what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not now exist among them, they would not introduce it. If it did now exist amongst us, we should not instantly give it up; this I believe of the masses north and south. Doubtless there are individuals on both sides who would not hold slaves under any circumstances, and others who would gladly introduce slavery anew if it were out of existence. We know that some southern men do free their slaves, go north, and become tip-top Abolitionists, whilst some northern ones go south, and become most cruel slave-masters. When southern people tell us they are no more responsible for the origin of slavery than we are, I acknowledge the fact. When it is said that the institution exists, and that it is very difficult to get rid of it in any satisfactory way, I can understand and appreciate the saying. I surely will not blame them for not doing what I should not know how to do myself. If all earthly power were given me I should not know what to do as to the existing institution. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves, and send them to Liberia—to their own native land. But a moment's reflection would convince me, that whatever of high hope (as I think there is) there may be in this in the long run, its sudden execution is impossible. If they were all landed there in a day, they would all perish in the next ten days, and there are not surplus shipping and surplus money enough to carry them there in many times ten days. What then? Free them all, and keep them among us as underlings? Is it quite certain that this betters their condition? I think I would not hold one in slavery, at any rate;

rate; yet the point is not clear enough for me to denounce people upon. What next? Free them, and make them politically and socially our equals? My own feelings will not admit of this; and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of white people will not. Whether this feeling accords with justice and sound judgment, is not the sole question, if indeed it is any part of it. A universal feeling, whether well or ill founded, cannot be safely disregarded. We cannot, then, make them equals. It does seem to me that systems of gradual emancipation might be adopted, but for their tardiness in this, I will not undertake to judge our brethren of the South. When they remind us of their constitutional rights, I acknowledge them, not grudgingly, but fully and fairly; and I would give them legislation for the reclaiming of their fugitives, which should not in its stringency be more likely to carry a free man into slavery, than our ordinary criminal laws are to hang an innocent man. But all this, to my judgment, furnishes no more excuse for permitting slavery to go into our own free territory, than it would for reviving the African slave trade by law. The law which forbids the bringing of slaves from Africa, and that which has so long forbidden the taking of them into Nebraska, can hardly be distinguished on any moral principle; and the repeal of the former could find quite as plausible excuses as that of the latter.'

The remarkable occurrences of the last few months have not been without precedent in the history of the United States. A crisis to all external appearance as threatening as that which has now caused a disruption of the federal government, and the establishment of a southern confederacy, distinguished the presidency of General Jackson. So long ago as 1832 the 'nullification' doctrines of 1798 had been boldly expounded, as involving the right of secession; and the language of Mr. Calhoun, guarded and laboured as it was, amounted to nothing short of a proposition that his State, South Carolina, should 'nullify' a revenue law, which must be universal or nothing. The excitement consequent upon the tariff law of 1828 culminated in the adoption by the State of South Carolina of the celebrated ordinance of November, other words, the tariff enacted that the cotton plantations of the south should pay tribute to the looms of New England. This curious connection of free trade and slavery, protection and personal freedom, distinguishes the republican and democratic parties at the present day.

Protection for manufactures was the cry of the north; in 1832.

By the ordinance to which we have referred, the State of South Carolina resolved—

'I. That the tariff law of 1828, and the amendment to the same of 1832, were "null, void, and no law, nor binding upon this State, its officers or citizens." II. No duties enjoined by that law on its amendment shall be paid, or permitted to be paid, in the State of South Carolina, after the 1st day of February, 1833. III. In no case involving the validity of the expected nullifying act of the legislature, shall an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States be permitted. No copy of proceedings shall be allowed to be taken for that purpose. Any attempt to appeal to the Supreme Court "may be dealt with as for a contempt of the Court," from which the appeal is taken. IV. Every office-holder in the State, whether of the civil or the military service, and every person hereafter assuming an office, and every juror, shall take an oath to obey this Ordinance, and all acts of the legislature, in accordance therewith or suggested thereby. V. If the government of the United States shall attempt to enforce the tariff laws, now existing, by means of its army or navy, by closing the ports of the State, or preventing

venting the egress or ingress of vessels, or shall in any way harass or obstruct the foreign commerce of the State, then South Carolina will no longer consider herself a member of the Federal Union: "the people of this State will thenceforth hold themselves absolved from all further obligation to maintain or preserve their political connection with the people of the other States, and will forthwith proceed to organize a separate government, and do all other acts and things which sovereign and independent States may of right do." '

Here was secession with a vengeance. But the President of 1832 was made of different stuff from Mr. Buchanan. Ignorant, self-willed, arrogant, he possessed the dogged firmness needful for the circumstances. Instead of honied words, or suggestions of compromise, General Jackson filled the military posts in South Carolina with federal troops, and issued a proclamation which left no doubt of his intentions. Had he been driven to extremity, he would, as he himself declared years after, have 'hung Calhoun and the nullifiers high as Haman.' The 1st February, 1833, was the day on which the new tariff law was to come into operation, and a collision appeared inevitable. But the vigour of the President had overawed the secessionists. The day passed; no hostile or nullifying act was attempted; the battle was over, and the victory was with the President.

There is much in the history of the American Constitution, and of African slavery in the States, which may be read as explanatory of the present disturbance.

The United States, after the revolution, possessed but a scanty and wide-spread population, but little industry and a heavy debt. Maine, Pennsylvania, Virginia, were still 'forests primeval,' and the plantations of the South constituted a narrow hill of cultivation near the sea-shore. The present Constitution, which was not secured without many struggles and perils, was based on a public opinion which at least regarded slavery as an evil to be deplored, and got rid of as soon as possible. In all the States of the then existing Union, except Massachusetts, slavery existed, as we have already stated. But steps had been taken in several northern States towards abolition. In the convention, Washington, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and Madison were strenuous in opposition to slavery. Virginia headed the Free States as Carolina and Georgia did the Slave States. It was on the proposition of Mr. Jefferson, that it was voted by the Congress at New York that slavery should not exist in the north-west territory ceded to the nation. The Constitution itself carefully avoids the use of the word slave, but it recognizes the institution in three of its provisions: in the article establishing a basis of representation on three-fifths of the slave population; in the clause providing for the prohibition of any restraint on the importation of slaves prior to 1808; and in the clause providing for the surrender of fugitive slaves.

'Three things,' said Mr. Webster in 1850, 'are quite clear as historical truths One is that there was an expectation that, on the ceasing of the importation of slaves

slaves from Africa, slavery would begin to run out here. Another is, that, as far as there was any power in Congress to prevent the spread of slavery in the United States, that power was exercised in the most absolute manner and to the fullest extent. . . . . The other and third clear historical truth is, that the Convention meant to leave slavery in the States as they found it—entirely under the authority and control of the States themselves.'

The policy of the administration both of Washington and Adams was anti-slavery. The annexation of Louisiana was the act of Mr. Jefferson, but in 1806 and 1807 the power to prohibit the importation of slaves after 1808 was exercised.

This prohibition gave to the northern Slave States a monopoly of the southern slave markets, and made it their interest politically to support the planting States.

Between 1810 and 1820, the cotton States of the South added 53 per cent. to their population; New England only 12 per cent. The rapid development of the trade in cotton soon added so largely to the wealth of the South, that a contest with the North was speedily begun. Missouri, Arkansas, Texas, were in succession gains to the southern policy, and at last the ascendancy of the slave power was established. Efforts were made from time to time to check the extension of the evil, and the presidency of General Taylor would probably have been distinguished by a success but for his death. His successor resumed his policy; the compromise measures of 1850 were passed; General Pierce was elected to support them; and they have since been naturally followed by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the Dred Scott claim, and the rebellion of 1860.

We cannot now do more than give this brief outline; we may probably recur to the discussion in our next Number.

'The American Union,' says a recent eloquent writer, 'owes its territorial aggrandisement to slavery, and its commercial strength to freedom. The two systems of labour are not unlike their products. The rude, uncultivated animal labour of the South, worked like a machine, without a will of its own, sows, tills, harvests, and packs in huge bales for market an important vegetable production. Even this is not done without the help of freemen. A kind heaven supplies a rich soil, and sends down the genial sunshine and refreshing rain. Every other aid in the process, except the actual agricultural work, is rendered by freemen. The field tools come from their shops, and the machine which cleans the crop when gathered, and makes it valuable, was invented and is manufactured in the north. At the water's edge it passes beyond the capacities of slave labour. The intelligence of the freeman is required to design and construct the vessel that is to carry it to the port whence it will be transferred to the manufacturer, to invent and operate the railways that carry it to the mills. What a profuseness of ingenious invention and fertile expedients is exhausted in transforming it into the various fabrics for use! Quick, active, working intellect is demanded at every step. The slave, who can have no home, no wife, no children, no property, no life even that he can call his own, what has he to induce the thought that can alone produce these results? His labour yields only the rough, or, in the strikingly appropriate language of commerce, the raw material. When he has exhausted his rude capacities, the hopeful skill of the freeman takes up the work where he left it, and makes of his well-packed bales fine muslins for rich ladies and coarse clothing for the negroes themselves, common calicoes and beautiful prints, fine spun threads which a spider might envy and the stoutest ropes, beautiful

beautiful fabrics for male attire and canvas for ships; and when it has served its purpose in these several forms, the same ingenuity takes possession of the tattered remains, and converts them into perhaps the very paper on which we write. Whether systems of labour so unlike each other—the one so dead, the other so full of life—can continue to live side by side is a problem which the United States are now attempting to solve for themselves.'

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## ART. VI.—MASANIELLO THE FISHERMAN.

I.—MASANIELLO THE FISHERMAN.

THE Gulf of Salerno, a sister bay of Naples, sheltered from rude Boreas by the walls of the Apennines, opens its arms to the soft, warm airs that play on the Mediterranean. Nature there has lavished her chief gifts upon this charming, sunlit water, and has left the shore rude and bare. The mountains send their stony arms into the dancing waves, and leave no room for grove or field. Man there is forced, as much by necessity as inclination, to look outward upon the bay, and not downward on the soil. He calls his home upon that rocky shore, but his daily toil is in the floating craft.

Among the nestling towns amidst those cliffs and crags is Amalfi. Boasting no classic origin, but reared in Christian times, it is of especial interest to us from its Norman connexion. Within ten years after William's conquest of England, a party of Norman knights became masters of the republic of Amalfi, and laid the foundation of that Neapolitan throne which their descendants have retained to our own day. The Spanish Bourbon, Francis II., retains as much Norman right to Naples as the House of Hanover to England. The fortunate Victor Emmanuel and the ill-fated Francis had, strange to say, the same grandfather. So curious are the parallels of history.

Amalfi had been celebrated for its carrying trade, and dared to dispute with Pisa and Genoa the commerce of the Levant. In the crusading times the activity of this little rock-girt port was inferior to few. Its merchants had factories at Jerusalem, Tunis, Alexandria, Bagdad, and Constantinople. The victories of the Infidels ruined the trade of the East, and made bankrupt the marts of Italy. A convulsion of nature swallowed up the harbour, overthrew the defences, and left Amalfi but a fishing village. It retains, however, a name at present from its possession of the body of St. Andrew the Apostle, said to have been brought from Constantinople, and a devout object of pilgrimage to all good Catholics.

Among the fishermen of Amalfi, in 1647, was Tommaso Angelo Maya. These names were popularly amalgamated, and yet abbreviated, in the appellation of MASANIELLO. Tall in stature, powerful in frame, beautiful in person, intelligent in mind, and energetic in purpose, he was the admired of women and honoured of men. Proud of his profession, which the chief apostle of the Church had sanctified, he carried his fish to the market of Naples, just round the isle of Capri. He had followed the example of his favourite saint, St. Peter, in taking to himself a wife. Impulsive and ardent, virtuous and loving, he endured no long bachelorship, for we find him at the period of our story, at three-and-twenty, the father of a family.

This brother Englishman of ours (for, in truth, his independent soul must have been nurtured by some Norman blood at Amalfi) was not enervated by the luxurious airs of his sunny clime, to become the mere selfish votary of commerce or pleasure. Industrious and earnest, thoughtful and prudent, his trade had prospered, and a secret store of ducats was being gathered for future days. Thus blithely would have passed his life had not his sympathies extended beyond his family circle, and his patriotism absorbed his private interests.

At this epoch of Neapolitan history, a Spanish dynasty was ruling. Viewed simply as a province of the empire, and removed from the seat of government, a viceroy was resident in Naples. Under the vigorous hand of Charles V., the country shared in the glory of victory, but paid for it in blood and treasure. Constant wars withdrew its youth from labour, and increased the burden of its taxation. The revenue rose as the exigencies of state demanded. Donations, or

or forced benevolences, were obtained by Charles and his son Philip to an enormous extent. But when the crown of Spain fell into feebler hands, the yoke of oppression grew intolerable, and precipitated a revolution. It is somewhat curious that, in the two countries gained by the Normans, Naples and England, and which had in the interim become so different in religion and manners, the same cause—unjustifiable taxation—should at the same period have excited rebellion. The circumstances which in one place called forth a peaceable citizen into the fields of battle, as Oliver Cromwell, led a humble fisherman to assume the reins of power by the Bay of Naples.

The viceroys had successively increased the burdens of the unhappy Neapolitans, especially in the *Gabelles*, or taxes upon articles of common consumption. This had brought the labouring classes into extreme misery. The nobles and gentry had long groaned beneath the neglect of their country, and the foreign absorption of its resources; but the decline of trade, together with the high price of provisions, drove the working community to desperation. Still one article was free from the obnoxious gabelle; and fruit, thus exempted, became almost the only food of the poor. When, then, the Duke d'Arcos laid the impost upon that also, the spirit of the nation was broken. As if to gall the people further, there lay then in the harbour a galleon richly freighted with three years' collection of taxes, ready to convey it to Spain. One night the ship was discovered to be in flames, and was burnt before adequate aid could be procured. The act was deemed that of an incendiary, and the discontented Neapolitan nobles were charged with inciting the people to this outrage. Two princes were seized on suspicion, and were imprisoned in the tower.

Masaniello became a victim of tyranny. His wife had accompanied him to Naples one day, and, to assist in the family, took a quantity of fruit to sell in the market. She shared in the general feeling of hatred to the gabelle, and had been stirred in her spirit by the indignant expressions of her liberty-loving husband. She secretly resolved, a feeble young woman as she was, to offer a passive resistance to the obnoxious law. She would not pay the tax. Approaching the barriers, therefore, she made no halt, but proceeded onward without paying toll. For this she was seized and thrown into prison. An example must be made; and who so likely to be taken as one connected so dearly with the fisherman of Amalfi? Already had he made himself known and feared—known to his own order, feared by the tyrants. He was skilled in rude speech, and prompt in his denunciation of the tax. The wife of Masaniello was in a dungeon, and her husband was sentenced to pay a fine for her of one hundred ducats. The secret hoard was dragged forth—the saving of years of toil; his home was sold, and, with the proceeds of both the fine was paid, and the heroic woman delivered. Beggared, but not spirit-crushed, the fisherman of Amalfi became the tenant of a wretched hovel in Naples, and dwelt with the lazzaroni of the bay. With these wretchedly poor and homeless loiterers and fishermen of the city, he was esteemed at once a martyr and a leader. Stung with a sense of his private wrongs, and burning with indignation at his country's sufferings, it is not surprising that the young fisherman became a conspirator and a rebel.

### II.—MASANIELLO A REBEL.

Our hero of Neapolitan freedom was aroused one day from his moodiness in his miserable hut by the visit of some comrades. They announced to him that he had been chosen captain of the lazzaroni of Naples, in the contest at the *Gran festa*. He was to lead the band for the honour of Our Lady of Carmel.

It was the custom at the festival of the Virgin, called Our Lady of Carmel, for a sort of carnival to take place. One of the games was a sham fight in the Largo del Mercato, a large square near the water side. The church and convent of the Carmelites were in the Piazza. The amusement savoured of the times. It was a contest between the city and the Turks. A fortress was erected in the square, and was defended by some hundreds of young men dressed up as orientals, and called the Alarbes. The besiegers, representing the Neapolitan people, were, of course, the victors in the assault. Loud laughter, singing, fireworks, and fun ended this bloodless struggle of the triumph of the cross over the crescent.

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The weapons were canes and reeds, and a conflagration of the captured fortress terminated the conflict. On the present occasion, however, other thoughts entered the minds of the imaginative Neapolitans. The desolating enemies of their country, the hated Spanish dynasty, were to be typified in the Saracenic besieged. Yes; they, the lazzaroni, would assail the mimic fort in the Piazza with the idea of their tyrants being there. Who, then, shall they have for their captain—who but Masaniello? They went to that miserable hut for that personation of the sufferings of the people.

It was in July. Both parties assembled. The Alarbes were under Pione, a youth of eighteen; the Neapolitans were reviewed by Masaniello. It was early as they marched into the Mercato or market-place. The fruiterers and gardeners from the environs of the city were there with their produce. They came from beyond the grotto of Posilipo, from the Phlegrean fields of volcanic waste, from the graveyard of Pompeii. As often had occurred before, there were angry disputes in the market about the enforcement of the hateful gabelle. Some promise had been held out that the tax upon fruits should be removed, but such had not been fulfilled.

The Largo was crowded. The tradesmen were unusually courageous. They quarrelled more than ever with the officers of the government. In their excitement, the gardeners threw the fruit upon the ground, declaring they would not sell at all, but would give it away rather than pay the duty. The tumult reached the ears of the viceroy. He sent his general of police to disperse the marketers; but the bands of Pione and Masaniello were there. They thronged in around the peasants and sympathized loudly with the oppressed. The tumult became a riot. Masaniello leaped upon the steps of the Carmelite church, raised his tall, handsome form before the assemblage, and in a stern commanding voice exclaimed, 'My people, from this moment there is no gabelle in Naples!'

This voice came upon the Neapolitans like a word from heaven. They rent the air with their cries. They shouted, 'From this moment there is no gabelle in Naples!' They crowded round their leader with 'Viva Masaniello!' In a few minutes thousands arranged themselves at his order, and followed him to the palace of the viceroy. With no weapons still but the reeds and canes with which they came to the mimic combat, they stood, a firm mass of insurrectionists beneath the windows of the governor, and loudly demanded his presence at the balcony. Like all tyrants, the man was a coward. He sent off his family for safety to the castle. He called his German guards and court around him. He then stood trembling before the fisherman below and his lazzaroni followers. Yes, he would remove the gabelle on fruit. No, he could not promise to abolish the gabelle on flour; but he would certainly moderate its rigour.

Masaniello saw the hesitancy, knew the strength of his present position, relied upon the excited anger of the people, and suddenly called upon them to follow him. In a moment he threw himself amidst the German mercenaries at the gate, forced his way through their armoured ranks, rushed across the courtyard, and seized the palace of the viceroy. The duke, alarmed at the movement, and dismayed at the scattering of his guard, found means by secret passages to retreat to that dread stronghold of despotism, the castle of St. Elmo. There, upon the heights, seated over cavernèd dungeons of cruelty, he felt himself secure. The lazzaroni were masters of the palace. Poor to starvation, clothed but in rags, they disdained to act the part of banditti, and laid hands upon nothing. Their captain gave orders to collect the gorgeous furniture, the splendid adornments of this luxurious abode, the product of a nation's degradation and poverty. A vast pile was raised, and the torch of Masaniello was applied to the whole.

The people had one friend at court who had long sympathized with their sufferings, but felt impotent to relieve them. This was Cardinal Filomarino, the Archbishop of Naples. As a man of peace, his first thought was to save the shedding of blood. He hasted to St. Elmo. There he not alone sought to propitiate the anger of the viceroy, but he boldly and even tenderly pleaded the cause of the people. Through his entreaties the haughty Spaniard promised to negotiate with the fisherman. He solemnly engaged to abolish the obnoxious gabelles upon provisions. At the same time he sent a trusty messenger to Masaniello,

Masaniello, offering him a large sum of money, and a patent of nobility, if he would desert the cause of the Neapolitans. It is needless to say that the patriot rejected the offer. It strengthened his purpose to break the chains of the oppressed, to live and die the captain of the poor lazzaroni.

The viceroy had now shut himself with his guards in the castle of St. Elmo, and the city became, as it were, the dominion of the young fisherman. The good cardinal was astonished at the developed powers of the democrat. He admired his sagacity, prudence, and firmness. He deeply sympathized with the nobility of his sentiments, the simplicity of his nature, the purity and benevolence of his life. He became at once his counsellor and friend. As dictator, he opened the prisons, and released the vast number there imprisoned for non-payment of taxes, and set free the nobles and others who had been victims of the despotic viceroy. With the trumpet proclamation was made that the gabelle had ceased, and that the people might live. The vast herd of officials who had flourished upon the ruin of the country were deprived of their ill-gotten wealth. No injury was done to their persons in this bloodless revolution; but the spoils of their palaces were destroyed. Gems, furniture, dresses, were alike heaped as fuel, and nothing was abstracted by the indigent but faithful lazzaroni. Only works of art, as pictures, were preserved. These were sent to the convents. The humble fisherman of Amalfi warred not with genius, nor those works which reflected the glory of his country.

Ever mindful of the preservation of order, he remodelled the police force, purified it of those elements which had disgusted and crushed the people, and made it only subservient to the true interests of society. He did not neglect provision against attack. By garrisoning certain posts, raising batteries in exposed situations, seizing upon the armoury, and drilling the lazzaroni, he sought to secure the new liberties of the city. He was no Red Republican. By his gentleness and courtesy, no less than by the justice and vigour of his government, he not only protected the native nobility, but gained their friendship and esteem. Though in rebellion against the viceroy, he deemed himself still a loyal subject of his distant sovereign; and, by displaying the portraits of majesty in the open squares, gave public testimony of his fidelity. He remembered the traditional glory of Naples, the freedom of its franchise, and the prosperity of its inhabitants; and the hope of his life was the resuscitation of its liberty, and the relief of its starving poor.

There was something sublime in the simplicity of this captain of the people. The real governor of the city, the arbiter of the fate of thousands, the lawgiver and judge, he still preserved the habit of the fisherman, and dwelt with his devoted wife in the hut of the lazzaroni. Dressed in the coarse linen trousers that came down to his knees, without stockings or shoes, and with a short tunic of rough linen also, he would issue his commands, to be implicitly obeyed as if he reigned in a palace.

He had a chosen band of counsellors. With these he was accustomed to meet after the excitement and toil of the day, and debate upon the weal of the city. A gloomy tower rose beside the convent of the Carmelites, and commanded the town and the bay. There in the stillness of night did this restless servant of the people confer with a council of nobles, tradesmen, and lazzaroni. Among that group was a Neapolitan artist, and a devoted admirer of his countryman. This was Salvator Rosa. This impulsive genius had suddenly left Rome, and the society of the learned and great, to come and pay homage to the liberator of his country. Pre-eminently a lover of nature in her wilder and sterner forms, delighting in rugged solitudes, dwelling amidst romantic fastnesses of mountains, and smiling amidst the crash of storms and the roar of Vesuvius, he had cherished an ardent feeling for freedom, and a contempt for the meanness of tyranny. No plaudits of aristocracy, no seductions of power, no graces of the princes of the church, could ever subdue the impetuosity of his will, or check the flow of his satires. In Masaniello he had met a kindred spirit. In Masaniello he saw the realization of his poetic dreams. In Masaniello he hoped for the emancipation and elevation of his dear fellow-townsmen.

### III.—MASANIELLO THE MARTYR.

The course of Masaniello had thus far been safe and triumphal. No blood had

had been shed. The city was quiet. Reforms were being made. Union was preserved between the nobles and the people. But the viceroy, from his tyrant's den of St. Elmo, while promising a charter of liberty, an amnesty for the past, and all sorts of boons for the future, was secretly meditating the destruction of rising freedom, and the rivetting of chains. He secretly gathered foreign troops from a distance, established by barricades his communication with the sea, and prepared for civil war. Yet he relied more upon a perfidious policy. He would speak fairly with treachery, and smile in deceit.

His first object was to estrange the nobles from the people. Spies were sent full-handed to gentlemen and lazzaroni. Despairing of corrupting the fisherman, he sought his assassination. A duke in his custody was bribed by release and tempting offers to endeavour to alienate his order from the banner of the rebel. Another prince was entrapped in this plot against the revolution. The viceroy had promised that an old charter, granted by Charles V., should be placed in the hands of the people. He would send it by the Duke of Matalona, whom he had imprisoned, and who had been recognized as a friend of the cause. When it was produced, it was found to be a base forgery. In their indignation, the lazzaroni believed the noble to have been a party in the deception, and carried him off to their prison. The chiefs of houses, who had hitherto espoused the popular side, felt insulted in this treatment of one of their order, and cooled suddenly in their zeal for freedom.

Still the dictator was unmoved from his determination to effect the removal of the disabilities of his countrymen. Hearing of a mass of foreign troops marching upon Naples, he went out against them with his irregular forces, overawed them with numbers, and compelled them to lay down their arms. Then leading them to the city, he behaved so nobly and generously towards them, that they were constrained to cry 'Viva Masaniello!'

Diplomacy, craft, intrigue had failed. Crime must be tried. A poignard is a sure cure of patriotism. Once delivered from this bold leader, the viceroy doubted not the speedy termination of the revolution. The plot was laid. The day was appointed. In the church of the Carmelites, the good cardinal was to read from the altar the solemn oath of the Duke d'Arcos to abolish the gabelle and restore the charter. When this announcement was made, the whole city was intoxicated with joy, and waited impatiently for the day of triumph. Strangers flocked into Naples. Among these were some rough-looking, suspicious characters. They were thought to be banditti. Some ventured to hint the very names of some. Masaniello himself was persuaded that they were bandits. But one who was in his confidence, though a paid spy of the court, disabused him of the idea, and represented that they were but mountaineers from the wild Abruzzi, who had come to see the show. But on his way into the church, a shot was fired, and the ball passed close to the head of Masaniello. Immediately upon his exclamation of 'Traitors!' a number of guns were discharged. The astonished populace rushed to the side of their captain, and fell savagely upon the band of assassins, whom they slew on all sides till arrested by the word of their generous leader. One of the dying bandits confessed that they had been hired for this bloody purpose by the viceroy and some nobles.

But the declaration of freedom was pronounced. The people were convinced of the good faith of the government; but Masaniello saw less ground for confidence. He now felt the insecurity of his life, and the hopelessness of his cause. He saw the estrangement of many of his former followers, and the gloom of foreboding evil rested upon his spirit. By sleepless devotion to the cause of his country, he had undermined his health, and his few days of authority had added years to his countenance. He seemed no longer to be the guide of events, but the tool of an inexorable fate.

'A reconciliation must be effected,' said the simple-minded cardinal, 'and Masaniello must be willing.' The viceroy invited the ex-fisherman to a conference. The officers of state came to usher him into the presence. He was habited in his usual lazzaroni garb. This was pronounced unsuitable for the occasion. He defended his dress as that of his class, of his profession, of his triumph. By almost threats of the cardinal, he was induced to robe himself in gaudy attire. The people gathered

thered in multitudes. Before passing the portals of the palace, he addressed the populace, defended his conduct, and exhorted them to faithfulness. Alluding to his dress, he said, 'As soon as the nets which I have cast shall bring that liberty to shore for which I have so long fished in troubled waters, you shall behold me in my old garb, calling, demanding of you, my people, nothing, save that at my last hour you will each and all say an Ave Maria for my soul's peace.' Amidst the tears of the populace, he besought the cardinal to give his blessing upon them all, and then he entered the palace. After a conference, in which the viceroy confirmed his title of Captain of the people, he was reconducted in state to his humble abode.

Six days only had passed since the outbreak of this singular revolution, when he was invited to a court fête at the pretty suburb of Posilipo, that region of olives and vines, amidst which rose the tomb of Virgil. On the way thither, Masaniello, oppressed by the July heat, and fatigued by his many labours, called for some iced water. It was courteously handed to him by a creature of the viceroy's. That man who had hired troops of banditti as murderers would not hesitate at the employment of poison. Immediately after the draught, poor Masaniello, by the wildness of his eyes, the dryness of his skin, the incoherence of his speech, and the waywardness of his acts, gave too certain signs of the success of treachery. All at once he, who had been so calm and reasonable, became impetuous and unjust; he, who had been so gentle and forbearing, became petulant and cruel.

The people, who knew nothing of the cause, soon saw the aberration of his mind, and sent deputations to the viceroy, tendering obedience upon his fulfilment of engagements, and requesting the deposition of Masaniello, and his confinement for safety, with the enjoyment of every comfort which his conduct deserved, and his present sad condition required. Becoming still more violent, the captain had to be bound with ropes as a restraint. This treatment relieved for a while the pressure upon his brain, and the next day he was allowed to attend the church of the Carmine. There he formally tendered his resignation of office to the cardinal. He had felt the influence of disease, but he had also detected the defection of his lazzaroni. Saddened and trembling, he tore himself from the embrace of his friend, the good archbishop, and tried once more to address the people. Again did the cloud come over his mind, and he was led from the place. Whilst lying upon a bed at the convent, he heard his name called out from the street by his old followers. With affectionate haste he rose to the window, and said feebly, 'Did you want me, my people?' That base and fickle lazzaroni recognized his appeal with the fire of murderers. The hapless leader fell, exclaiming, 'Ungrateful traitors!'

Thus perished, after a reign of ten days, Masaniello, the captain of the people. His head was sent to the viceroy, and the populace permitted his corpse to be dragged through the streets. A sudden fit of penitence, or, rather, the influence of the monks, procured the decent burial of his body.

Since then the memory of the martyr of Neapolitan freedom has been cherished with enthusiastic regard. For two centuries, beneath their heavy yoke, the victims of tyranny have mysteriously muttered 'Masaniello is not dead!' The inmate of prisons, and he who was being led to execution, have said, in their hope for Naples, 'Masaniello is not dead!' The despot himself has felt in his solitude, as he reflected upon his course and his position, that the people might yet rise and prove that 'Masaniello is not dead!' When the shackles fell, the dungeons opened, the tyrants fled, and GARIBALDI stood in Naples, then the people, in their exultant joy, declared 'MASANIELLO IS NOT DEAD!'

# ART. VII.—SOCIAL STATISTICS.

*(This will henceforth form a feature in every Number.)*

## TABLE OF THE NUMBER AND GROSS AMOUNT OF EXCISE DUTIES FOR THIRTY YEARS.

| | 1830 | 1831 | 1832 | 1833 | 1834 | 1835 | 1836 | 1837 | 1838 | 1839 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £. | £. | £. | £. | £. | £. | £. | £. | £. | £. |
| Advertisements | 171,819 | 172,570 | 170,649 | 142,937 | 91,553 | 96,909 | 106,875 | 110,619 | 120,810 | 125,026 |
| Almanacs | 28,757 | 30,841 | 29,105 | 27,561 | † 58 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Auctions | 239,415 | 239,227 | 236,081 | 243,844 | 256,517 | 245,776 | 297,382 | 276,520 | 293,724 | 303,825 |
| Beer | 2,390,310 | † 229 | † 106 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Bricks and Tiles | 360,505 | 375,094 | 333,620 | 312,015 | 345,999 | 404,026 | 479,925 | 445,142 | 426,036 | 470,244 |
| Candles | 489,092 | 477,459 | † 45,088 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Cyder and Perry | 49,090 | † 2 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Glass | 736,474 | 732,454 | 751,448 | 828,557 | 916,822 | 977,728 | 903,481 | 919,045 | 883,719 | 859,296 |
| Hackney Carriages | 33,136 | 35,695 | 32,416 | 45,208 | 47,985 | 47,250 | 48,644 | 47,285 | 48,061 | 48,471 |
| Hides and Skins | 207,879 | † 21 | † 2 | † 2 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Hops | 121,451 | 152,296 | 300,279 | 241,770 | 272,894 | 329,895 | 409,055 | 345,957 | 310,794 | 298,143 |
| Insurance, Fire | 798,077 | 828,562 | 836,096 | 837,439 | 869,221 | 844,226 | 872,162 | 903,311 | 935,536 | 968,476 |
| Insurance, Marine | 221,158 | 225,493 | 205,585 | 213,203 | 203,182 | 219,427 | 255,558 | 227,718 | 254,721 | 296,343 |
| Licences | 849,834 | 920,081 | 898,448 | 926,766 | 1,105,126 | 1,118,036 | 1,019,170 | 1,020,239 | 1,026,361 | 1,029,628 |
| Malt | 4,231,997 | 5,036,667 | 4,799,052 | 5,140,558 | 5,275,604 | 5,499,884 | 5,699,878 | 5,216,967 | 5,211,799 | 5,139,805 |
| Medicine | 38,785 | 39,084 | 44,379 | 38,375 | 31,097 | 30,516 | 31,376 | 30,495 | 29,417 | 29,858 |
| Newspapers | 534,789 | 586,634 | 574,430 | 541,149 | 537,156 | 553,197 | 425,154 | 223,425 | 226,592 | 244,271 |
| Pamphlets | 940 | 867 | 1,067 | 779 | † 3 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Paper | 732,793 | 723,247 | 803,982 | 854,322 | 884,377 | 902,339 | 841,131 | 600,153 | 569,330 | 663,891 |
| Post Horses | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 266,880 | 243,044 | 228,349 |
| *Printed Goods | 570,330 | † 58,968 | † 3,375 | † 1,925 | † 425 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Railways | — | — | 634 | 6,131 | 6,852 | 8,693 | 10,296 | 16,892 | 39,570 | 72,716 |
| Soap | 1,513,149 | 1,431,475 | 1,550,344 | 1,246,946 | 938,016 | 974,098 | 968,850 | 927,249 | 1,031,763 | 1,049,258 |
| Spirits (British) | 5,209,599 | 5,189,661 | 5,074,854 | 5,253,513 | 5,243,430 | 5,073,276 | 5,485,882 | 5,606,697 | 5,451,792 | 5,363,320 |
| Stage Carriages | 418,604 | 422,542 | 414,075 | 458,028 | 500,718 | 509,846 | 524,451 | 501,582 | 474,378 | 443,167 |
| Starch | 103,100 | 100,331 | 112,324 | 117,500 | 72,951 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Stone Bottles | 3,188 | 3,549 | 4,007 | 4,202 | 4,853 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Sweets and Mead | 2,729 | 2,350 | 3,852 | 2,724 | 3,526 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Vinegar | 17,862 | 19,313 | 22,577 | 24,619 | 24,935 | 26,502 | 26,313 | 21,576 | 21,450 | 24,882 |
| | 20,076,862 | 17,795,512 | 17,247,875 | 17,510,073 | 16,573,209 | 17,861,624 | 18,405,583 | 17,107,752 | 17,595,897 | 17,659,069 |
| Number of Taxes | 27 | 23 | 23 | 23 | 21 | 18 | 18 | 19 | 19 | 19 |

* The gross amount was £2,149,238, £1,578,908 being returned as drawback on export; this being therefore an exceptional case, the net amount only is given.
† These small remnants have been omitted in taking the number of the taxes.

## TABLE OF THE NUMBER AND GROSS AMOUNT OF EXCISE DUTIES FOR THIRTY YEARS—*continued.*

| | 1840 | 1841 | 1842 | 1843 | 1844 | 1845 | 1846 | 1847 | 1848 | 1849 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £. | £. | £. | £. | £. | £. | £. | £. | £. | £. |
| Advertisements . | 131,589 | 131,604 | 126,378 | 127,831 | 135,052 | 157,292 | 159,963 | 162,738 | 157,721 | 163,211 |
| Almanacs . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Auctions . . . | 319,857 | 314,281 | 297,782 | 284,981 | 308,630 | * 86,465 | — | — | — | — |
| Beer . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Bricks and Tiles . | 531,779 | 451,107 | 400,874 | 363,201 | 446,715 | 568,570 | 646,893 | 690,669 | 462,451 | 462,765 |
| Candles . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Cyder and Perry . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Glass . . . . | 952,252 | 945,558 | 777,836 | 764,674 | 847,160 | 311,609 | — | — | — | — |
| Hackney Carriages | 49,799 | 52,811 | 57,380 | 60,133 | 62,461 | 68,358 | 72,224 | 76,851 | 73,018 | 70,580 |
| Hides and Skins . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Hops . . . . | 349,380 | 72,411 | 266,778 | 310,930 | 245,668 | 258,766 | 290,198 | 444,396 | 395,513 | 208,341 |
| Insurance, Fire . | 990,786 | 1,011,635 | 1,033,189 | 1,036,021 | 1,053,293 | 1,083,122 | 1,108,559 | 1,130,262 | 1,116,810 | 1,134,421 |
| Insurance, Marine. | 302,951 | 287,762 | 254,336 | 256,294 | 194,788 | 148,720 | 151,541 | 182,333 | 165,419 | 160,109 |
| Licences . . . | 1,054,991 | 1,037,475 | 1,015,619 | 1,021,901 | 1,036,395 | 1,071,749 | 1,087,548 | 1,092,501 | 1,004,185 | 1,115,346 |
| Malt . . . . | 5,592,508 | 4,889,248 | 4,848,573 | 4,827,951 | 5,027,062 | 4,938,032 | 5,691,272 | 4,775,692 | 5,076,238 | 5,185,223 |
| Medicine . . . | 29,492 | 30,289 | 30,502 | 28,936 | 30,535 | 32,623 | 34,544 | 32,623 | 32,840 | 42,263 |
| Newspapers . . | 250,552 | 252,003 | 261,161 | 271,180 | 287,829 | 327,682 | 346,150 | 343,278 | 360,286 | 354,768 |
| Pamphlets . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Paper . . . . | 627,981 | 633,519 | 627,142 | 676,062 | 709,319 | 802,048 | 836,831 | 810,944 | 809,035 | 859,575 |
| Post Horses . . | 214,540 | 198,428 | 177,537 | 167,024 | 170,038 | 180,881 | 176,392 | 164,907 | 151,930 | 144,194 |
| Printed Goods . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Railways . . . | 112,427 | 159,781 | 168,957 | 150,366 | 177,603 | 190,195 | 212,367 | 199,637 | 228,304 | 235,475 |
| Soap . . . . | 1,079,448 | 1,078,190 | 1,060,848 | 1,132,571 | 1,190,653 | 1,219,300 | 1,193,969 | 1,114,958 | 1,210,400 | 1,244,397 |
| Spirits (British) . | 5,208,040 | 5,161,610 | 5,046,813 | 4,903,201 | 5,171,181 | 5,749,794 | 5,934,359 | 5,234,003 | 5,504,579 | 5,793,881 |
| Stage Carriages . | 342,593 | 313,891 | 287,672 | 243,333 | 242,728 | 253,668 | 240,644 | 246,287 | 205,176 | 188,849 |
| Starch . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Stone Bottles . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Sweets and Mead . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Vinegar. . . . | 26,953 | 26,106 | 23,841 | 25,914 | 18,202 | — | — | — | — | — |
| | 18,167,918 | 17,047,709 | 16,763,218 | 16,652,515 | 17,355,312 | 17,448,874 | 18,183,454 | 16,702,079 | 16,953,905 | 17,363,398 |
| Number of Taxes . | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 19 | 18 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 16 |

* These small remnants have been omitted in taking the number of the taxes.

TABLE OF THE NUMBER AND GROSS AMOUNT OF EXCISE DUTIES FOR THIRTY YEARS—*continued.*

| | 1850 | 1851 | 1852 | 1853 | 1854 | 1855 | 1856 | 1857 | 1858 | 1859 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £. | £. | £. | £. | £. | £. | £. | £. | £. | £. |
| Advertisements . | 168,162 | 175,095 | 181,196 | 151,519 | * 110 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Almanacs . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Auctions . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Beer . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Bricks and Tiles . | * 27,883 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Candles . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Cyder and Perry . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Glass . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Hackney Carriages | 82,707 | 95,444 | 85,682 | 74,735 | 62,351 | 73,388 | 74,429 | 80,153 | 82,129 | 86,203 |
| Hides and Skins . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Hops . . . . | 309,444 | 433,989 | 239,724 | 447,552 | 276,671 | 93,599 | 725,769 | 489,008 | 416,478 | 462,881 |
| Insurance, Fire . | 1,159,532 | 1,190,506 | 1,220,382 | 1,269,426 | 1,306,014 | 1,344,158 | 1,388,975 | 1,423,783 | 1,472,443 | 1,503,738 |
| Insurance, Marine. | 164,121 | 174,148 | 193,789 | 271,542 | 293,388 | 324,392 | 325,689 | 319,519 | 287,071 | 325,708 |
| Licences . . . | 1,138,847 | 1,161,287 | 1,183,867 | 1,244,677 | 1,413,977 | 1,401,091 | 1,409,452 | 1,425,112 | 1,436,826 | 1,464,575 |
| Malt . . . . | 5,645,490 | 5,261,763 | 5,543,455 | 5,703,255 | 6,556,894 | 6,976,148 | 6,710,237 | 5,492,006 | 5,592,624 | †6,852,458 |
| Medicine . . . | 24,721 | 33,680 | 37,233 | 42,072 | 35,420 | 40,017 | 46,416 | 43,303 | 43,091 | 45,624 |
| Newspapers . . | 356,969 | 403,627 | 421,812 | 420,877 | 288,010 | 263,034 | 164,102 | 158,991 | 151,190 | 147,249 |
| Pamphlets . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Paper . . . . | 915,121 | 993,592 | 1,000,630 | 1,148,116 | 1,145,573 | 1,123,562 | 1,244,143 | 1,244,723 | 1,281,023 | 1,451,254 |
| Post Horses . . | 142,038 | 145,434 | 150,068 | 133,720 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Printed Goods . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Railways . . . | 251,215 | 287,332 | 280,314 | 303,386 | 309,194 | 323,790 | 334,063 | 348,611 | 339,569 | 359,212 |
| Soap . . . . | 1,309,740 | 1,295,652 | 1,397,668 | 647,235 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Spirits (British) . | 5,944,182 | 6,059,210 | 6,284,864 | 7,044,478 | 7,677,982 | 8,198,016 | 9,132,601 | 9,280,963 | 9,188,842 | 10,000,191 |
| Stage Carriages . | 195,674 | 217,063 | 218,231 | 202,814 | 173,601 | 133,117 | 114,807 | 118,588 | 125,016 | 127,673 |
| Starch . . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Stone Bottles . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Sweets and Mead . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Vinegar. . . . | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| | 17,835,846 | 17,927,822 | 18,438,915 | 19,105,404 | 19,739,185 | 20,294,312 | 21,670,683 | 20,424,760 | 20,416,302 | 22,826,766 |
| Number of Taxes . | 15 | 15 | 15 | 15 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 |

* These small remnants have been omitted in taking the number of the taxes.

† This increase is owing to the shortening of the Malt credit.

## (2.) OUR PROGRESS IN NATIONAL WEALTH.

An income-tax return has been issued which shows what progress this kingdom has been making within the last few years, as follows :—

The total amount of income and annual value of property assessed to the income-tax in the United Kingdom has risen from 308,317,656*l.* in 1854 to 335,730,254*l.* in 1860.

The increase of taxable income in England in the six years has been 26,348,685*l.*, and in Ireland 1,701,993*l.*, but in Scotland there has actually been a decrease of 638,080*l.* This decrease has arisen solely from a very large falling off in the returns under Schedule D,—the profits of trades, professions, &c. The income taxed under that schedule in England rose from 76,215,936*l.* in 1854 to 81,921,267*l.* in 1860, and in Ireland from 4,621,069*l.* to 4,891,652*l.*; but in Scotland it fell from 12,185,924*l.* in 1854 to 8,626,144*l.* in 1860; in 1858, after the commercial crisis at the end of 1857, it fell 2,500,000*l.* below the previous year, and has never recovered.

The income assessed under Schedule A, the annual value of lands, houses, &c., has risen greatly in all three kingdoms; in England it was 99,274,309*l.* in 1854 and 112,082,749*l.* in 1860; in Scotland 11,947,791*l.* in the former year, and 13,974,08*cl.* in the latter; in Ireland 11,767,810*l.* and 12,893,829*l.* respectively; an increase of almost 16,000,000*l.* in the whole, nearly half of which is from houses, and another quarter from an increase in the profit of railways.

A very large increase has taken place also in Schedule E—(public offices, pensions, and stipends), from 14,445,552*l.* in 1854 to 19,636,220*l.* in 1860.

The total income assessed to the income-tax in 1860 was, in England, 282,718,049*l.*; in Scotland, 29,913,124*l.*; in Ireland, 23,099,081*l.*

## (3.) THE CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES.

(From the 'New York Economist.')

The population returns of the Census Bureau are now published, and present the following statistics of the population of the several States, as compared with the Census of 1850 :—

FREE STATES AND TERRITORIES.

| | 1850 | 1860 | Increase. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Maine . . . . . | 583,169 | 619,958 | 26,789 |
| New Hampshire . . | 317,976 | 326,072 | 8,096 |
| Vermont . . . . | 314,120 | 315,827 | 1,707 |
| Massachusetts . . . | 994,514 | 1,231,494 | 236,980 |
| Rhode Island . . . | 147,545 | 174,621 | 27,076 |
| Connecticut . . . | 370,792 | 460,670 | 89,878 |
| New York . . . . | 3,697,394 | 3,851,563 | 754,169 |
| New Jersey . . . | 489,333 | 676,084 | 187,751 |
| Pennsylvania . . . | 2,311,786 | 2,916,013 | 604,232 |
| Ohio . . . . . | 1,980,427 | 2,377,917 | 397,490 |
| Michigan . . . . | 397,654 | 754,291 | 357,637 |
| Indiana. . . . . | 988,416 | 1,350,802 | 362,386 |
| Illinois . . . . . | 851,470 | 1,691,238 | 839,768 |
| Wisconsin . . . . | 305,391 | 768,485 | 463,094 |
| Iowa . . . . . | 192,214 | 682,003 | 489,789 |
| California . . . . | 92,597 | 384,770 | 292,272 |
| Oregon . . . . . | 18,294 | 52,586 | 39,372 |
| Minnesota . . . . | 6,077 | 172,793 | 166,610 |
| Kansas . . . . . | .. | 143,645 | 143,645 |
| Nebraska . . . . | .. | 28,893 | 28,893 |
| Utah . . . . . | 11,354 | 50,000 | 38,646 |
| Dakotah . . . . | .. | 4,830 | 4,830 |
| Washington . . . | .. | 11,624 | 11,624 |
| | 13,465,523 | 19,046,173 | 5,580,650 |

SLAVE STATES.

| | 1850 | 1860 | Increase. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Delaware | 89,242 | 110,548 | 21,306 |
| Maryland | 492,666 | 646,183 | 153,517 |
| Virginia | 949,133 | 1,097,373 | 148,240 |
| North Carolina | 580,491 | 679,965 | 99,874 |
| South Carolina | 283,523 | 308,186 | 24,663 |
| Georgia | 524,503 | 615,336 | 90,832 |
| Florida | 48,135 | 81,885 | 33,750 |
| Alabama | 428,779 | 520,444 | 91,665 |
| Mississippi | 296,648 | 407,051 | 110,403 |
| Louisiana | 272,953 | 354,245 | 81,292 |
| Texas | 154,431 | 415,799 | 261,568 |
| Arkansas | 162,797 | 331,710 | 168,913 |
| Tennessee | 763,154 | 859,528 | 96,374 |
| Kentucky | 771,424 | 920,077 | 148,653 |
| Missouri | 594,622 | 1,085,595 | 490,973 |
| District Columbia | 48,000 | 75,321 | 27,321 |
| New Mexico | 61,547 | 93,024 | 31,477 |
| | 6,522,048 | 8,602,470 | 2,808,422 |
| | 13,465,528 | 19,046,173 | 5,580,650 |
| Free population | 19,987,571 | 27,648,643 | 7,661,072 |

SLAVE POPULATION.

| | 1850 | 1860 | Decrease. | Increase. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Delaware | 2,290 | 1,505 | 785 | .. |
| Maryland | 90,368 | 35,382 | 54,986 | .. |
| Virginia | 472,528 | 495,826 | .. | 23,293 |
| North Carolina | 288,548 | 328,377 | .. | 39,829 |
| South Carolina | 384,894 | 407,185 | .. | 22,201 |
| Georgia | 381,682 | 467,471 | .. | 85,779 |
| Florida | 39,369 | 64,809 | .. | 24,500 |
| Alabama | 342,892 | 435,463 | .. | 92,581 |
| Mississippi | 309,878 | 479,607 | .. | 169,729 |
| Louisiana | 244,809 | 312,186 | .. | 67,377 |
| Texas | 58,161 | 184,956 | .. | 126,795 |
| Arkansas | 47,100 | 109,065 | .. | 61,965 |
| Tennessee | 239,460 | 287,112 | .. | 47,652 |
| Kentucky | 210,981 | 225,400 | .. | 14,419 |
| Missouri | 87,422 | 115,619 | .. | 28,197 |
| District Columbia | 5,687 | No returns. | .. | .. |
| | 3,203,999 | 3,999,853 | 55,771 | Nett. 795,854 |
| Total Free and Slave Population | 22,191,570 | 31,648,496 | .. | 8,456,925 |

The total population of the Free States and Territories, is 19,046,173—an increase on last census of 5,580,650. The whole free population of the Slave States amounts to 8,602,470, which is an increase on 1850 of 2,080,422; and the whole slave population, 3,999,853—an increase of 795,854 on last census. The rate of increase for the ten years has been in the Free States and Territories, 41 per cent.; among the free population of the Slave States, 32 per cent.; in the slave population 22½ per cent., and in the combined (free and slave) population of

of the Slave States, 29 per cent.: whilst for the whole Union the ratio is 36 per cent. The largest increase is observable in the Middle and Western States. Illinois shows a progress of 839,768; New York, 754,169; Pennsylvania, 604,232; Missouri, 490,973; Iowa, 489,789; Wisconsin, 463,094; whilst in Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana, there has been a similar ratio of increase. This great increase, amounting to 4,758,538 in nine States, is chiefly owing to the large influx of foreign population. The slave population, which has received no such accessions, shows a much lower rate of progress. In Delaware there has been a decrease of 785 slaves, sufficient in twenty years to destroy the slave element in that State. In Maryland a much larger decrease has occurred, the slave population there being in 1850, 90,368, and in 1860, only 35,382, according to which movement, if continued, there will not be a slave in the State in 1867. In Kentucky the slave increase has been at the rate of 7 per cent., and in Virginia 5 per cent. It may be interesting, in the present juncture, to compare the progress of the free and slave populations of the States that now occupy a midway position between secession and adherence to the Union. We therefore present the following details relative to seven of the States in question:—

| | Free Population. | Slave Population. | Slave Population. |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Increase per Cent. | Increase per Cent. | Decrease per Cent. |
| Delaware . . . | 24 | .. | 34½ |
| Maryland . . . | 31 | .. | 61 |
| Virginia . . . . | 15½ | 5 | .. |
| North Carolina . . | 16 | 14 | .. |
| Tennessee . . . | 13 | 20 | .. |
| Kentucky . . . | 12 | 7 | .. |
| Missouri . . . . | 83 | 32 | .. |

It appears from this comparison that in two of the border States the slave population is rapidly dying out, whilst the free is steadily increasing. In Virginia, the most populous of all the Slave States, the free population is increasing at the rate of 15½ per cent., whilst the slave element shows a progress of only 5 per cent.! In Tennessee the slave population has increased over the free to the extent of 7 per cent. Kentucky, which ranks third among the Slave States in respect of population, exhibits an increase of only 7 per cent. in her slave element, whilst the progress in her free population is 19 per cent. Missouri has made an increase of 32 per cent. in her slave population, and of 83 per cent. in the free. It appears, therefore, that the free element in these States is progressing in a much more rapid ratio than the slave, that the slave element is rapidly receding towards the seaboard States,—a fact which is not without great significance to those States in choosing between a Southern and a Northern Confederacy, should such be the only alternative presented to their choice.

## ART. VIII.—RECORD OF SOCIAL POLITICS.

WE have passed through one of the most inclement winters that can be remembered within the experience of the oldest inhabitant of these islands; and of course there has been much distress among those masses of the population, which, even in the best of times, only crouch about the boundary line that separates poverty from pauperism. Unhappily, there are hundreds of thousands, if not millions, who, through ignorance, imprudence, and intemperance, waste and squander their hard earnings when trade is brisk, wages high, and the means of subsistence plentiful and cheap. When, therefore, the rainy day of adversity, in seasons of unemployment or scarcity, comes upon them, they are at once plunged into abjectness and destitution. The past winter has revealed sad depths of misery and wretchedness, in various parts of the

the land, which have absolutely appalled the philanthropist and social reformer. At Coventry, in the Staffordshire Potteries, in the Metropolis, at Brighton, and in various other parts, the distress has been intense; and the generous efforts to relieve it, if not adequate, have been most laudable and gratifying. But, alas! DRINK—the demon of drink—has been found almost always associated with the worst forms of this destitution and misery; and in many cases the very means of relief, bestowed by the compassionate and provident, have been actually abused to gratify the fatal cravings of a morbid appetite for strong drink, instead of being applied to the purchase of food and clothing for the forlorn and famished families of the recipients of public charity. Thus do we find the same agent of mischief and demoralization incessantly present and potent—first to cause poverty and misery, and next to prevent or largely frustrate every philanthropic effort of amelioration.

From all our information, and from an elaborate statement submitted to the House of Commons by Mr. Caird, it has become painfully manifest, not only that the last harvest was a very deficient one in this country, but that there is reason to fear that this year's crops will not be abundant, owing to the sowing season being wet and unfavourable. We need not forecast, for our thoughtful readers, what will be the probable effect of two bad harvests following each other. The returns of pauperism for January 1861, show that a much larger number of persons were receiving parochial relief than in the corresponding month of 1860. It would be well if the working population and the trading classes of the community would take timely warning, and by provident habits and judicious arrangements prepare for the coming storm. During the six months from August to end of January last, we have imported 5,627,000 quarters of corn and flour, or more than double the average of the preceding five years, and more in those six months than in any one whole year, except 1853; and we have had to pay, during the year, to other countries, an excess of 12,200,000*l.* over last year. How sad and disgraceful the fact, that something like 8,000,000 quarters of the precious grain given to us by bountiful heaven for human food, are being annually converted into a drink that does not nourish anything in man but his baser passions and his most degrading vices! When will some great statesman open his mouth in parliament, and denounce the folly and the iniquity of this national waste of the people's food? Well may our commerce languish whilst the gold is being drained away to pay foreigners for our food! On the motion of Mr. Baines, and at the suggestion of the United Kingdom Alliance, a valuable return of the House of Commons was lately obtained, showing the total quantities of spirits, malt, beer, and wine entered for home consumption, and the number of licences for sale of the various intoxicating liquors issued in each of the three kingdoms of England Ireland, and Scotland during the last nine years and a half, ending July 1860. This document reveals a frightful feature of our boasted civilization, and appeals to all social reformers to put forth energetic efforts to remove that which is an undeniable source of a vast proportion of all our social evils. Until this drink traffic can be put under the ban of the law and of public opinion, social and sanitary efforts, however persistent or energetic, can never become largely effective or generally successful.

Another parliamentary return, disclosing facts connected with the liquor traffic, has been recently issued on the motion of Mr. Dunlop, showing the number of public-house licences in each parish in Scotland, with the population, &c. There are 902 parishes accounted for; and out of these, it appears that there are 144 parishes without a single public drinking-house, and with a population of 113,035 souls; and of these parishes, 104, with a population of 80,117, are *entirely without any place where intoxicating liquor is sold.* These are, in fact, Maine-law parishes, where, through the influence of landed proprietors and other conservators of public order and morality, the curse of the liquor traffic is prohibited. It will be a happy day for Scotland when every parish enjoys the same blessed immunity.

The advocates of the PERMISSIVE BILL suggested by the United Kingdom Alliance continue to prosecute their enterprise with unwearied zeal and undaunted courage. Great meetings are being held in all the large centres of population; and everywhere the popular response in behalf of the measure

sure is such as to insure ultimate success. An effort is also being made for the purpose of promoting a movement in favour of closing all public drinking-houses in England throughout the whole of the Lord's day. The British Temperance League and the Lord's Day Observance Association are understood to take the lead in this movement; and it is hoped that a bill may be got before the house during the present session.

At Plymouth the Town Mission has recently taken action, by calling a public meeting, and promoting a petition, concerning the liquor traffic, the preamble of which sets forth the evil consequences resulting to the work of the mission's agents through the licenced drink-shops—the ancient purpose of the victuallers being to supply food and lodging to travellers—praying Parliament to confine them to their legitimate aim, and to sanction the bill about to be brought before the legislature, empowering the people to veto the traffic in their respective districts. Other missions of a like nature throughout the country are to be communicated with for the purpose of requesting their co-operation in a similar work. In the recently published report of the Liverpool Domestic Mission, one of the missionaries declares that he is more than ever convinced that it is not from improved drainage or improved dwellings that true reform is to arise. Speaking of strong drink, he says: 'I have no confidence in any scheme for really improving the condition of the people, which does not embrace within its scope the removal of this, the greatest of all temptations to which they are exposed.'

In a recent debate in the House of Lords the Earl of Shaftesbury protested against the further DEMOLITION OF HOUSES for railways in the metropolis, on the ground that the poor inhabitants, unable to find shelter elsewhere, would all crowd into the remaining houses, to the great sanitary and moral deterioration of the mass. To this cause—miserable and insufficient dwellings—his lordship attributed, 'not altogether but mainly,' the prevalent habits of intoxication. The Earl of Dudley, in the course of a speech when presiding over the Dudley Mechanics' Institution soirée, said: 'He could confidently appeal to those who lived in the town and district for support to his observation, that drunkenness was the one great vice of this place, and led more than anything else to the production of that great calendar of crime which they saw from time to time. There was nothing that he knew of that could be put into the scale to counterbalance its evils. The one great source of nearly all the evil authority and power had to contend with, was the drunkenness of the lower classes, and the temptation presented by the flaring gin-shop, and the society it offered was too often more than enough to induce men to leave their miserable, dark houses to be taken care of by their wives and children as best they could. If this were a true representation of the state of things existing in the town [the country], and those who started the Mechanics' Institution knew it was so, and if they were striking at the root of so huge an evil, then the work they were engaged in was so important and onerous, that everybody would be justly held responsible for the consequence of withholding his support and countenance from it.'

The difficult and momentous question of CONVICT TRANSPORTATION is again before Parliament, Mr. Childers having succeeded in obtaining a select committee, which is to go into the general subject of secondary punishments, and which, we trust, will ascertain the causes of the recent violent outbreaks at Chatham and other convict prisons, and the great insecurity which is complained of in many parts of the country. In Bermuda and Gibraltar there are large numbers of convicts whose discipline is said to be in a very unsatisfactory state. The Australian colony is demanding that only prisoners who have the best characters be sent to them. But what are we to do with the others? It is reported that three hundred ticket-of-leave convicts are at the present time residing in Manchester; and burglaries, garotte robberies, and other crimes are of nightly occurrence. Our authorities might wisely take a hint from the governor of Michigan, who, in his message to the legislature of the State, says: 'Since I entered upon the duties of my office I have pardoned seventy-two convicts. Whenever I could learn that the convict had been in the habit of indulging in intemperance, I imposed upon his pardon the condition that he should

should for ever after abstain from the use of intoxicating drinks as a beverage. One and one only, has since violated that condition, and for such violation is now serving out the balance of her term.' If a similar condition were imposed upon all our ticket-of-leave convicts, there can be no doubt but that a large proportion of the re-convictions which now bring discredit upon our prison discipline would never be incurred.

An important CONFERENCE was held on the 21st of January, at Birmingham, for the purpose of discussing the question of providing for the education of neglected and destitute children, and the duty of the legislature and executive government to aid therein. The attendance was numerous and influential. The Right Hon. Sir John Pakington, M.P., ably presided, and stated that they had assembled to set forth a grievance, and discuss what was the best and most appropriate remedy. The grievance, he said, was this—that out of the large annual sum which is voted by Parliament to assist in the education of the poor, those who are the most poor, those who are the most destitute, those who come under the care of those institutions which have been founded by benevolent persons in most of the large towns of England and Scotland, called ragged schools, are, in fact, altogether excluded. He submitted the following declaration of policy and opinion on the part of those at whose instance the conference had been convened, as indicating the precise object of the meeting.

'The welfare of society requires that all its members should be educated. Therefore it is the duty of the state, both as regards society in general, and each individual composing it, to provide education for those who cannot obtain it for themselves. This duty is recognized by the state, since it provides education for those who are in gaols and reformatories, and therefore come compulsorily under its care, and for those who are thrown upon society for support, *i. e.*, paupers. The same duty exists, but has not been discharged by the state, towards children who are not as yet either criminals or paupers, but whose natural guardians will not, or cannot, provide for their education.'

This declaration was endorsed by the signature of one hundred and forty-six of the most eminent and conspicuous friends of education in Great Britain. Resolutions in accordance with the spirit and drift of the declaration were spoken to by the learned Recorder of Birmingham, and a number of other gentlemen, including Mr. Scholefield, M.P., Archdeacon Hone, Lord Lyttelton, Rev. Samuel Bache (Birmingham), Rev. W. C. Osborne (Bath), Rev. Thomas Guthrie, D.D. (Edinburgh), the Right Hon. the Earl of Shrewsbury and Talbot, Sir Baldwin Leighton, Bart., M.P., Rev. George Hans Hamilton (Berwick-on-Tweed), Robert Hanbury, Esq., M.P., Rev. J. C. Miller, D.D. (Birmingham), Viscount Ingestre, M.P., Rev. Prebendary Burgess (Chelsea), H. J. Leppoc, Esq. (Manchester), George Bell, Esq., M.D. (Edinburgh), C. F. Runcy, Esq. (Aberdeen), Rev. James Gillespie (Liverpool), R. Spooner, Esq., M.P., T. Barwick Baker, Esq., &c., &c. Papers of an important character bearing upon the question before the conference were read by Mr. M. D. Hill, Q.C., and by Miss Carpenter, of Bristol. In the evening of the same day a public meeting, in connection with the conference, was held in the Town Hall. The Mayor of Birmingham, Arthur Ryland, Esq., took the chair, and was supported by a very large array of ladies and gentlemen who had attended the morning meeting. There were about three thousand persons in the body of the hall. On the motion of the Rev. Dr. Guthrie, and Mr. Scholefield, M.P., the series of resolutions adopted by the conference were unanimously approved and confirmed by the public meeting. In the course of his able and eloquent speech, Dr. Guthrie said:—

"The grand object ragged schools have in view is this—to rescue from vice, and misery, and crime, in this world, and from ruin in the world to come, those who have no parents, and those who are worse off than them that have none. It is both the interest and the duty of society to see that these children do not perish. Society not only does them, but does itself a wrong in allowing uneducated children to grow up within its bounds. No man or woman is a fit member of a civilized community if they are bred in all the ignorance of a savage; and the man and woman who bring up their family in such a state, who train them to lie, to steal, to beg, are sinners against the good of society and the welfare

welfare of the country.' The meeting was afterwards addressed by Mr. M. D. Hill, Rev. Dr. Miller, and other gentlemen, the whole of the day's proceedings being marked with deep interest.

The effect of the conference upon the public mind and leading statesmen was soon apparent. Several letters were inserted in the London 'Times,' and leading articles appeared in various papers. Mr. Adderley came forward to defend the policy of the Privy Council from the charge of refusing aid to ragged schools, showing that the Minutes make very ample provision for aiding these institutions, *on certain conditions*. He complained of the want of precision in the statements made at the Birmingham conference, whilst he himself neglected to state what the conditions were upon which aid would be given. He, however, intimated that the Home Secretary was preparing an amendment of the Industrial Schools Act. This is just what the conference desired, and we hope that its aspirations will be speedily realized. Mr. Barwick Baker and Mr. M. D. Hill replied most ably and conclusively, and there can be no doubt but that government will be compelled to treat this great social question with more sagacity and fairness than heretofore. We hope soon to see an earnest and successful effort made in Parliament to secure for our ragged and industrial schools more of that public support to which they are so well entitled, and which experience proves they so greatly need.

Another movement that claims our earnest sympathy is being carried forwards towards a successful issue. We allude to the scheme of Mr. Sikes, of Huddersfield, to establish POST-OFFICE SAVINGS BANKS; and we congratulate the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the vigorous manner in which he has introduced the measure. Our facetious friend 'Punch' has been quite delighted with the idea, and with much laudable alertness has put his shoulder to the movement. His pictorial article in behalf of the measure was done in his best style. It was a happy hit to put the new savings bank into juxtaposition with the dram-shop.

## ART. IX.—REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

*Regeneration.* By William Anderson, LL.D. Second edition. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 1861.

THIS is a treatise on one of the most delicate subjects in theological science. It is by the hand of a master in Israel—a man *sui generis*, who stamps the individuality of his own original mind on every subject which he discusses. He expresses himself with great clearness and force, and brings the minds of his readers, as he does his hearers, into intelligent contact with his own. It is unnecessary for us to enter into the discussion of the question opened up in this volume; we may, however, remark that the subject is one of the most momentous which can occupy the attention of man, and the manner in which it is treated is such as will scarcely fail to impress every thoughtful reader. A massive intellect here handles a theme which many proud literati resign to women and weak-minded men. Such would do well to study the book of Dr. William Anderson.

*The Annals of the Rescued.* By the Author of 'Haste to the Rescue.' London: Nisbet and Co. 1860.

NONE can peruse the touching pages of these annals without blessing God for the benevolent work in which the author has been engaged in Shrewsbury during the last three years. Her strong convictions on the subject of total abstinence, her zealous efforts among the degraded, her success in rescuing the fallen and miserable, combine to give unusual interest to her story. Would that every minister's wife, who can command the leisure, were as devoted, and that in every congregation or parish in England, similar efforts were made to remove drunkenness from the people.

*Nephalism the True Temperance of Science, Scripture, and Experience.* By James Miller, F.R.S.E., Surgeon in Ordinary to the Queen in Scotland, and to H.R.H. the Prince Consort, Professor of Surgery in the University of Edinburgh. Glasgow: Scottish Temperance League. 1861.

PROFESSOR

PROFESSOR MILLER has taken up the temperance cause *con amore*. He has done it a powerful service by his literary contribution. Free from technical terms, and full of racy humour, quaint sayings, and sparkling anecdote, as well as philosophy, science, and religion, he brings his views home to the intelligence of all readers. This work is worthy of a large circulation, and we rejoice to learn that the professor's desire is, that its publishers may give every facility for its popular dissemination. His arguments are in the main irrefragable, his appeals pointed, and his interpretation of Scripture as reverent as it is accurate. The use of alcohol in disease is his most vulnerable point.

*Modern Statesmen; or, Sketches from the Strangers' Gallery of the House of Commons.* By J. Ewing Ritchie, author of 'The Night Side of London.' London: Tweedie. 1861.

MR. RITCHIE writes with a smart and ready hand, and possesses abilities capable of producing something more permanent than anything he has yet contributed to literature. There is too little information given, and there are blunders which a parliamentary *littérateur* should not have fallen into. Beyond the smartness characteristic of Mr. Ritchie's pen, and a certain popularity attached thereto, these sketches of modern statesmen cannot command our admiration. They are merely ephemeral. We regret to see so much of London conversational slang mixed up with descriptions of men of mark.

*The Worn Wedding Ring, and other Poems.* By W. C. Bennett. London: Chapman and Hall. 1861.

MR. BENNETT has already won his spurs as a poet of the third class. He writes well. His rhymes jingle musically. His songs are remarkably manly, patriotic, and tender in sentiment, and are expressed in nervous Saxon. His poems on childhood, and all its joys and sorrows, are true to nature, and are beautiful in art. The present volume is diversified. There are about two dozen poems and songs, many of which are exquisitely conceived and well expressed. There are no fewer than eighty-five sonnets where a practised hand is made to turn the harmonies of that difficult versification.

*The Underground Railway from Slavery to Freedom.* By the Rev. W. M. Mitchell. London: Tweedie.

THIS little work will be read with unflagging interest at the present time. It contains a strong appeal on behalf of the freedom of the slave.

*Teetotalism in Harmony with the Bible.* A Lecture by the Rev. William Caine, M.A. Manchester.

THE *argumentum ad Christianum* is here well put. Mr. Caine examines consecutively many passages of the Bible, deduces his arguments with great cogency, and applies them as he advances.

*Alcoholics: a Letter to Practitioners in Medicine.* By H. Mudge.

*Temperance and High Wages.* By W. Tweedie.

*The Moderate Use of Intoxicating Drinks.* By Dr. Carpenter.

*A Tract for every Christian.*

*The Worn Thimble: The Drunkard's Bible.* By Mrs. S. C. Hall.

*The Value of Health.* By Mrs. Ellis.

*Beacon Lights.* London: W. Tweedie.

THESE are very useful tracts, and calculated to carry conviction to the thoughtful reader.

*Alcohol, a Prisoner at the Bar.* Two Lectures by Jabez Inwards. London: Caudwell. 1861.

THIS trial is very cleverly described in the pamphlet before us.

*The Dietetic Reformer and Vegetarian Messenger.* London: Caudwell.

THIS is a small quarterly devoted to the advocacy of vegetarianism. It is ably edited, well written, and full of variety, notwithstanding its single aim.

*Amusements, and the need of Supplying Healthy Recreations for the People.* By the Rev. George Huntington, M.A. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

THIS lecture is the production of a man of learning and accomplishments, who is also possessed of a large-hearted philanthropy. He approves of more physical out-of-door recreations than are generally within the reach of the working classes. This is very important counsel. A free library is not enough without a public park. There is very much in Mr. Huntington's lecture that we highly approve, but we cannot quite agree with his views on certain in-door amusements.

# Meliora.

## Art. I.—OWEN FELLTHAM AND HIS 'RESOLVES.'

THE literature of England is singularly rich in those brief and pointed epitomes of thought named Essays. Between Bacon and Helps how wide a distance of time; how steady a continuance of that form of expressing the ripe results of reflection! The essayists of Britain form quite a library themselves. The wisdom-freighted pages of my Lord Verulam's 'Counsels Civil and Moral,' the apophthegmatic ingenuity of Selden's 'Table-talk,' the simple and perspicuous 'Discourses' of Cowley, the most involved and fantastic of poets, the spirited and graceful Dedications and critical Prefaces of the declamatory Dryden, the minute and graphic miscellaneous pieces of Sir William Temple, the influential and well-remembered essayists, *par excellence*, Steele, Addison, Goldsmith, Johnson, Hawkesworth, &c., the varyingly-excellent writings of Hazlitt, Coleridge, and Lamb, and the many-toned and able abstracts of literary, historic, statistical, commercial, humorous, and discursive subjects which, whether reprinted from reviews and periodicals or issued in a separate form, at once recall to us the names of Jeffrey, Mackintosh, Macaulay, Carlyle, Rogers, Forster, Masson, Helps, Taylor, Croker, and a host of others, who have wrapped up into parcels of delight the essences of volumes and the thoughts of years—form but a small portion of that refined and delicate, suggestive and fancy-tricked series of productions which are ranged, under the heading of Essays, in our library catalogues. It is a form of writing in which no nation has so much excelled as ourselves. Of prose writings *Mémoires* and *Eloges* seem to be the products in which the French outstrip us. The Germans are too voluminous and exhaustive to content themselves with the narrow compass of an essay, and they must attain the dignity of a book. In Italy the lightsome-seriousness of the essay is, as yet, an impossibility. In fact, the essay is an Anglo-Saxon institution, and can as ill bear transplantation into other literatures as the constitution of our insular home is ill fitted to be imitated in other countries.

Besides that class of books specifically designated 'Essays,' there is another kind of writing of greater nerve and fullness of matter even;—works in which imagination and knowledge express

themselves in company, the latter as the suggester or expounder of truths coming home to men's business and bosom and relating to the conduct of life; the former as the provider of an affluent wardrobe for their dress — 'the wardrobe of rich eloquence.' Forceful truth, beautifully expressed, tipped and adorned by fancy, uttered in brief but appropriate and sententious phraseology; and variously denominated Thoughts, Meditations, Emblems, Resolves, &c., constitute this class of literature, and may be exemplified by mentioning 'The Thoughts of Blaise Pascal' (1623-1662), the 'Enchiridion' of Francis Quarles (1592-1644), Bishop Beveridge's 'Thoughts upon Religion' (1638-1708), 'The Daily Thoughts' of the Rev. Joseph Hensbaw, Bishop of Peterborough (about 1651), Arthur Warwick's 'Spare Minutes; or Resolved Meditations and Premeditated Resolutions' (about 1640), and the 'Resolves, Divine, Moral, and Political,' by Owen Felltham. There is in this sort of writing a greater degree of compressed, almost aphorismic, thought, a more familiar and earnest pointedness of personal address, a graver tone of self-application, and a kindlier vein of exposition and expostulation than in 'Essays' properly so called. About the beginning of the seventeenth century, as will be seen from the dates above given, this method of composition was highly popular. Their friendly, advice-giving, interested, and interesting tone made such writings liked; their brevity and pithy polish; their sort of learning-in-undress literateness, their pleasant profitableness made them attractive and influential. Each of their readers, like their authors, could enjoy them lovingly and say, '*Et sic demulceo vitam.*'

These books which might be regarded as censers containing the fine essences of thought, from their variety, harmonious language, purity of sentiment, agreeable tone, and poetical conceptions, are calculated to be highly serviceable in the education of the mind from the readiness with which they may be remembered and the ease with which they may be consulted. If absorbed into the heart's circulation, as it were, of our thoughts, they impart such an exquisite relish to conversation, and enable their readers to acquire such a useful and readily available fund of worthy talk as makes their company a pleasure and a profit.

One of the best of those writers—an author in whose brief remarks and observations or maxims, there are combined a sweet piety, a solid good sense, a moral and religious purity, and a geniality of spirit considerably more intense than is usually current among men—we intend to make the subject of our present consideration. We are induced to do so from the delight, the satisfaction, the benefit we believe we have ourselves received from their study—a study which awakened in us a desire to know somewhat of their author—of whom 'the best authorities' inform us,

us, 'the particulars of his life are entirely unknown.' Such biographical matter as we have been able to collect regarding this man of decided religiousness yet cheerful and lively temper, of unfeigned faith yet clear understanding, of elegant and refined mind yet kindly-affectioned to the rude and poor, of polished humour and delicate fancy yet of unimpeachable piety and morality—though all too little, we propose to lay before our readers, to accompany that with extracts from his writings, and close with a criticism of his life and works.

OWEN FELLTHAM was the second son of Thomas Fellthams, Esq., of Mutford, in Suffolk, and Mary Ufflet, in Somerleytown, in the same county. Their family consisted of three sons and three daughters (*filios tres totidemque natas*). Shortly before Owen's birth his family appear to have removed to Babram, in Cambridgeshire, which makes it probable that in the University of Cambridge Owen received his education. The date of his birth has not been exactly ascertained. His eldest sister was baptized at Mutford in 1590, and it has usually been assumed that Owen was born early in the seventeenth century. Though he does not in his writings profess to be a scholar, they have all that indescribable essence of classical learning which indicates, though it does not pedantically show off scholarship—they are imbued but not suffused with erudition. Before he had attained his eighteenth year he had begun to use the quill in amateur authorship, for the first century of that work by which he is best known was 'written,' he says himself, 'when he was but eighteen.' In one of these 'Resolves,' the following passages occur, viz. :—

'Our years at full are fourscore and ten; much time compared to a day; but not a minute in respect of eternity; yet how few live to tell so large a succession of time! One dies in the bud; another in the bloom; some in the fruit; few like the sheaf that comes to the barn in a full age: and though a man lives to enjoy all, see but how little he may call as his own. He is first *puer*, then *juvenis*, next *vir*, and after *senex* . . . . All man's ages are so full of troubles that they filch away his time of living. The first is full of folly; the second of sin; the third of labour; the last of grief. In all, he is, in the court of this world, as a ball bandied between two rackets—joy and sorrow; if either of them strike him over he may then rest. Otherwise his time is nothing but a motion in calamity. I have only yet lived through my first and passed my *pueritia* . . . . I wish not the full fruition of all, yet do I desire to borrow a letter from each, so instead of *puer, iuuenis, vir, et senex*, give me the first four letters which will make me *pius*.'

Though written thus early they were not published till 1627. This, Hallam says, is the date of the first edition. On attaining his majority he took a tour of three weeks' duration through the Netherlands, and for recreation after his return employed himself in the composition of 'A brief character of the Low Countries under the States,' *i. e.*, the Seven United (Protestant) Provinces—Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland, Groningen, Overyssel, and Guelderland, under the government of Prince Maurice of Orange. The work was not primarily intended for publication, but it got

into print in a surreptitious manner and in an imperfect form. In justice to himself he issued an authorized edition; and latterly he appended it to his 'Resolves.' This 'brief character'—which bears on its title page the appropriate motto, '*Non seria semper*'—is full of quaint humour, lively remark, acute observation, and grave-toned reprehension of vice. We quote the following passage referring to the drinking customs of England and the Netherlands about 1623:—

'The truth is, the completest drinker in Europe is your English gallant. There is not such a consumption of liquor as in the quaffing off of his healths. Time was, the Dutch had the better of it; but of late hath lost it, by prating too long over his pot. He sips and laughs, and tells his tale; and in a tavern is more prodigal of his time than of his wine. He drinks as if he were short-winded; and as it were, cuts his drink by morsels, rather besieging his brains than assaulting them. But the Englishman charges home on the sudden, swallows it whole, and like a hasty tide fills and flows himself, till the moist brain swims and tosses in the hasty fumes, as if his liver were burning out his stomach, and he striving to quench it, drowns it. So the one is drunk sooner and the other longer; as if striving to recover the wager the Dutchman would still be the perfectest soaker.'

Felltham's first venture in publication was made, as Hallam thinks, in 1627. It is a small *dateless* duodecimo, bearing the title, 'Resolves, Divine, Moral, and Political, of Owen Feltham.' It is handsomely printed, like the pet work of a well-to-do person, is adorned with a finely-engraved allegorical frontispiece, and bears this motto from Horace—the initial word being altered into *his* instead of *hoc*—

'His commodius quam tu præclare senator,
Millibus atque aliis vivo.'
'By these with greater comfort can I live,
Than state to thee, O senator, can give.'
Hor. *Sat.* i. 6. 110.

The book is dedicated 'To the most virtuous, discreet, and noble, the Lady Dorothy Crane, daughter to the Right Honourable and religious Lord Hobart.' This lady was the daughter of the Right Hon. Sir Henry Hobart, Knt. and Bart., Lord Chief Justice of his Majesty's Court of Common Pleas, and it is probable that at this period Felltham acted as his lordship's secretary. The volume contained a hundred, or 'century,' as it was then called, short papers or essays on various topics, on morals, politics, and theology, each of which, for the most part, closing with an application calculated to carry the thought expressed home to the bosom, the business, and the life of the reader, either as inducement or warning. At the end of the work there is a list of *errata*, and the following *smart* lines form the heading to it, viz.:—

'When thou view'st this mend faults,
That here are shown;
And when thou view'st thyself,
Then mend, thine own.'

The preface contains the following sentences in explanation of the purpose of the book:—

'That

'That I might curb my own wild passions I have writ these; and if thou findest a line to mend thee I shall think I have divulged it to purpose. Read all and use thy mind's liberty—how thy suffrage falls, I weigh not; for it was not so much made to please others as to profit myself . . . . That I might out of my own school take a lesson which should serve me for my whole pilgrimage; and, if I should wander, my own items might set me in heaven's direct way again. We do not so readily run into crimes, that from our own mouth have had sentence of condemnation . . . . And that by passing the *press* (they becoming in a manner ubiquitaries), they might everywhere be as boundaries to hold him within the limits of prudence, honour, and virtue.'

The book hit the fancy of the times and became a great success, established the author's reputation as a young writer, and began to win him praise and friendship among his copesmates in literature. One of the most notable of these friendships was that formed between him and Thomas Randolph [1605-1634], author of 'The Muse's Looking-glass,' and several other plays, a man of wit, an ingenious poet, a grave moralist in writing; but latterly, alas! a grave immoralist in action. He was one of Ben Jonson's adopted children of the muses, and altogether a man of much mark and likelihood, had it not been for his proneness to free living and such company as may be got round the tavern table. This able poet, who could so sadly, like Ariosto's Orlando, say—

'Il meglio veggio, ed al peggior m'appiglio,'*

though unacquainted with Felltham except from his book, composed a poetic address 'To Mr. Owen Felltham on his booke of Resolves,' which brought the two authors into intimate companionship. The poem is too lengthy for extract in our pages; but the gist of it may be gathered from the following passages:—

'Thy book I read, I read it with delight,
Resolving so to live as thou dost write,
And yet *I guess* thy life thy book produces,
And but expresses thy peculiar uses.
Thy manners dictate whence thy writings came.
. . . . . Thy life had been
Pattern enough, had it of all been seen,
Without a book; books make the difference here,
In them thou liv'st the same but everywhere,
And this I guesse, *though thou'rt unknown to me*,
By thy chaste writing . . . . . .
These lines' rich sap the fruit to heaven doth raise,
Nor doth the cinnamon bark deserve lesse praise,
I mean thy style—being pure and strong and round,
Not long but pithy, being short-breathed but sound.
Such as the grave, acute, wise Seneca sings,
The best of tutors to the worst of kings:
Not long and empty; lofty but not proud;
Subtle but sweet, high but without a cloud;
Well settled, full of nerve, in brief—'tis such
That in a little hath comprized much
Like the Iliads in a nut-shell,' &c.

On August 24, 1628, the Duke of Buckingham was assassinated at Portsmouth by John Felton. On this subject Felltham composed

* 'I see the better way and take the worse.'

an

an ode, which, however, is of no great worth. In the same year (1628) two editions of the 'Resolves' were called for by the public: the former of these contains a second century of essays, which have for their motto, *Ne te quaesiveris extra*, and are dedicated to the 'Right Hon. Thomas [Coventry], Lord Keeper of the Great Seal,' who, on the 10th of April, 1628, was elevated to the peerage by the title of Baron Coventry, of Aylesborough, Worcester. On his death in 1640, Felltham expressed his regrets in an elegy more remarkable for warmth of feeling than poetic taste. It appears in his 'Lusoria' that Felltham was no unobservant spectator of literary matters; and, that he felt himself justified in taking up a position as a literary man upon subjects coming legitimately within that sphere – without fear or favour—may be seen in what Langbain characterizes as 'that sharp reply made by the ingenious Mr. Felltham' . . . . 'which could not chuse but vex a person of the author's haughty temper,' to the ode of Ben Jonson, expressive of his disgust at the unfavourable reception of his play, entitled, 'The New Inn,'—which was brought out, unsuccessfully, 19th Jan., 1629-30—beginning

'Come leave the loathed stage,
And the more loathsome age:
Where pride and impudence, in faction knit,
Usurp the chair of wit!
Indicting and arraigning every day
Something they call a play,' &c.

Felltham's answer takes the form of a parody of the rhythm of the original, and is famously reprobatory of the egotistic disappointment of the rare and burly Ben. It deserves quotation more for its hardihood than its intrinsic merit. It is, in part, as follows:—

'Come leave this saucy way
Of baiting those that pay
Dear for the sight of your declining wit:
'Tis known it is not fit,
That a sale poet, just contempt once thrown,
Should cry up thus his own.
I wonder by what dower,
Or patent, you had power
From all to rape a judgement. Let 't suffice,
Had you been modest, you'd been granted wise.

'Tis known you can do well;
And that *you do excell,*
*As a Translator.* But when things require
*A genius, and a fire,*
*Not kindled heretofore by others' pains;*
As oft you've wanted brains
And art *to strike the white,*
As you have levell'd right:
Yet if men vouch not things apocryphal,
You bellow, rave, and spatter round your gall.
. . . . . .
Leave then this humour vain,
And this more humourous strain,

Where

Where self-conceit, and choler of the blood
Eclipse what else is good:
Then if you please those raptures high to touch,
Whereof you boast so much;
And but forbear your crown,
Till the world puts it on;
No doubt from all you may amazement draw,
Since braver theme no Phœbus ever saw.'

Thomas Carew, Sir John Suckling, and other wits of the day took occasion also to chastise the haughty insolence, as they called it, of the Court poet, and had their fling at this play. Felltham's, however, is most to the point, and was at the time the most effective. His poem was printed in Abraham Wright's 'Parnassus Biceps,' in Langbain's 'Dramatic Poets:' it was copied by Oldys into his notes, and made rather a sensation at the time. Jonson, who had really by this time become 'sick and sad,' was defended by Randolph in a strong and caustic style, of which this specimen will show the animus:—

'Ben, do not leave the stage,
'Cause 'tis a loathsome age.
For pride and impudence will grow too bold
When they shall hear it told
They frighted thee.'

These passages of the quill, however, as will be seen hereafter, did not discompose the friendliness of Randolph and Felltham, nor does it appear that the severity of his strictures caused any alienation between the author of the 'Resolves' and the writer of 'Every Man in his Humour,' who seem to have been friends.

It was probably about this time that Felltham married. At least in published letters of his to Clarissa we find some hints of courtship, and in his 'Lusoria,' we read several affectionate little pieces addressed to her, of which the following appears to us a delicate epigrammatic compliment:—

A FAREWELL.

'When by sad fate, from hence I summoned am,
Call it not "*Absence*,"—that's too mild a name.
Believe it, dearest soul! I cannot part;—
For who can live two regions from his heart?—
Unless as stars direct our human sense,
I live by your more powerful influence.
No! say I am dissolved; for as a cloud
By the sun's vigour melted is and strew'd
On the earth's face, to be exhaled again
To the same beams that turned it into rain,
So, absent, think me but as scattered dew,
Till re-exhaled again to Virtue—You!'

In one of his Clarissa-letters, he speaks of having 'passed the heat and dust of the way to my own habitation; where without your presence (which, to me, only can make a cottage beautiful), I find every room a cell and myself turning melancholy;' and concludes by saying, 'Dear, fail not to present my humble duty to my honoured father and best mother.'

That

That he was happy in his matrimonial relations we know from a letter to his mother-in-law, Oliva. 'I am confidently of opinion,' he says, 'if all men that have married had been as happy as I believe myself, even in the Romish church there never had been the erection of monastery or nunnery.' . . . . 'If there be any infelicity offends us, 'tis that we are deprived of the honour of your company, which wheresoever it bestows itself can both civilize and sanctify; to whom I had sooner presented my ever-thankful duty, had there not been a supply from that hand which was content to give a heart to your ever most obedient son.'

In 1631 a fourth edition of the 'Resolves' was published, and on the 11th of March in that same year Felltham's father died at Babram, in Cambridgeshire, at the age of 62. He was buried in the church there, on the wall of which there is still extant a monument to his memory, on which there is inscribed an elegant Latin epitaph from the pen of his son.

In 1634 a fifth edition of the 'Resolves' was printed, and in the preface to it we have the following pleasing autobiographic communication:—

'I live in a rank though not of the highest, yet affording more freedom, as being exempt from those suspicious cares that prick the bosom of the wealthy man. It is such as might content my betters, and such as heaven smiles on with a gracious promise of blessing, if my carriage be fair and honest; and without these, who is well? I have necessaries and what is decent; and when I desire it, something for pleasure. Who hath more that is needful? If I be not so rich as to sow alms by sackfuls, even my mite is beyond the superfluity of wealth; and my pen, my tongue, and my life shall, I hope, help some to better treasure than the earth affords them. I have food convenient for me; and I sometimes find exercise to keep my body healthful; when I do I make it my recreation not my toil. My raiment is not of the worst; but good, and than that, let me never have better. I can be as warm, in a good kersey, as a prince in a scarlet robe. I live where there is means of true salutation;—my liberty is mine own; I can both frequent them and desire to profit by them.'

That this enviable state of calm enjoyability did not always continue to bless Owen Felltham might be conjectured from his withdrawal of the passage from subsequent issues, even had we no other ground; but from the following letter, of which, however, we do not know the date—but assign it to the years 1634-5—we would infer that his elder brother had died before this time, that he had served himself heir, but had suffered ejection on some ground or other, and that he was inclined to hold his own against his adversaries:—

To the Lord C. J. R.
(Sir Thomas Richardson, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench?)

'My Lord,—Being put upon a trial for vindicating the right of the ancient inheritance of my family gained from me by a verdict last assizes, by what means I shall forbear to speak, I cannot but think myself very happy to have it heard before your lordship, whose knowledge in the laws and unalterable integrity are so conspicuously eminent, that as the unjust cannot hope, so the just can never fear a partiality. God knows, I am so far from taking away another's right, as I would not do revenge to preserve my own. I shall therefore say nothing at all of the

the cause, but submit it wholly and freely to your lordship's upright judgment, as upon a full hearing it shall appear before you. Only I thought it might very well become me (for the just fame of your merit in this Commonwealth) to manifest not only this, but the desire I have to be esteemed

'Your lordship's affectionate servant.'

We have not been able to ascertain the issue of the suit alluded to in this letter; but we rather presume that he was not successful, as we find him thereafter speaking as if he occupied a servile position, *e. g.*: 'I am,' he informs Sir C. T., 'now *getting a while* to London, which appears to this region, as the heart to the body, through which its business as the stirring blood, hath all its circulation. If you have not in the country you may have something to do there.' Yet we have no reason to believe that he was unhappy in his servitude, for in another and later letter he says: 'I have lived in such a course, as my books have been my delight and recreation; but not my trade, though perhaps I could wish they had.'

The 'Resolves' reached a sixth edition in 1636. On May-day, 1637, a friend of his, Mr. Charles Leigh, died of the plague. Felltham honoured his memory by an elegy. That same year brought a sore trial to the literary world. On the 6th August, 1637, Ben Jonson was stricken down by a second blow of paralysis, and was interred in Westminster Abbey. Half in jest and half in earnest, 'Jack Young' got the mason to cut those rude letters which form the brief though most appropriate epitaph of the man, 'O rare Ben Jonson.' All the poets felt sad at his withdrawal from the world of letters, and elegies were poured out in profusion over his remains by all the chief poets of the day. These were collected by Dr. Bryan Duppa, Bishop of Winchester, and published in 1638 with the title—suggested by Lord Falkland, 'the generous and the just'—'Jonsonus Virbius; or, the Memory of Ben Jonson revived by the friends of the Muses.' To this volume, Felltham, notwithstanding his former sarcastic lines, contributed an offering 'To the Memory of immortal Ben.' We have space only to quote the opening and closing lines, though all are good:—

'To write is easy; but to write of thee
Truth will be thought to forfeit modesty,
So far beyond conceit, thy strengths appear.
* * * * *
This I'll presume to say, when time has made
Slaughter of kings that in the world have swayed:
Then greener bays shall crown Ben Jonson's name,
Than shall be wreathed about their regal fame;
For numbers read to infinite; but he,
Of whom I write this, has prevented me,
And boldly said so much in his own praise,
No other pen need any trophy raise.'

Four years before this, Felltham had lost his beloved friend, Thomas Randolph, who had predeceased his father in the Muses, in March 1634 at Blatherwick, in Northampton. When Randolph's works were collected and printed by his brother in 1638, Felltham contributed

contributed lines 'On his beloved friend the author and his ingenious poems,' which were prefixed, along with other laudatory verses by the leading poets of the day, to that edition.

The death of Thomas, Lord Coventry, in 1640, again excited Felltham's muse, as did also the decapitation of Archbishop Laud, 1643, and the act for 'The Abolition of the Feast of the Nativity' in the same year. A seventh edition of the 'Resolves' was issued in 1647, and in 1648 what Felltham regarded as 'the sin of sins' was committed, as may easily be imagined from the fact, that he wrote an 'Epitaph to the eternal memory of Charles I., &c., inhumanly murdered by a perfidious party of his prevalent subjects, January 30th, 1648.' Of this work in the present day it will be sufficient to say that it rises to the very extravagance of blasphemy in its devotion to the royal cause. Charles I. is represented as surpassing Job in patience, Solomon in wisdom; the 'Eikon Basiliké,' as a 'peerless book,' he compares to the Psalms and Proverbs of Scripture. Despite the misfortunes, trials, virtues, calamities, character, &c. of Charles I., and with a full knowledge of the doings 'of the usurper, Cromwell,' and his 'iron rule,' we scarcely think that the sober judgment of mankind will justify the extraordinary hyperbole with which these lines conclude, and of which it will perfectly suffice to quote the last, viz.:—

'Here Charles the First, and Christ the Second, lies.'

During the period of the Civil Wars, 1642-1651, and during the time of the Commonwealth, 1649-1660, Felltham appears to have applied his mind to politics and morals. He was of course a stanch churchman and Royalist, and his views on these subjects are strong and strongly expressed. It is probable that during these unsettled times he held office in the household of the Right Hon. the Countess Dowager of Thomond, who was the daughter of Sir George Fermor, Knight, and had married first Robert Creighton Lord Sanquhar, a Scottish nobleman (who was executed in London, June 29th, 1612, for killing a fencing-master); and second, the Earl of Thomond, a nobleman of notable loyalty, religiousness, and integrity, Lodge says, who attended the king during his troubles with fidelity and affection, and underwent exile during the Commonwealth. On this lady's mother—Lady Mary Fermor, daughter of Thomas Curzon, of Waterperry, Oxford, an ancestor of the earls of Pomfret—Felltham wrote an epitaph, in which he declares 'she was the best example of her sex;' and on the beauty of her daughter Penelope, Countess of Peterborough, he composed some fair lines addressed to the painter to whom she sat for her picture. Among his 'Remains,' too, there was found 'A form of Prayer (for morning and evening), composed for the family of the Right Hon. the Countess of Thomond'—such as 'was made use

use of when the liturgy of the church was as the Church itself, in the Revelation, forced to flee into the wilderness.' The eighth edition of his 'Resolves,' published in the year of the coronation of Charles II., 1661, was dedicated 'To the Right Honourable my most honoured Lady Mary, Countess Dowager of Thomond.' In this dedication he declares regarding the contents of the volume, 'that most of them were composed under the coverture of her roof,' and acknowledges 'many other obligations which emboldened him to this dedication.'

The opinions of Fellthem upon the religious, moral, and political state of the country during the Commonwealth time are now highly curious, though doubtless they were honestly held; and, as contemporary statements, are of some value in forming an estimate of that epoch, on the elucidation of which so much has been written. A few examples are under noted:—

'Of Puritans,' he says, 'I find many who are called Puritans; yet few or none who will own the name. The reason of which is surely this, that it is a name of opprobrium; and is so new, that it hath scarcely yet obtained a definition. . . One will have him to be a man who lives religiously, and will not revel in an unbounded excess; another, him who in some tenets only is peculiar; another, him who will not swear. Absolutely to define him is, I think, a work of difficulty. . . . A Puritan, as he is more generally, in these times, taken to be, is a church rebel, or one who would exclude order that his brain may rule. . . . A man who submits to reverend order, who sometimes unbends himself in a moderate relaxation, and in all things labours to approve himself in the sereneness of a healthful conscience, such a Puritan I will love immutably; but when a man in things but ceremonial shall spurn at the grave authority of the church, and out of a needless nicety, be a thief to himself, of those benefits which God allowed him; or out of a blind, uncharitable pride, censure and scorn others as reprobates, or out of obstinacy, fill the world with brawls about indeterminable tenets, I shall think him one of those whose opinions hath fevered his zeal to madness and distraction. . . . Methinks the reading of "Ecclesiastes" should make a Puritan undress his brain, and lay off all those fantastic toys that jingle about his understanding.'

In an essay 'Of the danger of Liberty,' he says,

'That liberty breeds licentiousness is proved by daily experience:—

'In pejora datur suadetque licentia luxum.'

'To worsenment and riot licence always leads.'

'Liberty, which seems to be so highly prized, and is the only cried-up thing in the world, when once enjoyed, is, of all the seeming goods of man, the most dangerous and seducing. Not being able to guide our own mad appetites, we quickly betray ourselves into the same sad slavery, which but a little before, we opposed and resisted. . . . . Hath not assumed liberty thrown those grand assemblies into hate and abhorrence, which in their due limits were the gaze and envy of the Christian world? What hath so wounded the honour of some of our gentry and nobility as this; that by being permitted to do what they would, they have left doing what they ought, and had done what they ought not even to have thought of? . . . He who would be preserved in safety, had need keep sentinel upon his liberty. She is a wanton child, that will be apt to run upon dangers, if there be not a keeper to lead and look to her. Upon a serious examination, I cannot find why men should bawl so loud for liberty. A wise and good man is always free; he wills nothing but what is just and right, and against his will he acts not. . . . It shall never offend me to live under any government that may make me better, and restrain me from wandering. . . . He that may do more than is fit, is on the way to do more than is lawful.'

Of

Of the decapitation of Charles I. his reprobation is expressively strong, and his enthusiasm at the Restoration (1660) was as extraordinary as his grief for the decollation of Charles was extravagant, and his view of the state of England under the Commonwealth desponding. In his 'Resolve' 'Of Peace,' he says:—

'Consider the havock a few years made among us. The waste of wealth, the wreck of worth; the sad fate lighting on the great and good; the virtuous left to scorn: the loyal used, as once the Roman parricides, with desperate and malicious persons left to rule and vex them; wealth prostituted to the beggarly and the base; palaces plundered and pulled down; temples profaned; antiquities razed; religion rivuled into petty issues running thick corruption. Then let men consider, after a little revolution, how little have the authors gained. Those who would take peace from others themselves have missed it, in their hollow graves; the earth they tore, hath fled them from her bosom and her bowels, with nought in the least considerable to the expense of blood and treasure. Then also, let men see, how the sacred wheel of Providence hath resurrectioned all our joys. How the Church recovers her late besmeared beauties; how the tide of trade returns; how brightened swords have now a peaceful glitter; how glory, wealth, and honour with loyalty, is returned; how shouts of joy have drowned the cannon's roar; that till men come to heaven such joy can never again be expected to be seen.'

The foregoing extracts will have suggested the reason why, though during the twenty years after their first publication, the 'Resolves' passed through seven editions, the succeeding sixteen years elapsed without a call for another. He was in the opposite party. The edition of 1661 was followed by one in 1670, and another in 1677; and it is generally supposed that he died in the following year, 1678. Neither the time, place, nor manner of his death are, however, accurately known. We cannot point to his grave and say—in the words of the last line of his self-written epitaph—

'Exuvias hic reliquit Felltham."

Did he die calmly, 'without fear or grudging?' Did he feel that 'nihil est in morte quod metuamus, si nihil timendum vita commisit?' Did he realize his early thought, 'The good man I must reckon with the wise; as one that equally can die or live?' Let us hope so, and shed the fond regrets of friendship on his unknown grave.

Two editions of his works were published after his death, viz., in 1696 and 1709. Thereafter nearly a century elapsed before any new edition was given to the press. During the interval, he almost ceased from the remembrance of living men. William Oldys, 1687-1761, the Norroy King-at-arms, an indefatigable and accurate bibliographer, and an industrious recorder of the gossip of his day, made some inquiries about him at a relative of Felltham's—one William Loughton, the schoolmaster in Kensington—but could get no information about him. There is a notice of his works in Sir Egerton Brydges' 'Censura Literaria' (1808), in the first number of which Oldys' notes about him are quoted. There is also a paper upon the 'Resolves' in 'The Retrospective Review,' vol. x. It is, however, still true, as Oldys said a century and a half ago, that 'Of this Felltham there has been little written.' We have

have endeavoured by sedulous search into every (to us) available source where information was likely to be found to recover or discover any memorials of him. Our cyclopædias and biographical works are almost if not always silent regarding him. We hope that the foregoing attempt to lighten up this hitherto obscure biography may interest and gratify the reader, and lead him to admire the judicious thinker and the pious writer—as an honest, conscientious man, who, though suffering, endured in silence and without unkindly feeling in return the evils of his age and time—and to relish the following illustrations of his reflective, ingenious, sprightly, and perspicuous style of thought, which combines in a great degree the point and polish of modern composition with the warmth and geniality of the olden time; and includes touches of eloquence and refinement of expression and character which it would do us all good to imitate:—

'CHARITY.—The world which is chained together by intermingled love, would shatter and fall to pieces if charity should chance to die. . . . God may respect the mind and will, but man is nothing better for my meaning. Let my mind be charitable that God may accept me. Let my actions express it that man may be benefited.

'LEARNING AND WISDOM.—The practique part of wisdom is the best. Wisdom is no inheritance; no, not to the greatest clerks. He that is built up of the press and pen shall be sure to make himself ridiculous. Company and conversation are the best instructors for a noble behaviour, and this is not found in a melancholic study alone.

'PRAYER.—There is no doubt that prayer is needful daily, ever profitable, and at all times commendable. If it be for ourselves alone, it is necessary; and when it is for others, it is charitable. At night it is our covering, in the morning it is our armour. . . . Though prayer should be the key of the day, and the lock of the night, yet I hold it of the two, more needful in the morning than when in the evening we commit ourselves to repose. . . . The ship is safer in the bay or harbour, than when tossed and beaten in the boiling ocean. Retiredness is more safe than business. We are withdrawn, when the veil of night and rest enwraps us in their dark and silent cabinet. But with the sun we disclose ourselves and are discovered to our prying enemies; we go abroad to meet what at home does not look after us. . . . When the mind in the morning opens to God, as the eye to the sun's clear light, by the radiance of the divine beams we become enlightened inwardly all the day. . . . The breathing and effusions of a devout soul turn prayer into a chain, which links us fast to God, but intermission breaks it, and when we are so loose we are easily overthrown; and doubtless it is far less difficult to preserve a friend, once made, than to recover one that is lost. . . . Why should God take thy dry bones when the devil hath sucked the marrow out?

'THE DRUNKARD.—As to the drunkard, he hath *laesa memoria* while he is in his cups, and if he drinks on he hath none. While Bacchus is his chief god, Apollo never keeps him company. Friends and foes, familiars and strangers, are then alike to him; and he forgetfully speaks of that, in his cups, which, if he were sober, the rack could not wrest from him. First, he speaks he knows not what; nor can he after remember what it was he spoke. He speaks that which he should forget: and forgets that which he did speak. Drunkenness is the death of rational man, which only time and abstinence can resuscitate. *Absentem laedit, qui cum ebrio litigat.* He who quarrels with one that is drunk is like the fool who fights with him who is absent. He is not fit to keep another's secrets who knows not how to closet up his own thoughts.

'DRUNKENNESS.—There is but one thing which distinguishes beast from man, reason; and this drunkenness robs him of. The cup is the betrayer of the mind. . . . Drunkenness besots a nation and brutifies even the bravest spirits. . .

The

The Macedonian Philip would not make war against the Persians when he heard they were such drinkers: for, he said, they would ruin themselves. . . . What a monster man is in his inebriations! A swimming eye, a face both roast and sod, a rambling tongue, clammed to the roof and gums; a drumming ear; a fevered body; a boiling stomach; a mouth rendered nauseous with offensive fumes, till it sickens the brain with giddiness; a palsied hand, and legs tottering and reeling under their moistened burthen. . . . Let me rather be disliked for not being a beast, than be good-fellowed with a sot for being one. Some laugh at me for being sober; and I laugh at them for being drunk. Let their pleasures crown them, and their mirth abound: the next day they will feel the inconvenience of it. "Bibite et pergraecamini, O Cimmerii! Ebrietatem stupor, dolor, imbecillitas, morbus, et mors ipsa comitantur." Drink on and revel, O Cimmerians! your drunkenness is accompanied by stupefaction of the mind, lowness of spirits, by weakness, by disease, and even by death itself.'

Extracts might be indefinitely multiplied, each surpassing the other in some quality, in acute insight into the heart, in faithful expostulation, in richness, depth, and pregnancy of meaning; in force and pathos; in power of thought and elegance of expression: but let these suffice to show that in Owen Felltham's 'Resolves' there are unfolded to the reader the pages of a clear, methodical, expansive, many-thoughted, acute, and faithful Christian man's soul, and therefore that it interests us much to know and read and feel the truths which he enunciates. An honest man's voice can seldom be too often heard.

Felltham's 'Resolves' abound in just and judicious thoughts; they are the reflections of a serious and intelligent, widely observant man; they are suffused with a sort of contemplative melancholy that looks upon the causes of the multiplied miseries of human life with a saddened rather than a censorious eye. They are full of a kindly charity, which endeavours to calm and soothe, to console and encordial man's estate; and they are imbued with a Christian earnestness which anxiously exerts itself to dissolve and dispel the perplexities and uncertainties of man regarding his origin, condition, duty, sufferings, and destiny. Devout aspirations, penitential and grateful reflections, sincere confessions, variety of sentiment, a learned yet unpedantic scholarship, a style always perspicuous, often striking, not unfrequently quaint, give this book a charm and worth which recommend it to the notice of those who like to possess themselves of ingenious, sagacious, manly, and felicitously-expressed thought. Aiming not at the discussion of large and vast speculations, or deep and unplummeted inquisitions into morals and religion, but intending to be a wise companion, a Christian adviser, a judicious prompter, a conscientious friend, an engaging inspirer of moral life and feeling, Felltham has eminently succeeded. Among the thinkers of his time, he almost alone has held the field against the oblivion in which the gliding years enwrap the labours of men. He has not, indeed, sought to 'reason high' upon the 'mysterious mysteries' of life, providence, fate, &c., but he has been contented to think about and advise regarding the attainment

attainment of the highest happiness and the holiest pleasure, and has endeavoured to lighten up life by glimpses of the radiance of eternity. May we with Thomas Randolph say, but also, unlike him, do what we say—

> 'Mongst thy Resolves put my resolves in too,
> Resolve who will, this I resolve to do,
> That should my efforts choose another's line,
> Whereby to *write*, I mean to *live* by thine.'

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ART. II.—*Ebrietatis Encomium; or, the Praise of Drunkenness; wherein is authentically and most evidently proved the necessity of frequently getting Drunk; and that the practice is most Ancient, Primitive, and Catholic.* By Boniface Oinophilus, De Monte Fiascone, A. B. C. London: Printed for C. Chapple. 1812.

TEMPERANCE readers will be ready to start when their eyes behold the title of the work before them. They often wish, with the patriarch Job in the land of Uz, that their 'adversary had written a book.' There is certainly a full supply of teetotal literature, but very little has been published on the other side. On the present occasion we are able to fulfil the desire of the cold-water army, and to afford them a specimen of a treatise in the praise of drunkenness, which we lately disentombed from the library of a learned and able LL.D., M.D., and fellow of many scientific societies. We thought it a pity that so formidable a treatise should be hidden. We trust there was no violence done to the literary reputation of the library where we excavated this celebrated masterpiece of anti-teetotal art. We pledged our word that the niche would be filled again by the slab when once we had made an examination of its formation, and had prepared a suitable memoir of the wonderful composition for the enlightenment of the temperance world.

In the year 1812, a literary phenomenon appeared in the form of a treatise with the above very euphonious title. It was an era in modern prose. In ancient times grave and learned writers had expressed in imperishable books their opinions of the usefulness of getting drunk occasionally. Poets in all ages have consecrated to wine and other drinks many of their famous verses. But it was reserved for the author of this work to produce a treatise in prose in praise of drunkenness. He was well aware of the perilous attempt he made in authorship.

'The bare title of the book,' said he in his preface, 'is enough to have it universally cried down, and to give the world an ill opinion of its author; for people will not be backward to say, that he who writes the Praise of Drunkenness must be

be a drunkard by profession: and who, by discoursing on such a subject, did nothing but what was in his own trade, and resolved not to come out of his own sphere, not unlike Baldwin, a shoemaker's son and a shoemaker), in the days of yore, who published a treatise on the shoes of the ancients, having a firm resolution strictly to observe this precept, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*. To this I answer, I am very well contented that the world should believe me as much a drunkard, as Erasmus, who wrote the Praise of Folly, was a fool, and weigh me in the same balance.'

The work contains thirty-two chapters and a postscript. We cannot, in the limited space assigned to us, enter into and discuss the many topics thus introduced to our notice by the author, who was evidently a man of great learning, extensive acquaintance with classical and ecclesiastical literature both of ancient and modern times, at least up to his own age, and besides, possessed of ready wit and great powers of satire. Few subjects have been treated with greater lore and made so readable withal. The author was capable of making his encyclopædiac knowledge full of interest to the unlearned. He is no Doctor Dryasdust. He is fitted to be good company to any reader who should light upon his singular production. The following are the titles of the chapters:—1. That one must be merry. 2. That wine drives away sorrow, and excites mirth. 3. That it is good for one's health to get drunk sometimes. 4. That old people ought to get drunk sometimes. 5. That wine creates wit. 6. That wine makes one eloquent. 7. That wine acquires friends, and reconciles enemies. 8. That the custom of getting drunk is most ancient. 9. That the primitive Christians got drunk. 10. Of churchmen. 11. Of popes, saints, and bishops, that used to get drunk. 12. A catalogue of some illustrious topers. 13. Of philosophers that used to get drunk. 14. Of poets that used to get drunk. 15. Of freemasons, and other learned men, that used to get drunk. 16. Of nations that used to get drunk. 17. Of the drunkenness of the Germans. 18. Of nations that get drunk with certain liquors. 19. Other considerations in favour of drunkenness. 20. An answer to the objection, That drunkenness causes infinite evils. 21. An answer to the objection, That the mirth which wine inspires is chimerical. 22. An answer to the objection, That one loses one's reason in getting drunk. 23. An answer to the objection, That one cannot trust a man that gets drunk. 24. An answer to the objection, That drunkenness makes one incapable of performing the duties of civil life. 25. Burlesque, ridiculous, and out-of-the-way thoughts against drunkenness. 26. A ridiculous aversion that some have to wine. 27. Rigourous laws against wine and drunkenness. 28. Rules to be observed in getting drunk. (1.) Not too often. (2.) In good company. 29. (3.) With good wine. 30. (4.) At convenient times. 31. (5.) To force no one to drink. 32. (6.) Not to push drunkenness too far. Concluding with a postscript in the shape

shape of a letter from a friend, adding considerably to the learning and humour of the book.

It will be at once apparent that if the author fulfils his purpose sketched in these contents, he will have made out a strong case, which may require all the art and artillery in the temperance ranks to set aside. It is therefore very becoming that we examine some of the most able and learned chapters. It would be very unfair to cut or garble his words, and we shall allow him to speak for himself. The thunders of a thousand temperance platforms will avail to reply, though we discharge no gun at this formidable antagonist.

He enters upon his task with no small courage and boldness.

'Though I should have no readers at all,' says he, 'yet I am resolved to continue my discourse at the hazard, in some manner, of imitating Pyrrho, the philosopher, who one day, as he was haranguing the people, seeing himself abandoned by all his auditors, pursued very magnanimously his declamation to the end. To enter, therefore, upon the present subject, I lay down this as my first position, viz., "That it is lawful to get drunk sometimes." Which I prove thus: Sadness is in the highest degree prejudicial to health, and causes abundance of distempers. There is no one ignorant of this truth. Joy (or mirth), on the contrary, prevents and forces them away. It is, as the Arabians say, the flower and spirit of a brisk and lively health. Let us run over, and examine all the different states of life, and we shall be forced to own that there is not one of them all but what is subject to chagrin and sadness; and, consequently, that joy, or mirth, is most necessary to men, which very probably the philosopher had in his head when he defined man a risible animal. But be that as it will, one must certainly look upon that maxim which recommends mingling of pleasures with the affairs of life as a very wise one—

"Sometimes with mirth and pleasure lard your cares."

'*We shall confirm this precept by a very beautiful passage out of Seneca* (de Tranquillitate), *whose writings most certainly contain no loose morality, and which is as follows:*—

'The soul must not be always bent; one must sometimes allow it a little pleasure. Socrates was not ashamed to pass the time with children. Cato enjoyed himself in drinking plentifully, when his mind had been too much wearied out in public affairs. Scipio knew very well how to move that body, so much inured to wars and triumphs, without breaking it, as some now-a-days do, with more than womanly pleasures; but as people did in past times, who would make themselves merry on their festivals by leading a dance really worthy men of those days, whence could ensue no reproach, when even their very enemies had seen them dance . . . . You must sometimes walk in the open air, that the mind may exalt itself by viewing the heavens, and breathing the air at your ease; sometimes take the air in your chariot, the roads and the change of the country will re-establish you in vigour; or you may eat and drink a little more plentifully than usual. Sometimes one must go even as far as to get drunk; not, indeed, with an intention to drown ourselves in wine, but to drown our cares. For wine drives away sorrow and care, and goes and fetches them up from the bottom of the soul. And as drunkenness cures some distempers, so, in like manner, it is a sovereign remedy for our sorrows.'

The author quotes other passages from classical writers to illustrate his position. Athenæus (lib. 10, cap. 10) reports of an Egyptian called Mycernius, who 'having been told by the oracle that he had but a very short time to live, resolved to make the most of that short space, and to that end did nothing but drink

night and day.' This he affirms to be quite agreeable to the Egyptian practice of showing a skeleton to the guests at their festivals to remind them of their end, and to induce them to employ their time of joy to the best advantage. The Scythians used to drink out of a skull with the same view. The Romans, as Gruter tells us in his 'Inscriptions' (p. 609), used to cry out at their feasts, 'AMICE, DUM VIVIMUS, VIVAMUS,' that is, 'Friends, while we live, let us be merry.' 'For Raderus has evidently made it appear, by several examples out of Catullus, Cecilius, Varro, Anacreon, and other ancient authors, that *vivere*, 'to live,' signifies to make merry, or to give one's-self up to all kinds of pleasure, making good cheer, &c.'

The well-known and justly-admired Roman poets, Martial, Catullus, and Horace, supply him with apt quotation. We can only find room for a translation of one of the odes of the latter, wherein is a comparison of the present with the future—the state of life with the state of death. He says:—

'Nor are there any boon companions *there*,
To laugh, and sing, and make good cheer;
There shall we taste no more that wondrous juice,
That nectar which the blessed vines produce,
The height of all our joy and wishes *here*.
Nor those sweet entertainments gay,
When, by the glass inspired, so many kings,
We tope, and speak, and do heroic things,
And count ourselves more happy far than they.
These days of ours the fatal sisters spin,
To consecrate to love and wine,
Let's now, ere 'tis too late, begin.
Alas! without these powers divine,
What would one do with a vain useless thread?
What does it aught avail to breathe and move?
One had as good be dead,
Much better be no more than not to drink and love.'

Following up this, the facetious author in his second chapter proceeds to show that wine drives away sorrow and excites mirth. Proofs of its power to do this are very abundant. It has 'the same effect as the waters of Lethe on those souls which were destined to enter other bodies.' Anger has often been subdued by it. 'It is an admirable cataplasm for rage.' It is recorded of the Emperor Maximin, that when he was declared an enemy to the people of Rome by the senate, he 'fell into such a rage and fury, that no other way could be thought on to bring him back to his natural temper than by making him drunk.' This office of wine has been loudly praised by poets. Horace, Plancus, Ovid, and Anacreon are quoted. The verses of the Greek are thus rendered:—

'When I hold a full glass in my hand,
I laugh and I merrily sing,
I think I have sovereign command,
And the treasures possess of a king.

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Let who will try their fate in the field,
In war all their days let them pass;
No arms but the bottle I'll wield,
Fill, boy, then, a thundering glass.
If Bacchus the victory gain,
On the ground though I'm motionless laid,
All agree it, *a truth very plain*,
'Tis better be *drunk* than be *dead*.'

The sagacious eulogist of drinking considered that the Greek philosopher had very probably wine in view when he inscribed over his door these words in capitals: 'Here are remedies for all sorts of afflictions; here are cures for all distempers of the soul.' He goes further than even this, and outstrips the philosopher mentioned by Seneca, who 'desired no more than bread and cheese to rival Jupiter in happiness.' 'For my part,' he says, 'though I am no less a philosopher, yet I desire nothing to effect this but good wine. Indeed, it is amongst bottles and glasses that one may truly say—

"Far from the earth removed in realms above,
I seem among the stars to sit with Jove:
Lolling in ease celestial, lie supine,
And taste from Ganymede immortal wine."*

And without doubt Asclepiades had all this in his head when he maintained that the gods produced nothing that equalled wine in goodness.'

Health is a matter of very grave concern to most people. It is a very current opinion that the juice of the grape, in its most intoxicating form particularly, is very beneficial to health. Our author therefore asserts: 'So far is drunkenness from prejudicing our health, that, on the contrary, it highly preserves it. This is the sentiment of the most able physicians. These worthy gentlemen are arbiters of life and death. They have over us, *jus vitæ et necis*. We must therefore believe them. *Ergo*, let us heartily carouse. Every one knows that Hippocrates, the prince of physicians, prescribes getting drunk once a month, as a thing very necessary to the conservation of health.' The celebrated Arabian physician, Avicenna, is said by the learned Hofman,† to approve of 'getting drunk once or twice every month, and alleges it for physical reasons.' Divines even have given their verdict in favour of occasional inebriation. Father Taverne, a Jesuit, used these words:‡ 'Drunkenness is a mortal sin, if one falls into it for pleasure only; but if one gets drunk for any honest end, as, for example, by direction of one's physician in order to recover health, there is no manner of harm in it at all.' It is somewhat remarkable that our learned writer makes the following statement: 'If the number of physicians who used to get drunk proves anything,

* 'Statii Sil.' 2 lib. iv. † T. 11, 9 Dissert. ch. 6.
‡ 'Synopses Theolog. Pract.'

I could insert a good round catalogue, *amongst whom I do not find any English doctors, for they are the most abstemious persons in the world!'*

On the subject of old people, he quotes with much approbation the well-known and ancient proverb, 'Wine is the milk of old men,' and also that saying of Tirellus, 'Wine is the nutriment of natural heat.' Plato comes to his aid when he says: 'Wine is a medicine as well for the body as the mind; the dryness of old people have great occasion for this sort of moistening.'

'Wine kindles wit,' was the motto which Adr. Junius inscribed under his figure of Bacchus. There is also a Latin proverb which may be thus rendered: 'Water-drinkers are not near so knowing as those who drink wine.' Hofman says: 'Experience proves that those climates which produce good wine, produce also people that have infinitely more wit than those of the north, who drink nothing but beer.' Gryllus believes that the Greeks were called fathers of wisdom on account of the excellency of their wine; and that they lost their ancient lustre by reason of the Turks rooting out their vines. It is also further very sagaciously remarked, 'That nobody ever had any good opinion of the productions of a poet that drank water.' Horace knew this by experience, and says:—

> 'Poor water-drinkers sing an irksome tune,
> Short-lived their numbers, and their airs jejune.'

It is to wine we owe the productions of Æschylus and Anacreon, whose muses were very chilly till Bacchus warmed them. Aurelius, the sophist, composed his best declamations in his cups. Herodes, called Saginatus Orator, the fattened orator, never talked better than after drinking plentifully. And according to Horace this was the case with Ennius:—

> 'Ennius himself ne'er sung of arms,
> Martial exploits and war's alarms,
> Till the good father's face did shine,
> Enrich'd with ruby beams of wine.'

Alcæus, the famous poet, never sat down to compose tragedy till he was tipsy. The disciples of the great Paracelsus took the opportunity when he was fuddled to make him dictate. The venerable Messire Francis Rabelais composed over the bottle the acts and jests of Garagantua and his son Pantagruel, a work which gained him such great reputation. 'Pontius de Thiard, Bishop of Chalons-sur-Saone, had greater obligations to Bacchus than Apollo for his good verses; who, not reckoning what wine he drank all day long, never slept without drinking a pretty large bottle.'

Eloquence has owed much to wine. Many a splendid passage of passionate oratory has been the result of the intoxicating draught. The sages of Portugal having undertaken to convert those of Melinda, gained as much upon them by wine as by, reason

reason, which, in the end, facilitated the conquest of the whole country.* British spirits too have prevailed where flattery tried in vain to gain commerce and territory from many aboriginal tribes both in west or east. When the priests of Thibet fast, it is told by travellers, that they drink a good quantity of wine that they may have, to use their own words, 'The tongue prompt and ready to say their orisons.'

Wine has acquired friends, and reconciled enemies. Crassus reconciled himself to Cicero at a feast; Asdrubal and Scipio did the same on the like occasions.

The *antiquity* of drunkenness is easily proved. Most people at once think of Noah when this is mentioned; but our author adduces evidence which goes far to establish the probable practice of drinking wine anterior to the Flood. 'Father Frassen maintains,'* he says, 'that people fed on flesh before the Flood and drank wine. There is no likelihood, according to him, that men contented themselves with drinking water for fifteen or sixteen hundred years together. It is much more credible that they prepared a drink more nourishing and palatable. These first men of the world were endowed with no less share of wit than their posterity, and consequently wanted no industry to invent everything that might contribute to make them pass their lives agreeably.'

But did the Primitive Christians ever get drunk? This, answered affirmatively, will go very far with the admirers of the Church in the early centuries. There is too plain testimony to prevent its being denied by any ascetic. St. Cyprian says: 'Drunkenness is so common with us in Africa, that it scarce passes for a crime. And do we not see Christians forcing one another to get drunk, to celebrate the memory of the martyrs?'† Even churchmen did not live according to their discourses. 'One cannot, therefore, without indignation, hear churchmen declaim against drunkenness, while they themselves are such ruddy examples of it?' Jerome reproves the priests of his day for being given to much wine. 'They have been no changelings since. We read in the adages of Erasmus that it was a proverb among the Germans, that the lives of the monks consisted in nothing, but eating, drinking, and ——. Besides, a vast number of councils, who made most severe canons against priests who should get drunk, evidently show that they used frequently to do so.' There was a wine much beloved by them which was called *vinum theologale*, theological wine. It is believed on this account that so many abbots had their faces illuminated. Several popes have been great drinkers, as Alexander V., Sixtus V., Boniface, and Innocent XII.: the last had three mugs as his arms. Petrarch

* Rem. sur Rabel., t. i. lib. i. cap. 5.

* 'Disq. Biblia. Journ. des Scavans.' † 'Pamel.,' p. 416.

says

says the Roman court sat long at Avignon to taste the good French wines. Some doubts have been raised regarding St. Augustine's sobriety. Our author makes him say: 'Thy servant has been sometimes crop-sick through excess of wine; have mercy on me, that it may be even far from me;' and again: 'My soul certainly being a spirit cannot dwell in a dry place.' Grave objections have been made to the fact of this renowned father's inebriety, but our satirist adds: 'Perhaps this argument from St. Augustine's words, is as just as one of a merry fellow I knew, who would prove, from St. Paul's going to the Three Taverns, that he loved a hearty bottle.' There are not wanting many dignified and celebrated churchmen in all branches of Catholic Christendom who have largely indulged in drunkenness. The recently published autobiography of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Carlyle, of Inveresk, who was one of the leaders of the Church of Scotland in the end of last century, informs us, that the ablest churchmen, while their general assembly sat, were in the habit of spending their evenings in a tavern. A few ordered eighteen dozen of claret to minister to their tippling club during the eleven days of their assembly. Those in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh had a convivial society called 'The Poker Club,' at which they assembled as often as possible, and in the course of literary and ecclesiastical conversation the claret flowed freely. When writing the narrative of these meetings thirty years after their occurrence, Dr. Carlyle had not forgotten the peculiar flavour of the wine. The remembrance of good claret at any feast seemed to refresh his spirit and renew his youth. Nothing in all his ministerial career is recalled with such interest and joy. Stronger liquor than claret had many lovers in the Church of Scotland. The bottle has had eminent patrons among Presbyterians, though, as Lord Melbourne once remarked, 'The Church of Scotland was built upon the rock of poverty.' It is not wonderful, as it is perhaps not unusual, for an Anglican prelate, as the late Archbishop of York, to leave 2,000*l.* worth of wine in his cellar. It is quite accordant with the genius of the sacred order of which Cardinal Wiseman is so eminent a member to possess a stock of wine. Churchmen of all sects have been slowest to join the temperance ranks. 'A teetotal dean,' as has been facetiously remarked by a celebrated living representative, 'may be exhibited all over the country as a kind of show.'

But to return to the work before us. We next find an introduction to some illustrious topers.

'I should never have done,' he says, 'if I endeavoured to give a list of all the kings that got drunk. Alexander the Great first offers himself to my imagination. It will be sufficient to mention his name without saying any more. *Nomen non amplius addam.* Cæsar, to make use of Balzac's words, was not always the sober destroyer of the commonwealth, and he did not at all times hate the pleasure of drinking.

drinking. Cambyses was also very much given to wine, as may be judged by what I am going to say. This prince, having been told by one of his courtiers that the people took notice he got drunk too often, taking some time after his bow and arrow, shot the son of that courtier through the heart, saying no more than this to the father, "Is this the act of a drunkard?" Darius, the first king of Persia, had these words put upon his tomb: "I could drink much wine and bear it well." King Antigonus may come in here. Ælian reports of this prince, that one day when he was much in drink, meeting Zeno, the philosopher, whom he had a great kindness for, he kissed him, and promised to give him whatever he would desire. Zeno only answered very mildly, "Go and ease your stomach by vomiting, that's all I ask of you at present." Philip, King of Macedon, got drunk sometimes; witness what a woman, whom he had not done justice to, said to him, viz., "I appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober." . . . . Tiberius was called Biberius, because of his excessive attachment to drinking; and in derision they changed his surname of Nero into Mero . . . . Maximin, the father, drank very often a pot containing two gallons. One might very well, therefore, have given him this epitaph, "*Hic jacet amphora vini.*"'

Philosophers make the list of drunkards illustrious. The seven sages of Greece 'drank largely in the entertainment Periander the tyrant, or King of Corinth, gave them . . . . Zeno, whose philosophy was so severe, got, notwithstanding, drunk sometimes. Being one day at an entertainment, he was asked how he came to be so joyful. He answered, "That he was like lupins, which were bitter naturally, but grew sweet after they were moistened." Xenocrates, one of the most illustrious philosophers of ancient Greece, and of a virtue very severe, got drunk sometimes. . . . Athenæus gained the crown of gold which the tyrant of Syracuse promised him that should empty a certain measure of wine.' Many more names are added.

We have already referred to poets; but our author devotes a special chapter to them. Anacreon is a great eulogist of Bacchus. 'Pausanius tells us that he saw at Athens the statue of Anacreon which represented him drunk and singing.' We need not quote any more from Horace or Ovid. The following may suffice: 'The poet Philoxenus wished he had a neck as long as a crane, that he might the longer have the pleasure of swallowing wine, and enjoy its delicious taste.' Almost all poets of all ages, he avers, got drunk, which puts them under the protection of Bacchus. Burns and Moore, poets of recent time, evidence this in their bacchanalian verses.

Freemasons are classed with the learned by the author of this famous treatise. He argues that if what is said of them by brother Eugenius Philalethes be true, they 'very well deserve a place among the learned.' He assures his readers that 'they are very great friends to the vintners.' Other learned men have also 'loved to indulge their genius with the delicious juice of the grape.' Their number is great enough to swell a volume. Erasmus himself 'chose rather to continue where the plague was than drink water.' Thus the great scholar, when resident at Cambridge, was addressed by Ammonius, an Italian: 'Immediately

diately after my arrival in England, I endeavoured to inform myself where you were; because in your last you told me the plague had forced you to quit Cambridge. At length, I was told for certain, that you had indeed left the town, but retiring into a place where there was no wine, which to you being worse than the plague, you returned thither where you now are. O intrepid soldier of Bacchus, whom so eminent a danger could not compel to desert his general!'* Nicolas de Bourbon, king's professor, and canon of Langres in the days of Francis I., 'was a prodigious dry soul, and loved good wine, which made him often say, That though he was of the French academy, yet that when he read French verses, he fancied he was drinking water.'

In the learned chapters which treat of nations that used to get drunk, we are informed that this practice was very common among divers people, both in the ancient and modern ages. In proof of his statements he quotes very largely from many authors. Tacitus recorded the drunkenness of the Germans. The Greeks celebrated the feasts of Bacchus with much solemnity. In Rome there were sometimes seditions for the want of wine. Some of the Africans would give all they had in the world for a glass of brandy. 'The Muscovites love wine with a kind of fury, and it has been known, that when a man who has drunk to excess, and can swallow no more, they wash him soundly with it.' Sir John Chardin, in his voyages, says that 'the Georgians are great drunkards, and that the clergy get drunk as well as the laity.' The Flemings were thus sung of by Scaliger when in Holland—

> 'Amidst the waters here we live,
> Yet who can any credit give
> To what I say; for, Douza, here
> No water-drinkers e'er appear.'

This is the remark of the author at the close of the chapter: 'One need not go out of England for examples of hard drinking; our country, God bless it, does not come behind any other in this particular.' Had he lived to our own day, he would have found the illustrations continuing.

Five chapters of the work are devoted to answer objections against drunkenness. These objections are put in the most aggravated form, such as that drunkenness causes infinite evils. But to this it is answered, 'that it has been only the cause of these evils when people have pushed it too far, and not observed the rules they ought to keep in drinking.' In answer to the objection that the joy inspired by wine is but of a very short continuance, he says: 'This may be a kindness to us, since some are so superlatively so, that should they continue a much longer space, mankind could not support themselves under these ecstasies.' It is objected that we

* Bayle, Dict. art. Ammon.

lose

lose our reason in getting drunk, but he observes that almost all mankind act without reason, and follow the instincts of nature rather than the distinct ideas of reason. Reason very often serves for nothing but to make us wretched. 'If there be any happiness,' says Fontenelle, 'that reason produces, it is like that sort of health which is maintained by the force of physic, which is ever most feeble and uncertain.'* Sophocles, too, remarked: 'It is very sweet to live, but none of your wisdom; away with her, she spoils life.' Scaliger says 'that a German has as much reason when he is drunk as when he has drunk nothing.' The Jews have a proverb, 'That as the wine goes in the secret comes out;' and therefore you cannot trust a man that gets drunk. But in reply to this he brings forward the testimony of history that water-drinkers frequently tell their greatest secrets, and wine-drinkers such as freemasons retain theirs.

There have been very rigorous laws against drunkenness in many different countries. It seems to have given legislators their greatest trouble. The English parliament have for eight centuries been enacting measures against it, and have piled statute upon statute, Ossa upon Pelion, to prevent the dissipation of the lieges; but the effect has been hitherto comparatively small. 'The maxim *Nullum violentum durabile* has been verified a great many times upon this subject of drunkenness, for all the laws made against it have not long subsisted. Pentheus, King of Thebes, endeavoured to extirpate entirely the custom of getting drunk, but he did not find his account in it, for he was very ill-treated by his subjects for his pains. Lycurgus, King of Thrace, commanded all the vines of the country to be cut up; for which he was justly punished by Bacchus.' 'Amongst the laws of Solon, there was one which condemned to death the chief magistrate if he got drunk.' The caliphs have strictly prohibited the use of wine. Our author, had he lived to the present day, would have been shocked to hear of Maine liquor laws, which have been enacted in various States of America, yet the changeable fortunes of some of them would almost confirm his opinion formed from the history of the ancients. It is evident that unless there are strict laws, firmly executed, there will be abounding intemperance. If men desire drink, there will be those who will provide them with it, unless the deed be felony in law. When slavery was abolished, law was made to protect the negro, and give him right to prosecute his oppressor. Unless there be similar legislation against the sale of drink, drunkenness will be as extensive as ever.

In the conclusion of his work, the satirist lays down rules for getting drunk. Seneca gives this advice: 'You must not do it often, for fear it grow into a habit; it is but only sometimes you

* Dial. de M. Stuart et P. Riccio.

should

should make your spirits gay in banishing gloomy sobriety.' Good company is the second rule. Good wine is the third. The best known to the learned Oinophilus was 'that of Monte Fiascone, ten days' journey from Rome. Here it was a German abbot killed himself by drinking too much of this delicious creature. . . . Travelling to Rome, (he) ordered his servant to ride before him, and when he found the best wine, to chalk upon the door of the inn (in order to save time) the word EST. Coming to Monte Fiascone, he found it so excellent that he put down EST, EST, EST, which the abbot finding true, drank so plentifully of it, that he went no farther on his journey, but lies buried, they say, in the cathedral church, with this epitaph written by his servant the purveyor:—

"Est, Est, Est,
Et propter nimium est,
Herus meus Dominum Abbas mortuus est."'

The wine called Lachrymæ Christi, or the tears of Christ, is a most delicious wine. At least, a master of arts of the university of Cologne thought so, who going also to Rome, drank at the same place pretty heartily of it, and out of the abundance of his heart cried out:—

'Utinam Christum lachrymatus fuisset in nostra patria.'

'But I shall desire my readers here to observe two things; first, that artificial wines, and many other liquors, containing a great deal of gross viscous matter, excite a drunkenness more long and dangerous than that which is produced by ordinary wines. Another thing is, never to get drunk with brandy, spirits, and strong waters. Patin says very pleasantly, that these are sugared poisons which surely kill; they give life to those who sell them, and death to those who use them.'

This last counsel must have been drawn forth in grave compassion for his fellow-countrymen, whose danger lies in the use of brandied wines, ardent spirits, and strong waters of beer and porter. Sixty thousand deaths every year are caused by drink of these sorts.

The author gives as his fourth rule, to get drunk at convenient times. The custom in Georgia he deems very suitable. There, 'he who did not get quite drunk at their principal holidays, as at Easter and Christmas, was not looked upon to be a Christian, and ought to be excommunicated.' This made orthodoxy and drunkenness synonymous. His fifth rule is to force no one to drink; and his sixth, not to push drunkenness too far; very important considerations doubtless. He finishes his work with an ode to Bacchus.

In a postscript, a learned winebibber supplies him with the song of 'The Tippling Philosophers,' along with a translation, which forms an appropriate conclusion to the work in praise of drunkenness. We give this bacchanalian rhyme:—

'Diogenes,

'Diogenes, surly and proud,
Who snarl'd at the Macedon youth,
Delighted in wine that was good,
Because in good wine there is truth;
But growing as poor as a Job,
Unable to purchase a flask,
He chose for his mansion a tub,
And liv'd by the scent of the cask.

'Heraclitus ne'er would deny
To tipple and cherish his heart,
And when he was maudlin he 'd cry,
Because he had emptied his quart;
Though some are so foolish to think
He wept at men's folly and vice,
'Twas only his fashion to drink
Till the liquor flow'd out of his eyes.

'Democritus always was glad
Of a bumper to cheer up his soul,
And would laugh like a man that was mad
When over a good flowing bowl.
As long as his cellar was stored
The liquor he'd merrily quaff,
And when he was drunk as a lord,
At those that were sober he'd laugh.

'Copernicus, too, like the rest,
Believed there was wisdom in wine,
And thought that a cup of the best
Made reason the better to shine.
With wine he'd replenish his veins,
And make his philosophy reel,
Then fancied the world, like his brain,
Turn'd round like a chariot wheel.

'Aristotle, that master of arts,
Had been but a dunce without wine,
And what we ascribe to his parts,
Is due to the juice of the vine.
His belly, most writers agree,
Was as big as a watering trough;
He therefore leap'd into the sea,
Because he'd have liquor enough.

'Old Plato, that learned divine,
He fondly to wisdom was prone;
But had it not been for good wine,
His merits had never been known.
By wine we are generous made,
It furnishes fancy with wings;
Without it, we ne'er should have had
Philosophers, poets, or kings.'

By this time our readers will have perceived the intention of the satirist, and will learn the excellence of sobriety from the 'Praise of Drunkenness.' There is much need for the lesson. All ranks, all classes, all kinds of genius and virtue, have been debased by drunkenness. Temperance is not enough with most. The ranks of the intemperate are constantly being recruited from the moderate drinkers. Abstinence is the surest means of safety for all. Many are seduced to dissipation by the houses of entertainment licensed by

by the State to supply intoxicating liquors to the lieges, as if drunkenness were all that the satirist insinuates. The only safeguard of states is prohibition of the common sale of alcoholic drinks. For this the people are being prepared. Many towns have testified by a voluntary canvass, undertaken to ascertain public opinion, that they would prefer the shutting-up of public-houses. This is the best guarantee for the maintenance of a law whose influence could scarcely fail to advance morality and religion, health and social prosperity.

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ART. III.—1. *Farm Servants and Agricultural Labourers. Their Moral and Religious Condition.* By the Rev. Egerton D. Hammond. London: Longmans and Co.

2. *Essays by Agricultural Labourers on the Condition and Improvement of their Class.* Aberdeen: Brown and Co. Edinburgh: Blackwood and Co.

3. *Minutes of the Committee of the Council of Education.*

4. *Transactions of the Association for the Promotion of Social Science.* London: J. W. Parker and Co.

NEGLECT is not the only danger which social questions have to encounter. There is another evil almost as perilous. Popularity may hinder improvement as much as obscurity; and the notoriety of a disease is no guarantee for the efficiency of the remedy. It is not always true that in the multitude of counsellors there is wisdom; it is certainly not true when the counsellors are eager to offer, slow to accept advice. When opposing schemes of reform are numerous, it generally happens that improvement is tardy. When there is in these schemes a theological as well as a social element, only the high hand of authority can balance between the contending parties; only a recognized power can carry out any of the theories so zealously advocated. Of all subjects in which the commonwealth is concerned, none has so completely passed from the darkness of oblivion into the broad daylight of universal discussion as education. As if to take revenge for past centuries of neglect, this great question has now made itself so prominent, that schemes of instruction have become as numerous as religious sects. This much, however, seems to have been established without contradiction, that education is the right of every individual; that the education of the individual is a benefit to the whole community. The dangerous classes (except in those rare instances in which men of great intellectual attainments have become the heroes of *causes célèbres,*) are the ignorant classes. The ignorant it was who have at various times, and even within the last few months, destroyed the newly-invented machinery which was

was expected to supersede human labour. The ignorant, too, were those who, fifteen years ago, set wheat-ricks on fire, and burnt the produce of the ground that was already too scantily supplied. The ignorant are those who at this time oppose all social or mechanical improvements. The ignorant have ever been foolishly conservative, and unwisely encroaching; suspicious of reform, eager for revolution, obstinate in preserving abuses, reckless in overturning valuable institutions. Ignorance is too great a social danger for the instructed to suffer its existence. Hence of late years the instinct of self-preservation has urgently suggested means for promoting education. But these means are not due to selfish motives alone. Benevolence has had as much part as prudence in the great reform of the century. The philanthropist is the truly provident man, just as the honest man is the truly politic. In neither case is self-interest the principle of action. In both cases those who act rightly receive as much benefit as those for whom they act. The work of education hitherto has not been carried on without mistakes. The teacher has been too apt to consider that instruction is education; that to fill up a child's mind with useless knowledge, to grind his pupils in the geography of Siberia, the distances of the stars, and the history of the Ptolemies, is education. In reality, education is drawing forth a child's powers, and not cramming his memory. The teacher is the gardener who trains plants, not the potter who makes clay. He has to deal not with mechanical but organic creations. There is also another mistake which he has to avoid. Being *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, the instructor, he is apt to suppose not only that there is but one mode of instruction, but that he is the sole educator. In reality home influence is far more powerful than his own. The influence of the parents' home is too obvious to need illustration; that of the master's home, where the young labourer resides on the farm, requires more consideration.

In many parts of the country, and especially in the northern and eastern counties, the farmer boards and lodges his labourers. But while the board is of the coarsest description, the lodging is altogether unfit for human bodies to rest in.

A very intelligent labourer, the successful competitor for a prize offered to the writer of the best essay on the agricultural labourer, describes the two systems which prevail in Scotland. If the 'Bothy' system is adopted, the labourers are lodged and fed in a building distinct from the farm-house.

'Generally connected with the farm steading, having in most cases but one apartment, not unfrequently what had at one time been, perhaps, a cart-shed or a "byre," or if unconnected with the farm steading, "a forlorn hut," and standing by itself, at all events too often the worst house on the premises. The furniture most often consists chiefly of a long chest, commonly termed a "bunk," divided into several compartments, each man having one to keep his meal in. In some districts,

districts, however, servants have to provide meal-chests for themselves; a few rough forms, and perhaps a broken chair or two, a pot or boiler in which the "brose water" is boiled, a tin pail, a wooden dish, and a spoon for each individual. If none of the servants sleep in the "bothy," this constitutes all the moveables to be found in it. If used as a sleeping apartment, there are a few beds (commonly of the most rustic construction) and bedding, and also the servants' trunks. The ashes may not be removed for weeks, if the fireplace be large enough to contain them, nor the floor be swept for a whole half year, and probably longer, if the task be left to the inmates themselves to perform, nor the cups and spoons washed, perhaps, for the same length of time; and not unfrequently is a portion of the water with which the men have washed themselves thrown on the floor. Thus, although the place at best is but an uncomfortable den, it is made worse by the careless habits of its inmates, if no female hand be allowed to keep the domicile in order. On a first view of such a state of things, one is ready to lay the blame on the servants themselves, nor is it said that they are not in some measure blameworthy. On further consideration, and thinking of them having to toil hard all day in the fields, we need not wonder that domestic housekeeping is neglected. No, it is not natural for them to do up culinary affairs, for who that have got their frames exhausted by hard toil outside, can be expected to do much inside? Reason tells them that it is not their sphere; and when they find themselves thus neglected by their superiors, they are not only ready to believe that they consider them as being a degraded race, altogether unworthy of human notice, but that they themselves are certainly so, in every sense of the word, and many being intellectually ignorant, settle themselves down to indulge in a life of religious, of moral, and of social negligence; so that, after a while, although at first entering such a place, some might naturally guard their conduct. The most profane swearing and immoral habits are practised, and instead of being ashamed of such, many are found to glory in it. The farm kitchen is considered by many to be a far better system than the "bothy," in contributing to the moral and social happiness of the farm labourers. It is true that in it the servants' victuals are better cooked than they are done by themselves in the "bothy," for in it these are commonly bolted in a half raw state. In connection with the kitchen, however, there is the sleeping apartment (commonly called the "cham'er," or the "galie,") generally a miserable, uncomfortable, and unhealthy den, being nothing else than the whole stable-loft. Sometimes the sleeping apartment is on the ground floor of the stable, alongside of the horses; and if not too close to admit a free circulation of air, is more comfortable, and even more healthy than when in the loft. Again, the end of a mere lumber-house has been found to form the sleeping apartment of farm labourers, wherein dressing and undressing were acts of penance in stormy weather; for we have actually ourselves had to sleep in places where in cold, stormy mornings, the snow was lying alongside, and even over the bed-clothes, and our own clothes frozen stiff.'*

We will hope that cases of this sort are rare; but even when the state of the agricultural labourer is not actually so bad, there is much that requires amendment. However well cared for, there is still this objection to the boarding of farm servants by their employers. They are deprived of those two great privileges, the loss of which we should sorely miss, privacy and quiet. This hardship is peculiarly felt by married labourers who are steady, and, as is sometimes the case, really desirous of self-improvement.

It is painful to listen to the complaints of those who, like the author of the essay from which we have just quoted, sadly lament the almost impossibility of acquiring information.

The boarding system is not desirable for married labourers; and

* 'Essay by Agricultural Labourers.' No. 1, by Alexander Fraser. Aberdeen. Brown and Co. 1859.

in

in this we differ from Mr. Marshall of Rischolme, who in his paper read before the London Farmers' Club, advises a return to the old system. The domestic instinct should be the last to be checked. The lower classes are sufficiently dependent, and it would be disastrous for them, and probably injurious to the employers, if the farm servant were to be generally deprived of his home, and the sense of responsibility and dignity which accompanies it. Englishmen are not the sort of persons to whom the *phalanstéres* of Fourier are adapted.

For youths the boarding-house is wholly advantageous; always provided that means for privacy are not omitted. The scheme which Sir Arthur Elton has carried out on his estate at Clevedon seems to be admirable in every way. But here a difficulty arises. If only the unmarried labourers are to be provided for, it is only the owners of large estates who can afford to make the proposed provision. The difficulty would be met by permitting the use of the dwelling to the labourers on other farms or estates. But perhaps the true solution lies elsewhere. Through the introduction of steam and machinery into agriculture, a large number of barns and homesteads must be no longer needed. These might at a small cost be made habitable abodes, and would thus be maintained in good preservation instead of being allowed to fall into decay to the loss of the landowner.

But whatever be the details of management, one important principle should not be overlooked. The employer should himself from time to time personally inspect the dwellings of his labourers. He should aim to be considered by them as the father of the family, the head of the household. He should cultivate the mental tastes of his servants by the loan of books and newspapers. He will also often have it in his power to promote good morals, and finally, to use the words of another labouring man and prize essayist, 'He should act "prophet, priest, and king."'*

It is a startling fact, that at the census of 1851, out of nearly 5,000,000 of children between the ages of three and fifteen, only a few more than 2,000,000 were at school, and under 600,000 were at work; leaving 2,000,000 and a quarter neither at school nor at work. The exact figures were as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Children between the ages of 3 and 15 at work . . | 599,829 |
| " " at school . . | 2,046,848 |
| " " neither at work nor school . . . . . | 2,262,019 |
| Total . . . . | 4,908,696 |

Now the third row of figures reveals a phase in our social life not duly appreciated. We find it commonly taken for granted

* Op. cit. Essay, No. 3, by James Cumming, p. 65.

that

that the cupidity of parents is the main source of the incomplete education of children among the lower classes. But the indifference of parents seems a far more powerful cause. Indeed, this is actually stated to be so by Archdeacon Allen,* formerly Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools, and by several other gentlemen who now hold that office.

Nevertheless we still have to consider the condition of 80,000 boys engaged in out-of-door agricultural operations, and of 30,000 who live in farm-houses. In the case of children who are unemployed and yet do not attend at school, one remedy consists of making the school more attractive.

But where children are employed who have been to school, yet only for a short time, it is necessary that they should be protected by the law, as well as induced by personal motives.

In the former instance industrial teaching is clearly pointed out, in the latter the half-time system, or some modification thereof, is no less plainly a desideratum.

In considering the latter mentioned of these reforms first, we observe that the class for whom it is proposed to legislate is not numerically insignificant. The legislature has already interfered in behalf of the 18,000 children in print-works, and of the 24,000 boys employed in collieries.

Therefore since the state has stepped in between the employer and employed, and where only comparatively a few persons were concerned, there is no reason why it should not further interpose, especially when the class for whom legislative aid is sought contains a greater number of individuals who would be benefited thereby.

In Germanic kingdoms it is the manufacturers who are favoured by the non-interference of the Government, if favour it can be called. On the other hand, the agriculturist of Germany is restricted in this respect as much as the manufacturer of England: he is limited as to the number of hours each day during which he may employ his young labourers, and the age at which he may first engage them.

There is then no reason, *primâ facie*, why agriculture should not come under the cognizance of the law as much as factories, print-works, or collieries.

On inquiring further, we shall find that whatever difficulty does exist in the adoption of such an expedient, is one of detail only, and is a fair matter for discussion.

Yet although there is no logical hindrance in the general promotion of the half-time scheme, we imagine that any attempt to

* 'The great hindrance to education is not the want of schools and of teachers but the indifference of parents.'—*Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science*, 1858, p. 276.

carry

carry it out in our rural districts, would be met by violent opposition. In the first place, we should have to encounter the old, threadbare, hypocritical objection, that the liberty of the subject and the laws of free trade would be infringed. We have heard all this spurious liberalism on a former occasion when the popular champions of a popular movement preferred a superficially, but not really a logical consistency to truth and justice. The Ten Hours Bill was, no doubt, an interference with the laws of free trade, but human souls are of more importance than the regulations of commerce; and thus to the glory of the people of England be it told how they refused to follow their would-be leaders, hearkened to 'the cry of the children,' which one of England's truest poets* had rendered so painfully eloquent.

It is now decreed that children shall not be employed under a certain age, and that they shall receive school instruction during a portion of the day: this legislative interference with trade was parallel to the prohibition of the truck system. Agrioulture is still without the benefit of these wise measures. It will be a matter of national disgrace if an effectual hindrance is made to the development of these protective principles.

The spurious liberalism of which we have spoken, will no doubt reappear and reveal itself as selfish conservatism in disguise. It has already defeated many a useful act, has secured to the inhabitants of lodging-houses a continuance of immorality and wretchedness, has done its best to perpetuate ignorance by the obstacles which it has thrown in the way of educational extension. But inasmuch as the State has already interfered in behalf of morals, health, and knowledge, with our opponents rests the burden of proof that it should not interfere in future, or in any particular instance.

All high-sounding theories of political economy should be treated with suspicion when practice and not theory is required. Pedantry becomes sin when it would sacrifice the good of a class to logical consistency; when it would, for instance, refuse to interfere in behalf of those 5,463 infants, who, according to the Census of 1851, were sent into the fields to scare birds from daylight to sunset, and who, according to one of her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools,† creep home at evenings so utterly exhausted that they not unfrequently lay themselves down to die.

'The argument for compulsory education may be used on the ground of self-defence, and of the greater public good. It might be safely enunciated as a principle lying at the very foundation of society, that no one section of a community shall have the right or permission to prove a burden and a danger to other sections; that no one section be allowed to compel continuously other sections to establish and maintain agencies to repair its neglect of duty and its violation of law. Compulsory education is necessary to guard the rights of

* Mrs. Browning.

† The Rev. D. J. Stewart.

 children

children amid the crushing competition of the labour-market, to regulate the pressure of one section of the community on the other: to diffuse throughout the nation greater enlightenment, juster views of individual responsibilities, and a healthier social life. Without it, national systems will fail, like denominational appliances, to overcome the *vis inertiæ* of the uneducated masses.*

The actual condition of the education of our agricultural poor will be seen by comparative statistics. The following speak eloquently and need no comment:—

PROPORTION of SCHOLARS in Elementary Schools to the whole Population, in the different Countries of Europe.

| Country. | Date. | Scholars. | Inhabitants. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Berne, Canton of Switzerland | 1843 | 1 in every | 4·3 |
| Geneva „ „ | 1844 | 1 „ | 5·6 |
| Wirtemberg | 1838 | 1 „ | 6·6 |
| Prussia | 1838 | 1 „ | 6·6 |
| Tyrol | 1843 | 1 „ | 7·5 |
| Norway | 1837 | 1 „ | 7·7 |
| Bohemia | 1843 | 1 „ | 8·5 |
| Austria | 1840 | 1 „ | 8·9 |
| France | 1843 | 1 „ | 10·5 |
| England | 1850 | 1 „ | 14· † |

So that in England there are not one-third of the number of scholars which we find in the Swiss Canton of Berne.

But this is not the extent of our deficiencies. We learn from the Census that out of the 2,046,848 children then at school, the average number of those who remain at school over ten years of age was as follows: 49 out of every 100 remain till eleven years of of age, and 28 per cent. only remain till they were thirteen. The Rev. J. P. Norris, her Majesty's Inspector of Schools in Staffordshire, states that the general practice is to enter the school at seven years old, attend about three or four days a week, for little more than a year, and then leave.

This applies more particularly to manufacturing districts. In the agricultural counties children both enter and leave school at an earlier age.

There are many other facts to bear out the assertion that in England, so prone to boast of superior enlightenment, education is thought less of than in countries which are presumed to be enveloped in gross darkness. Of no countries where Romanism is the established religion, excepting Spain and Italy, can it be said that 40 out of every 100 of the people cannot write their own names. Of no countries beyond the Straits can it be said that among the agricultural poor from 55 to 73 per cent. are thus ignorant.

In Prussia the Government renders it incumbent on the owners of landed property that all the children on their estates shall be

* The Rev. W. Fraser, 'Trans. Social Science, 1858,' p. 251.
† Kay's 'Social Condition of the People,' vol. ii. p. 539.

educated,

educated, and that they themselves shall pay the school fees for the poor labourers who cannot afford to defray the expense. They are also obliged to furnish the materials required for the erection or repairs of all necessary school buildings; the needful fuel, and when the school is not endowed, the teachers' salaries.*

We do not expect, nor do we ask for any such enactment in this country. The remedy proposed is national and not private. Two provisions, which have the merit of being developments of principles already acknowledged, would secure all that is needed.

1st. The prohibition of juvenile labour under ten years of age.

2nd. A modified extension of the Print Works Act to the rural districts.

It is certain that up to ten years of age a child ought to be receiving instruction rather than earning a livelihood. It is not right to lay the heavy burden of cares, which he will have to bear all through the remainder of life, earlier than this upon shoulders too young to support it. Perhaps there may be differences of opinion as to the exact period which should be provided by the law, even among those who are agreed as to principles. But this is scarcely a matter for discussion. Feeling will have more to do with establishing a precedent in the first place. Experience will afterwards confirm or alter it.

The second provision that we have named requires further remark. The Print Works Act is clearly more suitable to agriculture that the Factory half-time Act. In the latter case, daily attendance at school is compulsory; in the former, the aggregate hours of yearly attendance may be distributed unequally through the twelve months. This is only what is absolutely necessary in work which, like farming, must be measured by seasons rather than by days. There are many agricultural operations which require *continuous* attendance, and could not be carried on at all if interrupted by a law which should, like the Factory Act, limit the hours of daily work. In both seed-time and harvest it would be unjust to the farmer to deprive him of labourers for a portion of the day, when each hour is of such importance. Now in urging so important a social reform we cannot be charged with being unpractical and speculative. This is no untried measure. It has been adopted voluntarily in several cases with complete success. Lord Lyttelton has put it in practice at Hagley in Worcestershire, Mr. Paget, M.P. for Norwich, states that in his own experience the system has answered. Lord Hatherton has given it a fair trial, and Mr. Norris, whose evidence on other points we have previously quoted, details the result of this trial in his report for 1857. As this affords a fair sample of the difficulties that have to

* Kay, op. cit. vol. ii. p. 89.

be encountered, we borrow from Mr. Norris a few illustrating facts. The main objection to the general adoption of the half-time system consists that it is rare to find in convenient proximity the children's homes, the school-house, and the farm on which they work. Lord Hatherton deemed this obstacle insurmountable in most instances. In his own case he overcame it by establishing a school in his own farmyard which Mr. Norris subsequently visited, and of which he speaks in the highest terms. The farmers, if not absolutely hostile to any such measure, are generally indifferent to it, and will not incur any little extra trouble which the working of it will occasion. They prefer keeping the same boys continuously on the farm, and have no liking for relays. They believe that if a boy comes for only half a day at a time, or on alternate days, he will never 'get his hand in.' When the school and the farm are far apart, there are much time and strength wasted in mere locomotion. Even the fact that different clothes would be required at school from those worn in the field, is no light obstacle. But probably all these objections 'would be met by a substitution of weeks for days and half days.' This, as we have already mentioned, would be provided for in a modification of the Print Works Act. Without some compulsory enactment of this sort we do not believe that the half-time system will be anything but a rare exception. In parishes favourably situated, where the land is in the hands of one or two proprietors who happen to be interested in this great question of education, a voluntary half-time system may succeed.

But when such landlords are indifferent to the subject, or when the land, as in Devonshire, Cornwall, Kent, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, is much divided, and belongs to many small proprietors, there is neither the power nor the will to adopt so extensive a reform. Certainly it is to be wished that not only landowners, but land occupiers could be induced to give to this subject the attention which it deserves. If we could but persuade the 771 renters of farms of more that 1000 acres, or each of the 171 farmers who unitedly employ 17,000 labourers, to give their adhesion to the principle, we might well rejoice. But such a consummation, most devoutly to be wished, is not to be expected.

This is a field which the State must occupy, for none but the State can properly cultivate it. The strong arm of the law must interfere in behalf of those who have not hitherto been so fortunate as to find zealous and unwearied champions, such as boldly fought the battle in behalf of children in the factory and in the mine.

We have alluded to the sectarian differences between the friends of education. Here, then, is a point of union. There can be no doubt of the advantages to be derived from such a scheme as we propose. Probably there is no less reason to think that the opposition

sition will be very fierce from those who deem that their interests are bound up with the continuance of the old order. There is, then, opportunity for vigour as well as for union. The first step has been already taken. The half-time system was prominently brought before the notice of the special commissioners who have lately published their inquiries into the educational condition of the various districts, agricultural, commercial, manufacturing, and maritime. We have been assured that in the north of England the conviction is everywhere gaining ground, that agricultural labourers should be as much protected as the workmen employed in manufactures. Nevertheless, it must be honestly admitted that the half-time system is no panacea for ignorance. Unsupported by other provisions this one will probably fail.

It has been found in factory districts that mill-owners objecting to the trouble caused by employing half-timers, will engage children over thirteen, who possibly have received no education at all. And thus it sometimes happens that while children from eight to thirteen are so protected by the law that they escape work altogether, they thus lose the benefit of factory education. Now, bearing in mind the figures already quoted, it is by no means improbable that farmers, having even a greater dislike than manufacturers to half-timers, will employ only those children who have passed the age during which the law protects them; and that a larger number of children than hitherto will be 'neither at work nor at school.'

An *industrial* education would be appreciated by the class which cannot rightly estimate the value of ordinary school teaching. The parents of children should be induced to belong to the School Committee; they would then gain an interest in a matter of which they have experimental knowledge. A more direct means towards the desired end would be a stringent provision, forbidding the employment of children in any kind of labour who had not received a certificate of school attendance during a certain period. A less direct but more popular measure would be in the introduction of the competitive element into our rural schools. It is possible that the enthusiasm in favour of competition has been too strong, and that many faults of detail have been committed in developing the system, But the competitive principle is undoubtedly good in itself, and if adopted with wisdom may be as well applied to the labouring class as to any other. Here, again, we are advocating no crude theory, but a successful experiment. The following particulars, taken from the Minutes of the Council of Education for 1854-5, will best introduce a topic that may be new to some of our readers.

In these Minutes Mr. Norris has given a Special Report concerning the Prize Schemes in the counties of Chester, Salop, and Stafford.

Stafford. In adopting the competitive system he lays down six rules which he deems essential to its success:—

1st. 'You should not reward children for doing what you would punish them for leaving undone.' Where non-performance is disgraceful, performance cannot be meritorious.

2nd. 'Prizes should not be attainable without positive effort.' It is in effort that the moral value of prize-schemes consists.

3rdly. 'Prizes should not be given for good behaviour,' on the same principle as forbids their use in considering the moral conduct.

4thly. 'Children of bad character should be excluded from competition.' This is perfectly consistent with the last rule. No disgrace can be so great as disqualification from the trial for prizes.

5thly. 'Where the result of an examination is to be a classification of the candidates, the examination should be confined to some one subject, or at most to some one class of kindred subjects.' Where many subjects are included the value attached to each must be arbitrary and therefore unsatisfactory. Moreover, 'if several departments of school work form the subjects for examination, the absence of any one becomes a marked thing, and gives rise to an inference that the examiners do not attach to it much importance.'

6thly. 'The prize should be of a kind to make a lasting impression upon the child.' A purely honorary prize is preferable. But where money is given, the sum should be large.

Supposing that the examination is conducted by one of her Majesty's inspectors, a certificate of good conduct, signed by the master or mistress, and, if thought desirable, by the clergyman of the parish also, should be handed to the examiner, by or on behalf of each child wishing to compete. The possession of such certificates should be deemed a pre-requisite to admission for examination.

The results of the prize scheme have been almost entirely satisfactory. It is now no longer confined to the Potteries, but is extended to many districts, and amongst others to South Wales. The teachers are no less eager than the pupils to confess their obligations to the competitive system; just as masters of a higher grade are ready to acknowledge the benefits which they have derived from the Oxford and Cambridge examinations of non-members of the university.

The points most worthy of notice in these particulars are—1st. That the principal examiner should always be her Majesty's Inspector of Schools for the district in which the examination is holden. This will of course largely increase his duties, and he will find assistance necessary.* But the advantage is so great in giving

* Mr. Kay asserts that at least 150 inspectors are required.

an

an authoritative sanction to these examinations, as to overbalance the cost of the additional machinery that will be required. 2nd. That the candidates for examination shall be classed according to their merit in two divisions. The first division will represent the honours list of our universities, the second class the 'poll,' or ordinary degree men. To the former direct prizes will be given in the shape of a money premium, which donation will be mentioned in the certificate of merit. To the latter only a certificate will be given. It is necessary to call special attention to the distinction between a prize for proficiency and a payment for school attendance. The difference between a reward and a bribe is indeed wide. In the one case we honour, in the other we degrade education. The latter expedient has been adopted several times with, as may be expected, the most lamentable consequences. Where a direct premium for the attendance of their children has been given, it has been found impossible to convince the parents that the giver of these payments—usually the clergyman of the parish—had not some direct interest in filling the school-room. The result has been the permanent establishment of the glaring anomaly of *paid* instead of *paying* scholars, to the lasting injury of education. 3rd. Prizes and certificates will be an evidence of merit which the employers of juvenile labourers will speedily appreciate, more especially if it could be arranged that these certificates should represent the amount of skill which has been exhibited in the industrial portion of education. The demand for certificated pupils would naturally give a powerful stimulus to education, and be in itself no mean reward to the teachers. 4th. According to the present system the demand for labour tends to empty the schools, as is clearly shown by the evidence which we have already adduced (*ante*, pp. 122, 123). But by introducing the system of examinations and certificates, and by the preference for certificated children over uncertificated that would invariably be shown, the value of education would be immensely raised in the eyes of those whom it is most necessary to conciliate—the parents.

We would conclude this portion of our subject with one remark. In proportion as education is extended will the grinding competition, from which more than any other class our agricultural poor suffer, be lessened. More children at school implies fewer applicants for hard work and scanty wages. At the same time the farmer will not be injured. If he has to pay a higher price he will get a better article. The educated labourer will be fully worth the additional wages which he demands above the uneducated.

Passing to the second of the points mentioned above, viz., the non-efficiency of school-teachers, we would remark that certificated scholars imply certificated teachers. But certificated teachers require a larger salary than can be afforded by the inhabitants of many

many, and indeed most of our villages. The Minute of April, 1853, by which the Committee of Council granted to all schools in agricultural districts and unincorporated towns, not containing more than 5,000 inhabitants, aid towards bearing the annual expenses in proportion to the number of scholars attending 176 days in the year, has been of no advantage to our villages and hamlets, nor, indeed, have subsequent Minutes.

The Rev. Frederick Temple asserts that only 58 per cent. of the schools in Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, and Somerset were reported to be satisfactory.* But there is a far greater grievance than that to which the master of Rugby referred. The Rev. Nash Stephenson has fully stated this grievance in his valuable paper read at the Liverpool Congress of Social Science. The leading points of this paper have been since summed up in a memorial addressed to the Council of Education by the general committee of 'the Church Extension Society and Educational Board for the Archdeaconry of Coventry.' Mr. Stephenson writes:—

'Another defect in the Government scheme, and one of paramount importance, is the practical exclusion of county schools from all participation in the privileges and grants attached to inspection. . . . The Minutes as they stand hand over the rural parishes to a perpetuity of ignorance, inasmuch as they lay down conditions that are and ever will be by them impossible to be fulfilled. This is a strong and startling statement to make, but nevertheless it is one capable of indubitable proof. There are no tables ready to hand to prove the facts, but I have compiled some that must dispel all doubt as to the fact of rural parishes not being under inspection.'*

We further learn 'from a Memorial to the Committee of Council on Education from the Bath and Wells Board, that of 522 schools in that diocese, 441 are without certificated teachers.' ‡ Mr. Mitchell, her Majesty's Inspector, indorses the following statement of the Secretary to the Essex Board of Education: 'Mr. Mitchell's Report shows that there is scarcely a tolerable school in any rural parish visited by him. There are not half a dozen certificated teachers in any of the parishes under 800.' §

Now it is possible that the figures in the sixth column of Table I. (p. 129) are too low. The Rev. Douglas Tinling informs us that the number of parishes in Devonshire, for instance, containing a population of 600 and under, which have certificated or registered teachers, is probably more than six. 'But even then,' he adds, 'what are these among so many?' If we suppose that there are a dozen in each of the four counties mentioned in the Table, this would give but 6 per cent. According to Mr. Stephenson's statistics—and he tells us that they are obtained from the inspector's own reports—'there is but one country school in 55·5 in the four

* 'Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, for 1858,' p. 269.
† Ibid. ‡ Ibid., p. 271. § Ibid.

south-western

TABLE I.—*State of Education in Elementary Public Schools in the Counties of Somerset, Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall.*

| COUNTY. | Population. | No. of Public Day Schools. | No. of Schools under Registered or Certificated Teachers. | No. of Parishes with Population of 600 and under. | No. of Schools under C. or R. Teachers in such Parishes. | No. of Children in such Schools on day of Inspection by H. M. I. | No. of Parishes with Population over 600. | No. of Schools under C. or R. Teachers in such Parishes. | No. of Children in such Schools on day of Inspection by H. M. I. | Total No. of Parishes. | Total No. of Children present on day of Inspection. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Somersetshire .. | 443,916 | 490 | 71 | 282 | 1 | 31 | 181 | 70 | 9,597 | 463 | 9,628 |
| Dorsetshire .... | 184,207 | 271 | 45 | 179 | 10 | 556 | 61 | 35 | 4,998 | 240 | 5,454 |
| Devonshire .... | 567,098 | 503 | 70 | 245 | 2 | 83 | 214 | 68 | 10,118 | 459 | 10,201 |
| Cornwall ..... | 355,558 | 258 | 32 | 71 | 1 | 25 | 140 | 31 | 3,990 | 211 | 4,015 |
| Grand Totals .. | 1,550,779 | 1,522 | 218 | 777 | 14 | 695 | 596 | 204 | 28,703 | 1,373 | 29,298 |

TABLE II.—*Archdeaconry of Coventry: Birmingham excepted.*

| DISTRICT. | Population. | No. of Public Day Schools. | No. of Parishes under Inspection. | No. of Schools under Inspection. | No. of Parishes with Population of 600 and under. | No. of such Parishes under Inspection. | No. of Schools in such Parishes. | No. of Parishes with Population over 600. | No. of such Parishes under Inspection. | No. of Schools in such Parishes. | Total No. of Parishes in Archdeaconry, Birmingham excepted. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Archdeaconry of Coventry: Birmingham excepted. | 176,000 | .. | 36 | 56 | 76 | 7 | 9 | 73 | 29 | 43 | 149 |

TABLE III.—*County of Hereford.*

| COUNTY. | Population. | No. of Public Day Schools. | No. of Parishes under Inspection. | No. of Schools under Inspection. | No. of Parishes with Population of 600 and under. | No. of such Parishes under Inspection. | No. of Schools in such Parishes. | No. of Parishes with Population over 600. | No. of such Parishes under Inspection. | No. of Schools in such Parishes. | Total No. of Parishes in county. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Herefordshire .. | 115,489 | 149 | 28 | 35 | 130 | 5 | 6 | 61 | 23 | 29 | 191 |

As the Counties given in these Tables are located in different parts of England, and were all that could be procured, it is but reasonable to conclude that they are in no way exceptional cases, but that they afford average specimens of the working of the Minutes in the remaining Counties.

south-western counties that is under inspection; and if Dorsetshire be excepted, the per-centage sinks to 1 in 194·2.'*

What are the remedies for this evil? The Society above mentioned has adopted most of the expedients proposed by Mr. Stephenson at Liverpool, except that a pupil teacher is substituted for a schoolmistress. The following are the alterations of the Minutes which it is proposed to make in favour of parishes containing only 600, or fewer inhabitants:—

'A. That the teacher employed shall be certificated or registered, an ex-pupil teacher, or a teacher of a parochial union school, with rating not below first class of competency.

'B. That the managers pay towards the stipend of the teacher a minimum salary of 23*l.*, which sum may be made up of voluntary contributions and school-pence in whatever proportions the managers may deem best.

'In all such cases, when these conditions have been complied with, the Committee would recommend their Lordships to make the following grants and aids:—

'1. A pupil teacher for every 25 children in average attendance, in all cases where a certificated or registered teacher has been engaged.

'2. A capitation grant of 9*s.* per head for all children, irrespective of the amount of their payments, who may have attended 176 days.

3. Double amount of certificate gratuity (in no case to exceed 20*l.*) to all certificated teachers, and a gratuity of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to all registered teachers, teachers in unions, not rated below first class of competency, and to ex-pupil teachers.

'4. A grant of 6*l.*, where the managers shall provide lodgings rent free.

'5. A moiety of disbursements of school managers for fuel, repairs, apparatus, and books, provided that the amount claimed shall not in any year exceed 5*l.*'

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ART. IV. 1.—*Reports of Select Committees of the Senate and Assembly of the State of New York* (*March* 11*th*, 1861) *relative to Amending the Constitution so as to Prohibit the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors as Beverages.*

2. *Report of the Committee appointed by the Legislature of Nova Scotia on the Liquor Traffic.* Halifax, N. S. April 12th, 1861.

3. *Report of Committee of the Victoria Legislature* (1860) *on the Traffic in Intoxicating Liquors.*

4. *Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand relating to the Management of Native Affairs, etc.* July 27th, 1860 (No. 492).

5. *Report of Deputation from the United Kingdom Alliance to the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the Wine License Scheme.* March 19th, 1860.

6. *Speeches of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone in the House of Commons April* 15*th*, *April* 29*th*, *and May* 31*st*, 1861.

THE relation that the Liquor Traffic sustains towards civil government and social legislation involves one of the greatest and most pregnant problems of the age; and the philosopher,

* 'Transactions,' &c., p. 271.

moralist,

moralist, or statesman who shall solve this question in the councils of the nation, and bring it to a practical and righteous adjustment, will be deservedly famous throughout future generations, as one of the greatest benefactors and heroes of the race. Until this great social question is manfully dealt with and settled upon a true basis, we may safely predicate that social science and political economy will continue to be fraught with endless entanglements and anomalies, that will thwart the efforts and mock the expectations alike of the philanthropist and political reformer. But there is reason to hope that the true solution of the question is more than an apprehended possibility, and that the time, if not at hand, is rapidly approximating, when no civilized community will tolerate the existence of a traffic which supplies nothing useful or necessary to human existence and happiness, but which sends curses and calamities to every corner of the land.

It is not our present object to describe the anomalous and pestiferous character of the liquor traffic, or the seductive and pernicious nature of intoxicating liquors. Nor is it our aim to discuss the abstract principles of social legislation, as bearing upon the questions involved, either in the license system or in a prohibitory law. We seek rather to set before the reader, in a few rapid sentences, the actual attitude of the governments of the Anglo-Saxon communities towards the traffic in alcoholic beverages. Our practical object in these statements and remarks is, that we may contribute something, however small the item, that will aid the solution of the problem referred to, and thereby hasten the coming of that good time when sobriety shall be the basis and righteousness the bulwark of society; and when intemperance, our British vice, and the special curse of the Anglo-Saxon race, with its foul brood of social evils, shall be abated by the force of an intelligent and well-directed public opinion embodied in just and efficient legislation.

The New England States of the American Union have taken the lead in what is called the prohibitory policy in regard to the liquor traffic. Each and all of these States, acting upon and carrying out their sovereign powers and prerogatives, have risen in their moral might and social majesty, saying to this traffic in strong drink: 'Thou art an evil and accursed thing! be thou cast out of our midst!' They have put upon it the ban of the law and of social reprobation. No moral or Christian man, no good, law-abiding citizen in those States, will now dare to embark capital and character in the liquor traffic, knowing that both would be speedily brought to wreck and ruin. The law allows it not, and thereby declares it to be wrong and infamous. None, therefore, but the reckless and the vile will, under these circumstances, defy public sentiment, as embodied in the law of the land, and

and set up in accordance with the popular will, expressed through the ballot-box.

The Old Bay State of Massachusetts, hand in hand with its younger sister, the State of Maine—the two were formerly one State—have nobly taken the lead in the march of prohibition. Vermont, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island have followed in the race, with several others of the more western States. Altogether some eight or ten millions of the Anglo-Saxon race across the Atlantic have put their communal power into direct antagonism with the liquor traffic. No one in those States can sell intoxicating beverages for common use without violating the law and outraging public conscience and morality. That which is not a legitimate branch of trade, but is essentially a social wrong, has become a statutable offence and a crime. These prohibitory laws have now been in existence for periods of seven, eight, and ten years, the first Maine Law having been enacted in 1851. During this period many reactionary attempts have been made to render these laws nugatory, or to wipe them from the Statute Book. One of those efforts, through a complication of political difficulties of a purely party character, was for a time successful. The law in Maine was repealed, and for a season the liquor traffic, under the sanction of a stringent license system, was again allowed to blight and desolate the State. But at the very earliest opportunity the people, with a noble instinct of duty and self-preservation worthy of their Saxon forefathers, rose up as one man, and with a mighty manifestation of their indignant and determined will, declared that the liquor traffic should be totally prohibited.*

Last year, among other amendments adopted by the legislature of Massachusetts, was one whereby

'The husband, wife, parent, child, guardian, or employer, of any person who hereafter may have the habit of drinking spirituous or intoxicating liquor to excess, may, in an action of tort against any person or persons who shall sell or deliver unlawfully to the person having such habits, any spirituous or intoxicating liquor, recover as damages, any sum not exceeding five hundred, and not less than twenty-one dollars. A married woman may bring such action in her own name, notwithstanding her coverture, and all damages recovered by her shall go to her separate use. In case of the death of either party, the action and right of action given by this section shall survive to or against his executor or administrator.

Even within the last few months, notwithstanding the absorbing national interests involved in the tremendous conflict going on betwixt the North and the South, several States have been taking advanced action to strengthen or amend their prohibitory acts.

* In Portland, 'A Board of Trustees,' incorporated under a special act, has been recently established, for the purpose of promoting the interests of temperance in the State, and the Rev. Neal Dow, LL.D., has been appointed chairman. The Board is represented by a weekly paper denominated *The Maine Standard*, and is empowered to raise and disburse funds in support of the temperance cause.

A few

A few weeks since, a bill was passed through the legislature of Michigan, by a vote of two to one, amending its prohibitory law, by which the illegal lager-beer saloons and tippling shops will find their quietus. The Constitution of the State of Michigan contains a prohibitory liquor clause, so that the legislature cannot license or permit the sale of strong drinks in the State. In the great State of New York, the 'Empire State' of the Union, as it is called, a prohibitory law, after the pattern of the 'Maine Law,' was adopted in the session of 1855 by large majorities in the legislature, and took effect on July 4th, 1855. The law worked well wherever it was enforced, and the immediate results were marvellous for good. But, as might have been expected, the execution and enforcement of the act was resisted by its enemies, the liquor dealers and their lawyers, at every step. Test cases were carried up to the Court of Appeals and by a majority of one, the law was pronounced unconstitutional by the judges, in regard to some of the provisions or machinery of the Act, but not in respect to its prohibitory principle. After this adverse decision the friends of the law felt themselves powerless to cope with the enemy, who again came in upon them as a flood. On the 16th April, 1857, the present Excise License Law was adopted. It contains some most stringent provisions, and is entitled 'An Act to Suppress Intemperance and to Regulate the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors.' But, like all other license laws, it has utterly failed to repress intemperance, and the result has been, in every sense, deplorable. Again, however, has the standard of prohibition been raised by the people sending in petitions praying for an amendment of the Constitution of the State, by a concurrent resolution of the Senate and the Assembly, so as to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquor as a beverage. These petitions were referred to select committees of the two houses. On the 11th March, 1861, in the Assembly, the chairman of its select committee, Mr. D. J. Wager, submitted his report, signed by all the members of the committee. The following passages will best indicate the spirit and scope of the report:—

'The subject matter of the several petitions presented to your committee has been duly considered; and from the investigation and reflection given to it, they are fully persuaded that the use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage is, and always has been, a prolific source of pauperism, crime, and wretchedness. It has imposed heavy burdens upon the people, in the shape of taxation, and greatly added to the expense of the administration of our criminal laws. They are not aware of any good it has ever done, or that it possesses a single redeeming quality; and from the nature and character of the traffic, its past and present history, every page of which is black with horrors, they believe its further continuance by legislative sanction would be a crime.

'The civilized world is raising its voice against it, awakened from its long, protracted stupor, by recent developments of science and a more perfect understanding of the truths of the Bible. All patriotic men, and all Christian men now unite

unite to condemn it, as ruinous to the health, morals, and happiness of society. Time and experience, the common arbiters and touchstone by which to test the merit of all propositions and questions relating to the individual, social, or public weal, have pronounced judgment of condemnation against it.

'The moralist and the statesman, the man of science and the man of God, all unite in bearing witness against it, as the most uncompromising enemy to the individual, social, and moral well-being of man, and the progress of the race, that the ingenuity or malice of man ever devised.

* * * * * *

'If the sale of intoxicating liquors as beverages be a good thing, then away with monopolies. Do not abridge by legislative restrictions a common-law right. If it is a rightful business, then it is a lawful business. And all men have a right to engage in it. And law-makers are bound faithfully to protect them in the exercise thereof. And if protection in a lawful business is a duty toward all, then denying it to one and extending it to another, is in derogation of a natural right, and an act of palpable injustice.

'The restriction of the sale of intoxicating drinks to the few, and prohibiting it to the many, is an acknowledgment that it has a pernicious tendency.

'If prohibition is an act of justice to many, then it is justice to all. No legislature would think of licensing a man to sell butter, cheese, grain, horses, dry goods, or land. Why not? Because it is a common-law right to engage in such business. No legislature would think of licensing a man to commit theft, robbery, burglary, or murder. Why not? Because it is wrong—forbidden by the common law. A right therefore is to be protected because it is right, and wrong prohibited because it is wrong, without regard to the nature or extent of the right or the character of the wrong. Legalizing a wrong can never make it right; prohibiting a right can never make it wrong. The air we breathe, the light of heaven that we enjoy, and the earth on which we tread, are natural rights, free and accessible to all without distinction; but no more so than occupations that injure nobody.

'Tested by these principles, your committee cannot perceive how the license system can be just or expedient.'

Having shown the necessity, and asserted the right of prohibition, the committee proceed to state their objections to a license system:—

'Our opposition to it is predicated upon the following grounds:—

'Because it has always proved a failure wherever it has prevailed, as an antidote to intemperance, in every age and in every country.

'Because it is the province of the legislature to protect the whole people, and not a privileged few.

'Because a licensed sale of intoxicating beverages encourages drinking, thereby directly tending to induce and perpetuate all the vices of intemperance.

'Because it is of immoral tendency, corrupting the heart, destroying the body, polluting the morals, demoralizing the character, debauching and debasing whole classes of society.

'Because multitudes congregate in places where intoxicating liquors are sold according to law; there appetites are formed; there drunkenness usually begins; there pauperism and crime date their origin.

'Because the protection which the law affords gives a kind of respectability to the traffic in the eyes of the world.

'Because it increases the expenses of the State, augments the taxes and burdens of the people, according to recent reliable statistics, more than one-half.

'Because it leads men into temptation, beguiles them from useful and honest industry, begets indolence and sloth, "a slothfulness that casteth into a deep sleep," "and sloth, like rust, consumes faster than labour wears."

'Because, by the abolition of licenses, the ballot boxes, the security of freemen, would be emancipated from the control of liquor-vendors, thereby securing and perpetuating the liberty of the citizen, the blessings of our free institutions, and the inalienable rights of man for generations to come.

'Continue

'Continue the system, and the sin and shame and sorrow which grow out of its legitimate operations will be perpetuated. There will be no relief from the burdens of onerous taxation, from the vices, violence, and disorders, pauperism, and crime, inherent in the whole system. It is in vain to extenuate. The combined wisdom of centuries have never been able to perfect, to improve, or to amend the system, so as to obviate or remedy the evils that have their origin in this odious law. Years have come and gone, century after century has passed away, and alcohol, under the sanctions of law, through the operations of legislative enactments in the form of license, continues its ravages still!' . . . .

Referring to the results of prohibitory laws, the committee declare as follows:

'Prohibitory laws have produced salutary effects wherever they have been enforced. In those States where they have efficient execution, never were the people more prosperous, never had they a greater exemption from the destructive power of rum.

'In this State, in the year 1855, when the law was only partially executed while being tested through the courts, there was far less of drunkenness, far less intoxicating liquors sold or used, than before or since. That year was an era, long to be remembered, of freedom from rowdyism, violence, and crime, than we have witnessed at any time since.

'Even the partial execution and observance of the Sunday law in the city of New York is attended with auspicious results, notwithstanding the numerous petitions sent in for its repeal. According to recent reliable statistics, it appears that the total number of arrests for drunkenness, disorder, and crime, on the Sundays of the last eighteen months, were 10,483; while for the Tuesdays of the same period they amounted to 15,503—a difference in favour of the law, even as yet only partially enforced, of 5,020. Inferentially, if prohibition works well on one day, it will in seven; and if in seven, then through the year. If it operates favourably in one locality, there is every reason to believe it will in another. If it tends to diminish the number of arrests and prevents the commission of crime in one town, by parity of reason it will in the State.

'Under the operations of the present license system, crime is increasing with astonishing rapidity. Thousands and tens of thousands are annually being made drunkards; 30,000 or 40,000 annually go down to drunkards' graves; and the army that travel that dreadful road is steadily augmenting. It is painful to contemplate. In almost every daily paper we take up, we find an account in its columns of a sudden death; a horrible crime committed; a revolting murder perpetrated; a noted man sent to the lunatic asylum; a whole family barbarously massacred; a suicide gone hurriedly and unprepared to judgment—all by reason of alcohol!

'A State Inebriate Asylum is being erected at Binghamton, to receive the unhappy victims of intemperance. When it is completed, it is estimated that 400 inebriates can find comfortable accommodations. At this very time, 4,281 applications have been made for admission! What are to become of the residue? Ten additional ones should be erected straightway, if all these are to be cared for; and what tens of thousands of others, if all confirmed drunkards are to be provided for? . . . .

In conclusion, the Report says:

'Your committee, full of hope and confidence in the ultimate triumph of truth, and the redemption of our State from this pernicious and pervading evil, believing that the people, in their sovereign capacity, will be permitted to decide the question for themselves, and thereby show to the world that they are not only capable of self-government, but of self-emancipation from a worse than Egyptian bondage, ready and willing to purify their own laws, when they find by long experience they are destructive to life, health, and happiness, would, therefore, in pursuance of the foregoing suggestions, and to consummate the end proposed, respectfully present and ask the passage of the following resolutions:—

'Resolved (if the Senate concur), that the Constitution of this State be amended as follows:

'The

'The sale of intoxicating liquors, as a beverage, is hereby prohibited; and no law shall be enacted or be in force, after the adoption of this amendment, to authorize such sale; and the legislature shall by law prescribe the necessary fines and penalties for any violation of this provision.

'Resolved (if the Senate concur), that the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators; and that in conformity to section 1 of article 13 of the Constitution, it be published for three months previous to the time of such election.'

In the Senate, on the 5th April, 1861, the Report of the majority of the committee, 'On the Petitions for an Amendment of the Constitution relative to the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors,' was submitted. It was emphatically in favour of the measure prayed for in the petitions, as will be seen by the following passage:—

'Notwithstanding the attempts which have been made, from time to time, by legal enactments and the organization of temperance societies, to limit and suppress intemperance, it has continued its ravages, and still continues to carry want, desolation, and death to many a home. Intemperance has not only invaded the family circle, and left its blight there, but it has laid its strong grasp upon the young men of our State, and folded many a one in its deadly embrace. These young men who are to come after us, upon whom the affairs of this government must soon rest, who are the hope of the people, must, if possible, be protected against this evil. The legislature and the people should awake to the magnitude of this question, and the earnest inquiry should be, What can be done by the legislature? what can be done by the people to stay the tide of this evil?

'It is not only a question of morals—that concerning the peace, good order, and happiness of our people, but it is a question of finance. It was ascertained several years ago, from a complete visitation and full examination of all the gaols, penitentiaries, and poor-houses of the State, and of the expenses attending the support of the same, that more than three-fourths of all the crime and pauperism in the State originated in intemperance. Committees of boards of supervisors, in several counties of the State, have, at a more recent date, investigated and reported upon this subject; such reports establish the fact, beyond all controversy, that more than three-fourths of all the taxes imposed upon the people annually are caused by intemperance. Should not this arouse the whole people to action? They are immediately and deeply interested in this question, and they should not leave it to the care and management of temperance men and temperance organizations alone, for although these have accomplished much good, and great credit is due to the self-sacrificing men who have upheld and sustained them, still they have failed to reach the masses, and their influence has been limited. The efforts have heretofore been made in the branches of the tree; it is now proposed to strike at the root of the evil, and it is believed by your committee that efforts made upon this subject will be almost useless, unless sustained and participated in by the masses of the people, and by public opinion.

'It is, by the concurrent resolution reported by your committee, proposed to submit this whole question to the people, from whom all power emanates, and as a majority decide, so let it be determined; and it is believed that, if a full and fair discussion of the question be laid before the people, that decision will be in favour of the amendment proposed; and when that decision is made, it should be final, and not left to changeable legislation; and therefore it is proposed, by the amendment reported, to engraft it into the Constitution, and make it a part of the organic law. Your committee believe that the plan proposed by them is a proper one to remedy the evil. After it shall have received the sanction of this legislature, and the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators, it will be submitted to the people—it is hoped at a special election, where it will be decided upon its own issue and merits, unmingled with any political issue or consideration, leaving the people free to vote upon this question, irrespective

irrespective of party; this question has already embarrassed political parties and their action too long, and should be removed therefrom by the mode proposed.'

Founded upon these reports, bills have been adopted by concurrent resolutions. In the Senate there were only 6 negative votes, and in the Assembly the Bill was carried by a vote of 69 to 30.

In Canada a prohibitory law has more than once been on the point of enactment, having been defeated by a majority of one or two votes. The people, however, are persistent in their appeals and demands; and a power has been conceded to municipal councils to prevent the issue of licenses within their respective districts. In some parts this power has been exercised; but there is no doubt that ere long a colonial prohibitory law will be accomplished. The Hon. Neal Dow, the author of the Maine Law, has recently been invited to address the members of the Canadian legislature on the question, preparatory to the introduction of a prohibitory measure. Several years since a prohibitory Act was adopted by the British colony of New Brunswick, and received the assent of her Majesty in Council. Owing, however, to some difficulties connected with the revenue of the colony the law has been repealed, but a strong prohibitory sentiment still animates the people. In Nova Scotia a select committee of the legislature reported (April 12th, 1861) strongly in favour of a prohibitory law, in compliance with the long-expressed wishes of the people. The following is the concluding passage of the committee's report:—

'The committee believe that a traffic fraught with so many terrible evils, should be speedily suppressed, and that the manufacture, importation, and sale of intoxicating liquors, except for certain necessary purposes, should be prohibited. The question of revenue involved, the committee consider of no material moment, if the general enforcement of the laws can be effected, for the capital now so injuriously employed would be diverted into proper and legitimate channels of trade, affording almost immediately an equivalent to the loss thus sustained, and in the end leading to a very large excess of revenue derived from increased consumption of useful and necessary articles. The "Constitutional point," or "right to prohibit," sometimes raised, the committee have neither time nor space to discuss, nor do they believe it necessary to do so, for such quibbling most men have abandoned and become ashamed of, feeling that if it is right to protect the public welfare by the most stringent regulations, not only in regard to provisions of all kinds, and hurtful and poisonous substances generally, but including a variety of sanatory regulations, it cannot be wrong to protect from what is infinitely more dangerous and hurtful, to say nothing of the higher and recognized principle of legislation, that the gain and sordid avarice of the few must give way to the protection and happiness of the many.'

Licenses for the sale of intoxicating liquors are at the present time withheld throughout eight of the counties in Nova Scotia, viz., Shelburne, Lunenburg, Sydney, Colchester, Yarmouth, Pictou, Cape Breton, and Queen's counties.

Passing over from our transatlantic colonies, let us look for a moment at our antipodal brethren in Australia and New Zealand. And there, too, we find the 'drink demon' rampant, spreading

his pestilent spells, and carrying on his work of seduction, pollution, and death; and there, too, we find brave Anglo-Saxon hearts and hands, preparing to exorcise the fiend, and put a stop to his work of misery and ruin.

In the colony of Victoria, in the last session of the Legislature, a select committee on the liquor traffic reported emphatically in favour of a Permissive Prohibitory Act, to take effect wherever two-thirds of the voters were passively in its favour. In order to prevent the proposed Act going into effect, when adopted by the Legislature, it would require that at least one-third of the voters, in any given district, register their votes against the measure. A sudden and unexpected break down of the Government in the colony has probably prevented effective action for a time; but it is a suggestive fact, that the chairman of the select committee referred to, Richard Heales, Esq., has been made the Prime Minister of the new Government. The Hon. Mr. Heales is also the President of the Victoria Temperance League, and is an able and eloquent advocate of total abstinence and the principle of permissive prohibition.

In New Zealand we find the same movement in behalf of temperance and social progress, bringing the colonial authorities into an attitude of antagonism to the liquor traffic. The General Assembly of New Zealand, August 4th, 1858, passed 'An Act to Regulate the Local Affairs of Native Districts,' in order, as the preamble expressly states, 'to promote the civilization of the native race;' all the regulations being made, 'as far as possible, with the general assent of the persons affected thereby.' Among the varied provisions and powers of the Act, it was made lawful for the Governor in Council to make regulations 'For the sale, removal, and disposal of spirituous and fermented liquors, and for the restriction or prohibition of such sale, removal, and disposal.' In a 'Memorandum by the Responsible Advisers on Native Affairs,' forwarded to the Home Office by the Governor, dated Auckland, 29th September, 1858, it is stated that 'The clause [of the Native Districts Act] relating to the regulation for the sale of spirits will, it is expected, be taken advantage of in some neighbourhoods to render more stringent and effectual the existing prohibition against the supply of intoxicating liquors to natives.' It is subsequently stated that 'the sale of ardent spirits to Maories is prohibited; and though they are illicitly supplied with such liquor to a considerable extent, in the port towns, the Maori population, as a whole, does not consume them.' From this it is evident that Europeans are the active agents who are introducing among this interesting race the 'luxuries' and the 'vices' of more civilized (?) lands. A Report of a Board appointed by his Excellency the Governor to 'Inquire into the state of native affairs,'

affairs,' was transmitted to the House of Representatives, July 9th, 1856, and will be found marked 'A, No. 3,' page 88, among the 'Papers' relating to 'New Zealand,' ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 27th July, 1860. The Board took evidence from thirty-four witnesses, including the Bishop of New Zealand, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Auckland, and several missionaries, magistrates, merchants, settlers, and natives of various grades. We give the following clauses of the Report bearing on the

PROHIBITION OF SALE OF SPIRITS.

'81. The Board is of opinion, from the evidence taken on the subject, that the law prohibiting the sale of spirits, though evaded to a very great extent, still operates as a check to the evil it is intended to prevent. Although it may not be found possible so to enforce the prohibition as that no case of infringement or evasion shall occur, yet the Board is of opinion that much of the evil at present existing may be suppressed by increased vigilance on the part of the magistrate and police, and would by no means recommend the repeal of the law, believing that it would be followed by a great increase of drunkenness among the natives, from which the most serious consequences might be apprehended affecting both races.

'82. The majority of the natives, and especially the more intelligent and well disposed among them, regard the importation of spirits into the country as a great evil. Several of the tribes have petitioned the Government to prohibit it altogether. Many of the observant and reflecting men among them have expressed a conviction that spirits have already endangered the peaceful relations which have for so long a time subsisted between the two races, and that they may yet prove the means of causing the most serious disturbances.

'83. From the evidence collected by the Board, it would appear that the law in question is regarded by the natives generally as a salutary and beneficial one; that they recognize in its enactment the benevolent exercise on the part of the Government of a parental authority interposed to protect them from a dangerous enemy. There are, doubtless, many individuals among them who wish the restriction removed, but the Board is of opinion, that were all the tribes in the island called upon to give a deliberate expression of their wishes on the subject, very few, if any, would be found in favour of repealing a law intended to prevent the spread of intemperance among them.

'84. The Board does not overlook the evil or the moral effect attending the existence of a law which is evaded or disregarded, but it considers that, in the present case, a far greater evil would be incurred by throwing open spirits to the natives than by retaining the prohibiting law, even under existing circumstances. While the law remains, it affords a standing evidence to the native race that their well-being is the subject of careful solicitude on the part of the Government which endeavours, as far as possible, to protect them and to counteract those evil influences to which their contact with Europeans necessarily exposes them. The repeal of the law would be looked upon by themselves, not merely as a discontinuance of the veto, but as a positive encouragement and invitation to drink, and as their abandonment by the Government to the ruin and degradation which intemperance may be expected to bring upon its victims.'

The Board go on to recommend that the best efforts of the Government should be directed to prevent the evasion of the prohibitory law, and to enforce its penalties; also that every encouragement should be given to the chiefs and influential men in the different tribes, to co-operate with the Government in the endeavour to suppress an evil which threatens to become so prevalent; and it concludes this section of its report by saying—

'That the Board is not without hope, that the natural good sense of the natives will lead them to see and avoid the danger which threatens them as a race, should they unhappily fall into habits of intemperance. It would appear that there are some among them fully alive to the serious nature of the evil, and are determined to use every effort to suppress it.'

The Rev. B. Y. Ashwell, in a communication to the Governor, dated Auckland, 7th November, 1859, states that 'the people of the Waikato district are more anxious to avail themselves of the means of education, both for themselves and children, than they have been for the last twenty years I have resided amongst them.' As a sequel to this statement, Mr. Ashwell says: 'I am residing in the very centre of Waikato, and am constantly travelling among the natives, and I have not found one single case of drunkenness amongst the natives during the last twelve months.' Archdeacon G. A. Kissling, of Waitemata, writing to his Excellency the Governor, 22nd November, 1859, says: 'The native settlement of Oraki, in the immediate vicinity of Auckland, and consequently in the most exposed position to immorality, presents on Sundays a model of Christian worship. We hear and see no rioting or drunkenness. The services are conducted by a native who is a candidate for ordination.' These are unimpeachable testimonies of the most striking and conclusive character, as illustrating the value of a prohibitory policy, even under the most unfavourable circumstances; and must convince any candid mind that it is the duty of Government, as clearly as it is the right of the people, to protect the material and moral interests of the community from the liquor curse.

All these facts are known to our Home Government; they are printed and published by order of the House of Commons, and must have met the eye of our cabinet ministers, and all conscientious, painstaking statesmen.

Let us now look nearer home, and see what is the attitude of the British Government, at the present moment, towards the liquor traffic.

Liquor, and licenses for its sale, have formed prominent items in the ministerial budgets of the present cabinet. Last year Mr. Gladstone proposed, in the interests of 'sobriety' (?) and finance, that a new system of free wine licenses should be set up, similar to the beer-house system of 1830, the licenses being granted by the Excise without any efficient magisterial or popular veto. The proposal was met by the friends of temperance with persistent opposition. Nearly 2,500 petitions, with upwards of 200,000 signatures, were promptly poured into the House of Commons against the measure; and what is even more remarkable, the great bulk of these petitioners prayed, that in any measure adopted by the legislature, affecting the liquor traffic, power should be given to two-thirds of the ratepayers of each parish or district to veto the issue of any license for the sale of intoxicating

intoxicating liquors as common beverages. Notwithstanding the popular character of the budget, with which this dangerous and delusive wine license scheme was entangled and complicated, the proposal of the Chancellor was resisted in the House of Commons step by step. A direct amendment, to throw out the Bill, was supported by nearly two hundred votes, many of those who supported the negative amendment being the friends and political supporters of the Chancellor and of the general ministerial policy. In the House of Lords several peers eloquently denounced the measure as opposed to social progress and national sobriety. This opposition was one of the most healthful and cheering signs of the times; because it brought out the fact that there is still much latent moral power in the old Anglo-Saxon race; and that when fairly appealed to, the people of this country—drink-cursed though it has been for centuries—will still respond to the cry of patriotism, for the protection of the masses from the temptations and corruptions of the liquor traffic. And doubtless the Chancellor largely sympathises with this popular aspiration for purer institutions and social surroundings. Indeed, Mr. Gladstone has repeatedly done homage, at least, to this temperance sentiment, that has now become a patent and recognized element of social science and progress. He confessed that the bare contemplation of the enormous number of places licensed by the State, for the sale of spirits, sent 'a kind of shudder through the frame.' When conferring with the deputation from the United Kingdom Alliance, the Chancellor said, and no doubt he was sincere when he said it: 'Do not for a moment imagine that this measure [the Excise Wine-License Bill] or any principle involved in it, is at all to be decided on any such ground as party motives, government necessities, or financial considerations. Considering the budget as a measure of finance, it is quite secondary to the moral and social bearings of the question. . . . . I wish that it should be tried and stand or fall precisely according to the conscientious judgment of Parliament upon the question whether it will tend to promote sobriety.'

Mr. Gladstone's temperance theory was, that a plentiful supply of the 'light wines' of France would, by some means, counteract or check the pernicious effect of the more potent liquors sold in our English gin-shops and beer-houses. But, unfortunately, the uniform tendency of the drink-appetite, when once formed, is to run on from the milder to the stronger alcoholics. This is founded upon a physiological or pathological law, which obtains in regard to all narcotics and stimulants: and no legislation can overrule it. Mr. Gladstone, however, was not able or not willing to look at the temperance facts and arguments presented to him, and therefore failed to perceive their social and moral bearings. Throughout the debates

debates he clung with invincible pertinacity to his 'light-wine' theory and method of promoting sobriety; not, however, by substituting wine-shops for gin-shops and beer-houses, but by adding the new drinking-places to the 135,000 old ones.

How national sobriety can be promoted by multiplying the facilities for sale, and lowering the prices of drink of an intoxicating character, is a subtlety of statesmanship that Mr. Gladstone, no doubt, has himself attained to; but certainly he has not made its logical or historical conditions known to any one else. Bearing in mind the stress laid by Mr. Gladstone upon the lightness of the French wines he was going to open up new channels for, throughout the nation, it is somewhat amusing, except that the subject is one involving the most momentous interests and issues, to find the facile Chancellor stating to the House of Commons the following, as having been communicated by a deputation of eating-house keepers and beer-sellers:—

'That deputation communicated to me another fact which, I confess, I learnt with much interest; viz., that but a small proportion of the wine sold by them was consumed upon the premises; the chief part being fetched for the houses of the poor, and, as far as they knew, was principally for the use of the sick. They also said—and the hon. gentlemen opposite will hear this with satisfaction—that the wine in demand with them was entirely and exclusively strong wine, and that no symptoms of vacillation in favour of weak wines had yet appeared.' (Laughter.)

Alas for the 'light-wine' theory! Assuredly we shall hear no more of it from Mr. Gladstone. That 'laugh' was its death-knell in the British House of Commons. But how affecting the pathetic story told by the Chancellor, on the authority of that deputation, to the effect that these 'strong wines' were 'principally for the use of the sick' among the poor! Surely Dr. Fergusson's prescription must have become very popular. How satisfactory it must be to Mr. Gladstone, to find that he has succeeded the first year in increasing the importation of this medicinal agent from 9,176,000 gallons to 12,509,000 gallons! But this is only the beginning of good things, for the Chancellor says: 'It will take a long time to work out the full effects of the changes we have made in the duties upon wine, for I think the lessons of former experience distinctly teach us that such will be the case.' Our readers are not ignorant of what the lessons of former experience distinctly teach, and none of them will envy Mr. Gladstone the moral responsibility he has assumed, when the 'full effects of the changes' he has made shall have been worked out. And yet we must do him the justice to believe that he really and earnestly desires to 'promote sobriety,' as well as to increase the revenues of the State. No one can believe that Mr. Gladstone is in league with the publicans, who hate and abuse him so cordially. They are possessed with the abiding idea that he is their great enemy, ever lying in wait to deceive and destroy them. This impression has

has haunted them until it has become almost a monomania with some of them. It is not very easy to remove such impressions when they have once been made, and when circumstances seem to favour them; and it is true that Mr. Gladstone's supplemental budget last year, by which he laid an additional two shillings per gallon on spirits, in the interests of social morals and finance, did seem to imply that the Chancellor, in his heart of hearts, was desirous of repressing to some extent the spirit trade, whilst doing his utmost to foster and extend the sale of foreign wines. In his budget speech of April 15th, 1861, Mr. Gladstone, referring to the increased spirit duty, and the consequent diminution of consumption, said—

'I am convinced, as far as our limited experience goes, that even in a fiscal point of view that important experiment is likely to be successful, as well as to be useful in a social point of view. That it will diminish the consumption of spirits I have not the smallest doubt, and I sincerely trust it may. . . . . No doubt the competition of wine may have done something, but that is a cause altogether slight and insignificant. The consumption of wine in this country need not be thought of for a long time to come, if indeed ever, as competing with those great articles of consumption which are known and familiar to the people; namely, ardent spirits and malt liquor.'

Mr. Gladstone has here distinctly echoed the utterances of the temperance people, to whose facts, arguments, and petitions he last year turned a deaf ear and a blind eye. He has now, however, begun to learn a sounder temperance creed than was inculcated at Oxford. The logic of facts and figures, when they affect his financial schemes, must be attended to. His 'light-wine' notions, and the 'substitutionary' idea evolved therefrom, have now been abandoned, and even Mr. Gladstone has to acknowledge that the 3,300,000 gallons of wine imported in 1860-61, over the previous year, is a clear addition to the flood of intoxicating liquor the community was before deluged with.

But Mr. Gladstone's last great proposition for the promotion of sobriety and the improvement of national finances—these two things, like 'eating and drinking,' always go together with our Chancellor of the Exchequer—is the new license to wholesale dealers, to enable them to retail spirits in 'reputed quart bottles.' This measure has passed the Commons, and, being a budget bill, of course has also passed the Lords. The 96,000 publicans, who have had the monopoly of the retail sale of spirits, are very wroth to have their privileges invaded by their arch-enemy the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who will never let them alone. And the temperance party know that the loss to the publicans can be no gain to the community; but that this new extension of the retail sale of ardent spirits cannot but work mischief and woe to thousands, however much it may seem to increase the revenue of the country, by increasing the sale of spirits amongst private families, who will be tempted to send for the 'reputed quart bottles' from a respectable

able wholesale store. However excellent Mr. Gladstone's intentions and aspirations may be—and we do not cast any doubts upon them—he has not yet become a wise and efficient temperance reformer. His temperance creed is still very defective and erroneous, and he is slow to acquire a mastery of the question in which he professes so much interest. When introducing this 'bottle bill' to the House of Commons, Mr. Gladstone assumed the medical use of spirits, as he had previously asserted the medical use of wine, as the ground of his strongest argument and culminating appeal.

'There is another change which we are about to make, which I must say is one of the clearest in the policy on which it is founded, ever submitted to Parliament, and it is a matter on which considerable interest is felt by many members. I refer to the state of our law with regard to the sale of spirits. Probably many gentlemen have not inquired into the method by which, when there is a necessity for the use of a small quantity of spirits in their own household, that demand is usually supplied. I am afraid that, if the proceedings of hon. members, as heads of families, were investigated, it would turn out that probably nine-tenths of them were breakers of the law. But the law is so irrational that I cannot refuse to submit the alteration of it to Parliament. The law is this, that unless a man wants for the purposes of his house or family as large a quantity of spirits as two gallons, which most probably would not be consumed in most of our houses, or in many of them in a twelvemonth—unless he wants two gallons of spirits, which must be left in the keeping of the servants, with the temptation incident thereto, he has no choice but to send a servant for it to the public-house. I really must say that law is a discredit to society. I think the condition imposed on the whole middle class disgraceful—that all who do not keep men servants, but have women servants, should, when they have occasion to send for a small quantity of spirits for a sick child or a sick wife, have no choice but to send a woman servant for it to a public-house.'

The corrupting influence of public-houses, and the 'temptations incident' to the keeping of spirits in private families, are two more points fully and distinctly lodged in the legislative mind. This was obvious from the 'hear, hear' that greeted Mr. Gladstone, from the honourable members who were intently listening to his budget speech.

From all these indications, and many others, we come to a hopeful view of the future, and feel assured that immense progress has been made, not only among the people of Great Britain, on the question of temperance, but that even the House of Commons and the cabinet ministers are being educated, step by step, towards a truer conception of the real nature of alcoholic beverages, and the character of the liquor traffic. Taking the Chancellor of the Exchequer as an exponent of the legislative conviction at the present moment, in relation to this question, we cannot but come to the conclusion that the policy of prohibition is beginning to dawn upon the statesman's vision, not only as an 'ultimate necessity,' but as a present and pressing duty.

It is surely ominous for Liquordom that it is now admitted by the legislature, that alcoholics are but 'luxuries' or 'medicinal agents,' rather than articles of daily diet and necessity; and that the

the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who gets so many millions by this liquor traffic, has to sustain his measures and poise his arguments on assertions implying that public-houses are nothing better than pests and nuisances. With such convictions pervading and moulding the thoughts and reasonings of our politicians and statesmen, the time cannot be far distant when the Parliament of this great Anglo-Saxon people, will come to the logical and patriotic conclusion to abolish a system that pauperizes, degrades, and destroys millions, whilst it can confer no real benefit upon any portion of the community; a system that cannot be defended upon any grounds consistent with morality, social progress, or national prosperity; a system that has been emphatically condemned by the teachings of history, the lessons of experience, and the conclusions of social science.

The liquor traffic must no longer be placed in the category of useful trades or legitimate commerce. It is a social excrescence, a legal anomaly, a crime; and if intelligence and moral ideas are to rule and guide us as a people and nation, the law must be adjusted, so as to stand in its true and proper relation to this system of corruption and temptation. It must not be fostered, even for the sake of revenue; it must not be protected or sanctioned by law in any form; but like lotteries, betting-houses, and brothels, our public drinking-houses must be put under the ban of the legislature; and until this can be accomplished by our imperial enactments, taking effect at once and all over the country, the practical and excellent suggestion of the United Kingdom Alliance should be adopted, to enable the people of each district, as soon as public opinion in the locality is ripe for action, to put a veto upon the issue of licenses for the sale of intoxicating liquors, for purposes of common beverage. Such a proposal as this, so fair and practically reasonable, and so entirely in harmony with the good old Saxon principle of local self-government, cannot but be approved of by every wise and manly spirit, actuated by patriotic sentiments, a love of justice, and an aspiration for sober liberty and social progress.

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ART. V.—1. *Reformatory Schools for the Children of the Perishing and Dangerous Classes.* By Mary Carpenter. 1851.

2. *Juvenile Delinquents and their Treatment.* By Mary Carpenter. 1853.

3. *The Cry of Ten Thousand Children, or Cruelty towards the Young.* By the Rev. W. C. Osborn, Chaplain of the Bath Gaol. 1860.

4. *The Preservation of Youth from Crime, a Nation's Duty; or, Children's Rights.* By the Rev. W. C. Osborn. 1860.

5. *The*

5. *The Non-Imprisonment of Children.* Nos. 1 and 2. (*Legal Enactments suggested and advocated.*) By the Rev. W. C. Osborn.
6. *The Bird's Nest: a few Words to Little Children.* London: Wertheim and Macintosh.
7. *Exposé de la Situation des Ecoles de Réforme, de Ruysselede, de Wynghene, et de Beernem.* Par Ed. Ducpetiaux. Bruxelles. 1861.

IF there be any persons sufficiently poetical in this utilitarian age to believe in the Jewish doctrine of guardian angels, it may have occurred to them to reflect how incomprehensible must appear, to those celestial beings, the different treatment bestowed by this world upon gifts which are alike valuable and good. The birth of some immortal creature is hailed as an auspicious event, to be ushered in with exclamations of joy and triumph. From his cradle to his tomb, he is petted, cajoled, and cherished in luxury, and the 'Way of the Crown' is seldom to him the 'Way of the Cross.' Some infant heads are pillowed on soft arms; a mother's beaming face suns them with smiles, as first they nestle, warm with life, close to a heart whose every pulsation may be a throb of love, or an unconscious prayer for the little one confided to her keeping. As soon as the child is able to exercise its faculties, and to choose the sweet instead of the bitter, it may be reared in an atmosphere of kindness, and may listen to holy songs in hours of the deepening twilight, whilst as the moral training is carefully preceding the mental, the thorns may be cautiously eradicated from the tender soil, before the good seed is planted to take root in the well-watered ground.

But others, equally tender and innocent, are received coldly and scornfully by an earth which cradles them in indigence and shame. Sometimes they are dandled on the drunkard's knees, or taught to falter their first words from the lips of the foul blasphemer. Sometimes they are orphaned and desolate; and when their young lives are not taken away by want and fever, they are left to waste with hunger, or to 'stretch their tiny hands in vain.' Or worse, they are 'stung as with scorpions' by their parents' vices, and left poor foundlings on the charity of an unfeeling world. Hungry and sad, they wander up and down, nursed by the chilly fingers of grim want, and taught by cruel care or by hard words and blows: their young hearts aching with unnatural voids, their heritage a tainted fame, their lessons laws of sin, and 'oaths for prayers.'

The early lives of some men are filled with innocent pleasure. Their childhood

> 'Sits upon a throne
> That hath more power than all the elements.'

They

They learn of love from sunshine and from flowers, inhaling health and freedom from pure air. They behold goodness and virtue through an attractive halo, and

> 'Worship at the temple's inner shrine,
> God being with them when we know it not.'

Theirs is the knowledge which is not purchased by the 'loss of power,' and they are reared in happy ignorance of 'what is called the world, and the world's ways.' But pauper children have no time for healthy play. Their bodies and souls are crushed by the great Juggernaut of human labour, and their young faces wear the painful look of an unnatural age. They creep about in crowded thoroughfares, or hide in dens of guilt, dreaming of sights which they may never see, or leaning their cheeks upon their poor tired hands. They pine in stifled alleys or dark rooms, fevered by summer heat, or starved by cold; and this dark view is all God's world to them. With quick obedience they learn the lessons they are taught by men; their baby lips lisp out the drunkard's curse, or their ears drink in the hateful sounds which they afterwards repeat as brave tokens of a reckless independence. With tottering feet they are turned out to lie and steal; with eager readiness they hasten to the only work they know; and when in the course of years the world is heaping its rewards upon the head of some young scion of an honoured family, the same outraged society is vindicating its rights, by thrusting these criminal outcasts, whose degradation is owing to its own neglect, into greater depths of wretchedness, driving them to that despair which is the paralysis of the soul, branding them with the felon's brand, pointing at them the finger of scorn, and casting them in shameful exile, as poisonous refuse, from the Fatherland.

Such is the contrast which has often afforded scope to the pencil of poet or painter. It is an old subject, and we know it so well, that we pass it by with a sigh of something like impatience. The fool hath said 'there is no God;' but none there is no sorrow. The existence of trouble around us in this world is such an universally-admitted truth, that we try to drown its voice in the excitement of business, or to ward off the phantom at arm's length by newly-devised pleasures. There is undoubtedly much selfishness in this easy indifference to those sufferings which do not come beneath our immediate notice; yet to listen always to the 'sighs of this goaded world' would be more than mortal could bear. We might often have the keen edge taken from our greatest enjoyments by the pang of unwelcome reminiscences, or we might be embittered in our dearest affections by the fear of human hollowness.

Mercy has decreed otherwise. Sympathy in its highest form cannot be known upon earth; and it is well for us that it should be

be so. For it is only the unfallen angels who can look upon the blackness of an evil heart with eyes in which all hatred and aversion are drowned by the dews of love. It is only the souls of the blessed who float in the ocean of perfect happiness, comprehending all the height and depth of inconceivable mercy, who can dare to look down the deep abyss of sin and suffering, and recognize the justice of the Almighty in the disposal of every fate. 'Sufferings,' it has been said, 'are knowledge, enabling us to act from experience.' There is a tendency in many a life-education, combined with our natural English stoicism, to deaden the feelings and to harden the heart, and nothing is more likely to forward this hardening process than the habit of constantly hearing or witnessing evil which we are unable to remedy or oppose. The pressing wants of a large and ignorant class of the community, and the terrible facts or statistics which are mooted in every newspaper, are miseries which must be recognized and deplored, but they should at the same time be subjected to an active remedial process. There is a vast difference between that comfortable familiarity with physical and moral wretchedness which is the attribute of savages, and the self-denying courage which incites the philanthropist to explore the recesses of woe, that by vigorous effort he may narrow the field of poverty and crime. In the latter case, it is the active feeling of opposition which excludes the presence of callous indifference.

Now perhaps there is no subject on which the feelings of people have been more harrowed of late than this question of juvenile delinquency. The importance of the young is declared to be at its maximum at present, and there is said to be a marked tendency, in all sentimental writers of the present day, to draw their most touching scenes from the nursery or the schoolroom. People are dinned with the adjective 'educational,' and wearied with fresh hobbies for working on the susceptible emotions of tender adolescence. And yet it remains a startling fact that in the metropolis of the British empire, and in all portions of our religious and benevolent country, there lurk thousands of miserable and degraded children, as ignorant as Hottentots of all rules of social life, destitute, and outcast from the nation and the church, who, having no law, are 'a law unto themselves,' and who are yet punished by the civilized community for sins which they never committed. Society is puzzled by the paradox of a large class continually growing up in its centre in a state of savage ignorance, with no better influences around it than those of 'loose life, unruly passions, and diseases pale.' A Government averse to any interference with the rights of the individual, and jealous of the least approach to foreign centralization, can only be shocked at the anomaly. And so, amidst the vaunted progress of

of the age, and the spread of scientific improvement, amidst the encroaching and refining processes which prune our gnarled old branches, and lop our straggling hedges, the lovers of unconventional and uncivilized human nature can still study this bit of wild and independent life. The 'Lazzaroni have not more slang, the Niggers are not more saucy, and the Feejees are not so ignorant,' as these little Bedouins of our London streets; and so there comes to be a vast deal of nonsense written and talked about the naïve peculiarities of our street Arabs. And truly as the deepest tragedy is always veering on the irresistibly comic, a lover of the ludicrous might find much to tickle him in the solemn paraphernalia of justice arrayed against a diminutive urchin, who raises himself on tiptoe to bring his eyes on a level with the bar; or perhaps has to be elevated on a table to help him into view of the judge, but who upsets the gravity of the court by his shrill and impertinent answers, or boldly declares his ambition for the final honour of transportation.* Such cases may only too clearly manifest the mockery or utter hopelessness of attempting to deal with such creatures 'in the imposing forms of law.'

And yet in a reaction of sentimental benevolence, when stern rules of right and wrong are apt to be disliked as harsh and severe, we must not allow ourselves to be misled by the capricious or unsteady convictions of impulse. We must remember that sensibility and justice are ever to be correlatives of each other, and that it is dangerous to yield to the dictates of feeling which are not regulated by law. The stern old-fashioned language which was wont to speak of evil as a thing to be hated and abhorred, (calling as honest John Knox said, 'a fig, a fig; and a spade, a spade,') is a hundred times better than that maudlin charity or cruelty in disguise, which looks upon sin merely as a misfortune, which is for breaking down the barriers which protect society from degradation, and which tries the homœopathical treatment in instances of moral disease, petting instead of punishing in cases where a peculiar temperament or circumstances of life are supposed to have increased the temptation to crime.

From the time when Tom Hood electrified the British public with his stern denunciation upon the heads of the guilty rich for their criminal neglect to the oppressed and untaught poor,

* It would be important if, in the education of ragged children, the distinction could be brought prominently forward between that moral courage which will enable a man to brave disgrace for the cause of virtue or religion, and that physical courage which is sometimes dependent on the absence of sensibility, as may be the attribute of the savage. It is the same bravado and love of adventurewhich is applauded as a mark of spirit among the children of the rich, which causes many a destitute boy to commence a course of crime, and to brave all consequences in a fit of frantic excitement. The idolatry of the English for mere courage and strength leads many an untaught child to form crude notions of right and wrong.

to

to the day when Mrs. Browning thrilled all hearts with her Rachel-like wail for the little ones who were murdered by hundreds through the careless factory system, we have heard such appeals on this subject that it must be owing to our own thoughtless indifference if we have been blind to the abuses which exist around us. But lately Miss Adelaide Proctor has placed before us in true and life-like colours, the most painful pictures of infant misery; Mr. Dickens preceded her in his telling novel of 'Oliver Twist,' and in the story of little Joe in 'Bleak House,' whilst Charles Reade has wound up all feeling to the highest pitch, making the pulses beat and the blood run cold by his highly-wrought and somewhat exaggerated photographs of miserable child-life. It would be unnecessary and impossible to dwell here on the harassing scenes which have roused the indignation of such writers. Bare facts are often the truest eloquence, and the simple statements which appear from time to time in the newspapers, or in the reports of our reformatory or refuge societies carry with them, from their terrible reality, more power to touch the heart than all the flowing periods of rhetoric. We are not likely to improve the present state of things by sitting down with our hands before us in a state of childish despair. We shall never get rid of evil by bewailing over it and wishing it frantically out of our way. And yet when the everlasting law of sorrow is ever at work in God's world, when we all suffer in turns, and the reality of sin is a stern inevitable fact, it is absurd to put it by from us in a spirit of forgetfulness or petulancy. We need not affect a hardened stoicism or a flippant epicureanism. It is unseemly to go laughing through life, indecorous as it would be to trip lightly by the sick-room of a dying fellow-creature; but it is still more unpractical to waste our time in hopeless laments. A manly earnestness (instead of that spiritual cowardice which 'seeks not happiness but longs for rest') is the secret of true usefulness. There exists no rest which is not consistent with energy. It is ours now to breast the tide of life. The waves may be high and the toil may be great, but we surmount each one easier than the last; for here is the mystery, that vigorous effort, instead of exhausting our strength, is kindling every moment a nobler and more delightful sense of existence.

What we want in these cases is vivid truth, and then earnest work. The English people are seldom backward in giving to any cause of charity, and there is a large class of humane and sensitive Christians amongst us which is anxiously looking out for some wise opportunity of doing good. At the same time many of this class have a just dread of those pathetic appeals which may powerfully affect them at the time, and betray them into a weakness which their better judgment shall afterwards repent. Excitable

citable language may be more agitating than real, and those pictures which most affect our feelings may be spurious in detail. Cloudy verbiage and vivid imagination may be united with shallow reasoning. Thus, while we are raving of social Utopias, and making profitless theories on abstract principles, we may be taking the substance for the shadow, and puzzling ourselves unnecessarily with the vast problems of political and social liberty.

The truth is sufficiently evident that there is amongst us, in our present highly vaunted state of civilization, a degraded and helpless class, 'inorganic and unserviceable,' that mars and poisons the healthy state of our social life. Still worse is it that from the midst of this Pariah class in the lowest grade of the social scale is growing up a larger number of untaught and vicious children, inheriting physical and moral disease as a birthright from those parents who spend the money in intoxicating liquors which should be destined for their education. The 'insular' Anglo-Saxon race is no doubt a noble and royal people, destined (as Mr. Isaac Taylor would tell us) 'to anglicize the habitable earth,' and to effect the 'ultimate civilization' of all the globe. We scarcely know how much we love our country till we are called upon to serve it, or till the 'cry of the common mother awakens the filial instinct' in our hearts. That one word 'England,' is bound up with our dearest ties of kindred, and of love; it thrills through us as the trumpet of battle stirs through the blood of the war-horse: it is associated with some of the noblest deeds of modern times, and some of the most splendid achievements of history. It carries with it energy and independence, and men bow before it, as they would before some master spirit—

> 'Calm as an under-current—strong to draw
> Millions of waves into itself.'

And yet there is a spot upon every escutcheon, a skeleton in every cupboard. The problem of Rousseau remains still unsolved, 'Les méchants sont très embarassants.' True, we are sending our missionaries to all quarters of the civilized globe; and yet in the very midst of us are families being trained in a state of savage ignorance, being educated in vice, misery, and crime, and so prepared to meet their lot in this world, and that which is to come. What can we do in this dilemma? We can take out scented pocket-handkerchiefs; we can plant ornamental gardens, or build fanciful Gothic walls, and so keep out the disagreeable recollection of the misery which is poisoning the air, and contaminating our view. Or we can speculate on new social arrangements and fresh parliamentary regulations, which may enable us to get rid of this vitiating impediment to our ultimate civilization.

We

We may drive away an ailment in one form by applying a remedy; but if the source of the disease be not affected we shall be far from the attainment of perfect health. While we are congratulating ourselves on our supposed renovation, the inherent vice in our constitution will probably break out in a more dangerous aspect, and with renewed vigour. Perfection is unattainable by us on earth, being not merely the absence of abuses, but the golden centre of every possible excellence. We cannot, as it has been remarked, abolish or extinguish poverty and crime, but we may lessen the influence and power of both by combined effort and earnest thought. It is one thing, however, to dogmatize inaccurately, to retail carelessly the opinions of other men, or to grapple loosely with the greatest problems which have occupied the human intellect; and another thing to reflect honestly and soberly without allowing ourselves to be influenced by association or vague apprehension.

During the past ten years much has been done by the establishment of reformatory, industrial, and ragged schools, to ameliorate the condition of these degraded masses. The Reformatory School Act which was passed in 1854 made it imperative on magistrates to commit the children, whom they considered fit subjects for such discipline, to prison for fourteen days, 'prior to their removal to such institutions.' This penal qualification, adopted for prudential reasons, has so hindered the operation of the Act, 'that, of the aggregate number of children, 31,753 have been committed to prison during three following years, and only 2890 have been transferred, after imprisonment, to reformatory schools,' thus leaving nine-tenths of our juvenile delinquents totally unaffected by this measure for their assistance.

It must also be remembered that such institutions, in their present state, are rather curative than preventive. It is the 'ragged schools' and 'refuges for the homeless' which deal with the children who furnish the raw material for crime, whilst reformatories have to cope with a greater difficulty in endeavouring to recover those who have been already rendered desperate by temptation and sin. Severe repression has already been tried by us as a means of abolishing crime; but we have pushed the doctrine of such rigid law to a paradox, by supposing that creatures can be treated as morally guilty, who by their own unguided and intuitive reason are totally unable to 'conceive a moral rule.' Our past experience has convinced us that it is far easier to prevent than to eradicate vice. The law of benevolence is the greatest prudence, and to show foresight for others (even on the low ground of common expediency), is the wisest way to secure our own interest. That is a miserable, shortsighted policy which allows the children of the poor to grow up to be a disgrace to our country, and

and to live at its expense; whilst in so doing, we are incurring as great a danger as the Spartans did with their helots, or the Americans may dread from their slaves. When the tow is ready for the burning, the fire may be easily kindled. We must not forget (what our French neighbours call) that 'solidarité' in society by which every member of it becomes responsible for the well-being of others. Prevention is better than cure, prisons are more expensive than lodging-houses or refuges, and emigration is cheaper than transportation.

Arguing on this principle, we may be reminded that our injustice in making the ignorant amenable to laws which they do not comprehend, has extended throughout past centuries; and that it is our gross neglect of the fathers and mothers of these helpless creatures which has entailed upon their offspring the horrible inheritance of 'poverty, ignorance, disease, and crime,' which must influence their destinies through life. If we inquire how best we may remedy this injury by our conduct in time to come, we have quoted to us the saying of Judge Blackstone, that if 'allegiance is the right of the magistrate, protection is undoubtedly the right of the people;' or we are reminded of the principle of Sir James Mackintosh, that 'Government is entitled to obedience from its subjects because without obedience it cannot discharge the duty for which alone it exists of protecting them from each other's injustice;' or we have further the opinion of Baron Alderson, that 'the administration of the law with regard to juvenile offenders requires much amendment;'* and we have the consideration urged upon us that as existing schools and charitable institutions must always be deficient in discipline, since the attendance of the pupils must be voluntary, there exists only one remedy for present abuses, that of compulsory education. An illiterate generation, it is said, must be taught before it can perceive the benefits of education; and as we have had compulsory regulations to prevent the spread of physical disease, or to facilitate the power of travelling, shall we do nothing to stem a moral epidemic, or to aid mental progression?

It is curious that one of the greatest thinkers of the age, whose doctrines with regard to liberty (if carried to their fullest exaggeration) might force the State to abdicate much of its control, and might sentence each generation 'to be an idle spectator of the results of the faults of the generation which preceded it,' has taken this view of the case. It appears strange, at first sight, that Mr. Mill should become one of our staunchest advocates for the duty of enforcing universal education. But such a principle, when further examined, is perfectly consistent with his saying that the

* 'The Cry of Ten Thousand Children, or Cruelty towards the Young; being an Appeal to the Legislature and the Public.' By the Rev. W. C. Osborn, M.A.

tyranny and injustice of the majority is one of the evils against which society should be perpetually on its guard. He who argues that as soon as mankind have a capacity of being guided 'by conviction or persuasion for their own improvement,' compulsion as a force is no longer admissible, is, at the same time, the first to assert that in backward states of society, 'when the race is in its nonage, government control is perfectly legitimate.' The Roman Catholic Church, he reminds us, makes a wide distinction between those who may accept its doctrines on conviction, and the ignorant populace who must take all on trust.

We have, however, neither the time nor the desire to involve ourselves in the mazes of this difficult problem; such a controversial topic could not be fully discussed without committing a grave trespass on political ground. Far better is it for the man who would perform his little stroke of work in his generation, to occupy himself with practical tasks, instead of vague speculations, and after investigating the source and nature of a disease, to apply himself at once to the most obvious method of treatment.

In an age in which associated charity and benevolent usefulness are no longer meaningless terms, society can palliate, and to a great extent remove the evils which we have described. The law can 'take cognizance of crime committed.' It can punish but it cannot prevent, whilst it is totally unable to deal with those offenders who have sufficient tact to elude its vigilance; and though the young and tender are subjected to the full rigour of punishment, many are the obstacles which exist to hinder the detection of hardened criminals. It is here that the various reformatories and refuges step in to remedy the impuissance of the law, to deal with those children whose position especially exposes them to temptation, and to give hope to the penitent in future life. Nor must we undervalue the immense benefit of this system of associated benevolence, which is one of the obvious effects of an advanced state of social improvement. The duties of personal alms-giving and of attending to the claims of the sick and aged were known to the Greeks and Romans; but the wonderful result which may be attained in the aggregate, and the amount of evil which may be obviated, by the power of combination and vicarious charity are discoveries peculiar to that Christianity which recognizes benevolence to others as the first of relative duties.

And whilst it is waiting for new enactments or fresh regulations of Parliament, it is ever in the power of the British people to avail itself of this vast machinery for the amelioration of special diseases. Voluntary co-operation does a work which no Government can do, and the fate of the rising generation depends upon the conscientious earnestness of that which has already risen. To give a cheque to a society is sometimes said to be an easy way of satisfying

satisfying one's conscience at the expense of moral idleness. But there will always be a per-centage of persons in this world by no means wanting in sympathy, or backward in the discharge of known duties, who, from preoccupation or other causes, feel themselves incapacitated for employment in active charity, and to whom a vast field of usefulness may be opened by the energy of others. Therefore before we vent our enthusiasm for the public welfare in endeavouring to devise new plans which shall have an effect upon society, it is better to call attention to the means which are already adopted for relieving this distress. It appeared in 1860 from the report of the 'Reformatory and Refuge Union' (which was founded in 1856, as a centre of encouragement for collecting information with regard to destitute outcasts, and for the promotion of new establishments), that there were then 172 of these institutions in Great Britain and Ireland, more than forty of which have been established since the commencement of the Union. At that time 11,000 of our boys and girls were under preventive treatment; whilst the penitentiaries numbered 2,300 inmates. In the metropolis alone, according to recent statistics, there are 36 refuges, homes, and industrial schools—15 for boys and 21 for girls; 14,000 children being fed, lodged, and taught to earn their bread by honest employments. Those which were opened in 19, Broad Street, for the homeless and destitute children of the parishes of St. Giles and Bloomsbury, have furnished from time to time the most encouraging reports, proving the possibility of rescuing those miserable children from wretchedness and crime, and preparing them for happy and useful lives in this country or our colonies. These children are taken from the alleys and dens of wickedness, where the foul companionship of others, and terrible incentives to vice are dogging their daily path. At first sight there could be no more hopeless material for the efforts of charity. From a sanitary point of view the condition of many such children is a terrible one. Some of them are afflicted with diseases which are engendered by squalid penury, many are undersized, and many are the victims of scrofula. Still it is rather the absence of morality which has to be contended with in these cases than the presence of positive vice, and much may be effected by the adoption of regular hours, healthy food, and instruction suited to their circumstances. Great is the reward of seeing the scowling faces cleared by smiles, and of watching the intractable as they become first docile and then obedient, till in the course of years the lost child is transformed into the useful and diligent citizen.

Yet it is not to be supposed that the instruction which is communicated on one day in seven, or given in spare hours on winter evenings, can be sufficiently efficacious to cope with the evils which are

hourly at work. The minds of girls (who, as Miss Carpenter has shown, are always more degraded than boys by the presence of crime) have often been singularly benefited by the incidental influence which is brought to bear upon them in Sunday schools. But such fragmentary instruction is of slight value when compared with what might be the effect of the constant example of a Christian mother. These girls (as it has been remarked) less need *lessons*, than humane communion with some superior mind; and even this is of little use when their housing is in a manner which 'too nearly resembles the conditions of Hottentot life.' It is earnest consideration which is wanted for these things. We should bring that thought to bear upon the question, which will cost us more labour than soup and flannel petticoats for the poor. It is the want of education amongst the needy and degraded which makes them the creatures of impulse and enslaves them to the power of habit. Misled by the ordinary run of story-books, or memoirs of religious death-beds, we are apt to expect too great things from the poor at first, forgetting that we are compound creatures, and that the education of children, from the first, should be physical as well as intellectual. The recent advancements of science might be brought to bear upon the treatment of public health. Impure air and unwholesome food are amongst the most fertile sources of the evils which characterize savage life at its most degraded stage; and if improvement could be effected by attention to the health and habits of the lower orders, many of those minor offences might be averted which are 'accidents of their barbarous condition,' though the 'deeper sources of crime' might probably remain untouched by such partial remedies.*

Meanwhile the question still remains to be solved—What is to be done with those 10,000 State-neglected, orphaned, or corrupted children who are annually committed to our gaols? The minor

* Healthy and nutritious food is especially needed by the children of the poor, to counteract the too probable taint of scrofula in the blood. The late Dr. Snow pointed out that the great frequency of rickets among the children of the poor was probably mainly owing to the adulteration of bread with alum. He showed that the sulphuric acid of the alum decomposed the phosphate of lime in the wheat, forming sulphate of lime, which would not be available as nourishment for the bones. Liebig had previously explained, on the same principle, the indigestibility of London bread, which strikes all foreigners, but which unfortunately forms the chief and almost the only article of food amongst the children of the working classes.

As potato diet is equally objectionable from other causes, it would be advisable for each establishment (reformatory or refuge) to bake its own bread; and, as flour-dealers seldom adulterate their flour, a much purer article of diet would be secured. Cleanliness and healthy ventilation should be attained at all risks. Lock-jaw amongst very young children is sometimes brought on by vitiated air. Excellent results have followed the introduction of gymnastic exercises amongst the children at the Bicêtre, in Paris. A good playground, not built round with high walls, but attractive in its appearance, should be a desideratum in all such establishments.

offences

offences of children in the middle and upper classes of society are passed over with that immunity which saves them from the degradation of a useless imprisonment; whilst the law called 'Misprision of felony,' in some cases, condemns other fathers and mothers to resign their little ones to the severity and contamination of a common gaol. The 'Youthful Offenders' Act' making imprisonment necessary prior to consigning children to reformatory schools, has done little to lessen the disgrace of incarceration.

The oppressive effect of such confinement upon the minds and souls of the young, the uselessness of instruction amidst high walls, iron bars, and deadening constraint, the cases of mental irritation and occasional suicide which have resulted from the silent system amongst children, with the contamination of mind, want of self-respect, and evil familiarity which are engendered by the open system, and the loss of character, which, for the future, shuts them out from honest employment, and 'shakes them off as drowning wretches,' to sink, or support themselves by crime, are painful facts which are only too well known to all who have interested themselves in the subject. A half-starved, neglected child driven to crime 'by the instincts of its nature,' is thus associated with the burglar and assassin. A dark stain is fixed on its character for life; it is dragged to its cell clinging to the officer for protection, or crying to be taken to its mother, and in many a case such an early experience of severity 'goes far to ruin it for life.'* At least it has been said that such helpless little ones should 'at first be taught what is right, before their offences are exposed to publicity, or visited with penal disgrace.'

A legal enactment has for some time been proposed and advocated in the pages of the 'Friend of the People,' which suggests, 'That no child under sixteen years of age, apprehended for any offence punishable by summary jurisdiction, shall be committed to prison, unless the child has been previously committed to a reformatory school.' This measure being humane and simple in its object, and the legislature having lately manifested great interest in the progress of reformatory schools, it is hoped, that in process

* The contents of the returns recently referred to by Mr. Kinnaird in the House of Commons, as to the flogging of young children in gaols, have been sufficient to rouse public indignation. These returns have, however, been understated, whilst the use of such an instrument of torture as the 'cat' for young children of nine, eight, and even seven years of age, is an act of the grossest cruelty. The universal dread of pain, and objection to physical discomfort, which characterize our age, are thought by some to be proofs of a morbid and unreal sensibility. But there are substantial objections to such inflictions, in the case of juvenile delinquents; for, as no punishment affords so much scope for bad temper and tyranny of disposition in others, so it degrades the mind of the child and robs him of that self-respect which is the principal element on which the reformatory system can work, while it often renders him nervous and debilitated, giving a serious shock to his system.

of

of time it will secure the attention of Parliament, and emancipate these schools from a virtual inconsistency which cannot fail to cramp their usefulness. Meanwhile an association has been formed for the 'Non-imprisonment of children,' which will endeavour to 'diffuse information amongst the public generally.'

It is only necessary to draw the attention of our readers to the existence of such an association. Yet, as a just and fair experiment of how successfully the reformatory discipline may be caused to supersede that of the prison in the case of the child, we need only refer to the recent experience of our continental neighbours, especially to that of M. Ducpetiaux, in the useful establishments of Ruysselede and Beernem. The progress of juvenile delinquency in the poverty-stricken country of Belgium before the establishment of these institutions had been so great, that the infection of crime was spreading amongst its dense population to an alarming and frightful extent. The discipline of the school at Ruysselede is modelled on the plan of the celebrated institution of Mettray. There is an amalgamation of the industrial with the remedial system, which would be impracticable with us, where the prison must be the 'vestibule of the school.'

The French law which treats children of a certain age as '*sans discernement*,' and therefore not to be judged as adults, is analogous to that of Belgium, where the child-thief is considered as '*doli incapax*,' and is sent direct to this establishment, without branding him with the stigma of the gaol. The Ruysselede reformatory house accommodates 600 boys, and that of Beernem 300 girls. The school at Wynghene is specially dedicated to the training of more advanced pupils for the navy or merchant service. There could hardly be more unpromising materials for the efforts of M. Ducpetiaux and his assistants than these pauperized and vicious children; but the result of a wise and systematic *régime*, combining kindness with firmness, and enforcing attention to regular hours, and healthy work, has been as great as the most enthusiastic friends of humanity could desire. Upon their admission to the reformatory about one-half of the boys and two-thirds of the girls are found in a state of the most degraded ignorance, and entirely without all notions of religion. Many of them are the victims of physical disease, and all are small of stature. But notwithstanding this miserable sanitary condition the average mortality in these institutions is found to be less than that of the Belgium population in general. The boys are trained as smiths, wheelwrights, and agriculturists, while tailoring and shoemaking is also taught. The girls, under the superintendence of nine 'Sœurs de Notre Dame,' are taught needlework, washing, &c., and educated for useful servants. The system of giving rewards as remunerative of skilful labour, and of placing the names of those who

who conduct themselves properly on a '*Tableau d'honneur*,' is found to have a better effect upon the formation of character than the utmost severity of punishment. In no case is corporal chastisement permitted.

Let us hope that the moral influence which has been brought so successfully to bear upon the criminal children of Belgium, may in time be extended to our own country. The success of this enterprise seems greatly to have depended on the combination of the pauper with the criminal element. We have lately had abundant demonstrations of the evil effects of our workhouse system in depressing the spirits of children. It may truly be called an awful consideration that the girls, who, by hundreds, leave these establishments every year, in our kingdom, drift almost helplessly to inevitable destruction. Upon the 'living soul, only the living soul can act;' it is the want of human kindness and the absence of all the ties of relationship which leave the moral nature wholly uncultivated, which rob youth and life of every ray of sunlight, and degrade human beings to the level of mere bread-getting machines. Education, which must be adapted to the ignorant mind and immature character, must necessarily be fragmentary and incomplete, but it need not reduce the existence of the growing and sensitive child to the dreary routine of a galley-slave.

There is an old and often-repeated story, very familiar to us in this Christian country, which might go far to convince us of the superior power of tenderness and love in acting upon the childish heart. Women of England, you who know the magic of one Holy Name, and believe in it as no fragment of an outworn tradition; think you, if He had seen these shivering little ones, He had not yearned with pitying tenderness, dimming his human eyes, while you too often, forget? Mothers, who gaze with love on your fair girls, as the quick blush of pleasure paints your cheeks, you thank kind heaven for their innocence. But wait in your gladness, and listen to the step outside your door, of vagrant wanderers, all as young, and left untaught, unloved, nurtured, oh, say not how!

Our own sun may be bright and our households full of peace, but dark and cloudy days have cast their shadows on some brothers' hearts. Shall we let the little children tread alone through dark Gethsemanes, not knowing of the blood which marked the way, and ignorant how the thorns have been trodden down for all our suffering race? We hear them groan in bitterness, 'Lama sabacthani!' 'Bone of our bone' they are, and 'flesh of our flesh,' and we are men, and God has given us *hearts*.

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## EARLY SOCIAL STATE OF VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.

nd twenty years ago was wandering about seas. He discovered at region of westerly d it a spot favoured a charming climate, and pleasing land- it the name of Van fter his Dutch friend Batavia. A lonely sparkling with beauty er the most attractive o him — Maria, the f the governor. Too other Dutch settle- any commercial ad- ntrymen of Tasman e discovery. Beyond n Cook one hundred after, nothing was very southern land ent of Port Jackson, f convictism. istry afterwards con- r penal establishment. aptain Flinders upon Port Phillip harbour lition being sent there . The party located

people, free and bond, were rationed from the public stores. Works of public utility were commenced, and gave employment to the male convict population. The female portion were few in numbers, and had no engagements but as servants to the civil and military officers, or were attached to their quarters in a less honourable capacity. As sentences expired, or pardons were given, an intermediate class sprang into existence. Gradually all the machinery of a civilized city was set in motion, and Hobart Town ceased to be a camp. As prisoners kept coming in in excess of the requirements of Government, or, rather, from a shameful neglect of provision for their arrival, it was customary for a ship to be discharged, and the poor creatures to find lodgings for themselves wherever they could, penniless and strangers to the town. This inhumanity caused the weak and decent to suffer great hardships, and gave occasion to the stronger and more reckless to indulge their old habits of pillage and attack. It was many years, in fact, before the erection of what

necessity. How the women procured the means for their fellow-convicts may be supposed.

The assignment system had its bright and its dark side. With a good master a man acquired a knowledge of a trade, was kept in a state of almost comfortable independence, and had a favourable future open to him. With a bad employer he was neglected in person, and subject to much tyranny and even cruelty. The slightest complaint would procure only increased trouble. His life would be a burden; and many decent men were thus driven to commit atrocities who would otherwise have been reformed. By good behaviour in service indulgences of partial freedom were procured. By ill conduct the period of prison discipline was extended. Many unable to endure the ignominy of domestic slavery, especially with the arbitrary and often unjust infliction of the lash, preferred the dangers and privations of the wild bush life. Subsisting necessarily upon the produce of robbery, as the forest gave few means of livelihood, they brought themselves not only to the condition of bolters, so called, but the more terrible name of bushrangers: they who thus took to the woods with arms were by that very act outlawed, and exposed to condemnation of death.

Bushranging was quite an institution of Van Diemen's Land. Usually it was conducted upon the Dick Turpin principles, and comprehended the various crafts of footpads, highwaymen, and burglars. It has sometimes been the solitary exercise of these arts of villany, and at other times it has assumed the importance of organized and mounted bands, worthy of the condottieri or banditti of the Apennines. The singularly hilly nature of the country, its vast morasses to the westward, its deep jungle-like scrub, and its almost interminable forests, afforded admirable shelter and concealment to the rogues, and great facilities for their operations. Not recognized as robbers, in the vulgar sense of the term, by a large portion of the community, but receiving their sympathy as objects of tyranny and wanderers in distress, they often got warning of the approach of justice, and were aided in escape when in danger of capture. In some cases there was a collusion between the convict servants and the outlaws, which assisted in robbery, and prevented surprise. More than once the little island was so completely in the hands of these bushrangers that travelling beyond the precincts of townships was quite unsafe, and commerce received a serious check.

It is not for us here to enter into a history of crime, and detail the performances of the Turpins and Sheppards of the colony; but as a remarkable illustration of the early social state, we may allude to a solemn compact once entered into between the representative of his Majesty King George III., the autocratic governor of the island, and a desperado of the bush, a runaway convict:—A certain atrocious fellow, named Michael Howe, had taken to the course of bushranging with such success as to fill the country with terror. He was single-handed, but bold in attack, and rapid in movement. In the year 1813, however, he found himself exposed to extra trouble by the desertion of his aboriginal partner, Mary, and her active co-operation with the constables in pursuit, from a desire of revenge for his cruelty toward her. But still formidable from his prowess, he resolved to enter into a treaty with Government. He sent a letter by a trusty messenger, offering to come to town if assured of protection and forgiveness. Governor Davey sent one of his military officers to negotiate this singular piece of colonial diplomacy. The correspondence of Howe was in grand terms. It was addressed, 'To the Governor of the Town,' from 'The Governor of the Ranges.' Terms being arranged, the forest hero came to Hobart Town, and for a time enjoyed the comforts of civilization, the plaudits of admirers, and the respect of the authorities. As he tired soon of these 'soft delights,' he broke his parole, and returned to his bush pursuits. Through the treachery of a comrade he was betrayed, and the capturer of his head received a handsome reward.

It was at the close of the early times that the penal establishment of Macquarrie Harbour was formed for the worst of offenders. It has been thus described by the writer, in one of his colonial works:—'The harbour is on the western side of the island. The ever-rushing westerly breezes easily carry the mariner inwards, but oppose an

an obstinate resistance to his exit. The shores are rocky and gloomy, and the almost perpetual rains add no cheerfulness to the atmosphere. The scenery is wild and repulsive, and the soil hopelessly barren. The cathedral-pinnacled sandstone ranges rise against the more sombre and rounded hills of slate, while the quartzose sea-cliffs glare painfully in the sun. The hills are scantily covered with a coarse, wiry grass; the gullies are either choked with tangled brush, or, as a fairy scene, adorned with the umbrageous and elegant fern tree. The scrub is almost impracticable on the steep banks of the mountain streams. Separated from the settled parts of the colony by impervious forests, rapid rivers, dangerous marshes, and almost inaccessible acclivities, and reached only at sea by a tempest-tossed voyage along an iron-bound coast, the locality seemed a fitting Tartarus for the worst of criminals. Those defiant and irreclaimable ones who pester society with their presence, might there be safely confided to the guardianship of forbidding Nature.' This was the place selected for the most barbarous and frightful course of prison discipline that has, perhaps, ever been known, and to which the dungeon life of Naples may fairly be compared. Well might one say of it, 'There man lost the aspect and the heart of man.'

The wretched convicts had to cut down the pine for the Hobart Town market, construct their prison houses, and build vessels. Their food was scanty in quantity and wretched in description. Ill clad, wet, cold, half famished, overwrought, brutally treated, often mercilessly flogged, consorted with ruffians, and governed by irresponsible despots, their lives were torture. Some idea of the Macquarrie Harbour hell may be formed from these two statements:—In 1822, out of 182 men there, 169 received the awful amount of 7,000 lashes; and of 85 persons who died in a certain time, 27 were drowned, 8 killed accidentally, 3 shot by soldiers, and 12 murdered by their comrades. It is surely a matter of thankfulness and congratulation that that era of suffering and revengeful justice has passed, that social science has since been recognized and developed, and that the offender against the laws of the land has some prospect of leaving this prison sojourn a better and a happier man. But we must be astonished that the philanthropists and Christians of Britain could allow such a state of things to last from 1822 to 1833.

It would not be right, in an account of the early social state of the island, to omit allusion to the aborigines.

These unhappy people were, in all probability, some thousands in number at the settlement of the colony. There was some expectation that the natives might have been turned into slaves; but, unlike the negroes, and more like their fellow foresters, the Indians of America, the Tasmanians and Australians would never bow the neck in servitude.

In the commencement of the penal establishment an outrage was committed upon the blacks. In the days of famine, when the prisoners were scattered through the bush, hunting for kangaroos, further assaults were made, and ill-feeling aroused. The only cause of attack and bloodshed was the whites' conduct towards the females of the tribe. Coarse, brutal, and lustful, even toward their own country-people, our exiles were especially so when in contact with the dark-skins. They seized and inhumanly treated the women. They were equally ready with their formidable weapons to resent the complaints of husbands and fathers. The stock-keepers and shepherds, who lived on the borders of civilization, were the deadliest foes to these unhappy creatures. Bribed by the offer of European food, or worse, by the offer of European strong drink, the Lubra was seduced to the hut of the white savage for his prey. Sometimes the bribe was for the male protector, who led the weeping victim to the lair of the beast. As may be expected, great cruelty often followed the satisfaction of other demoniacal passions.

The bushrangers—men at large for war against their own race—were constant objects of dread to the simple ones of the bush. Well-armed, desperate, outlawed, these brutal men were often guilty of the foulest crimes against the Tasmanians. Seduction, torture, and murder are chronicled as their deeds. But they were often little worse than their fellow-convicts who acted as out-station servants. Many took a savage delight in shooting the 'black crows,' as they called them; and some boasted of roasting the young 'black

'black pigs.' Personally acquainted with men whose exploits thus outsavaged savages, we have heard from their own mouths their tales of violation and slaughter; their sole apology was that they were but brutes after all. Not satisfied with the bullet, they murdered by the slower death of the disease of vice, and taught the suicide of alcohol.

Can it be wondered, then, that, when the tribes saw themselves shot down as vermin, their women rendered barren by a loathsome disorder, and their country monopolized by these murderous whites, they should turn like the beast at bay, and inflict wounds in despairing ferocity? Thus it was that the early days of Van Diemen's Land became associated with the terrible Black War. For several years the conflicts were numerous and bloody. The Europeans sought revenge for one death in the slaughter of a whole tribe, and most atrocious cruelties upon helpless women and children. The natives, regarding the whites as members of one family, and sharers in one system of spoliation and cruelty, were indiscriminate in their attacks, and assaulted alike the quiet farmer and the ruffianly stock-keeper, the innocent wife and the guilty bushman.

The early days were darkened by these sad events. The intricacy of the forests, the defence of the scrub, the wildness of gullies, which had served bushrangers so well in their contest with authority, were equally protective to the aborigines in their outrages. Their attacks were sudden and unexpected. A man was ploughing in the field, and a spear from an unseen foe entered his back. Another, passing along a road with his team, would receive the blow before the sound of a footstep reached him. Mothers were brained with the wooden club, and children mangled with the stone tomahawk. Huts were set on fire by winged spears with lighted bark. The whole of the interior was disturbed. Property was of little value where life was so unsafe.

This bloody conflict, provoked by the whites, could not be expected to result in anything but annihilation to the blacks. We have heard old natives tell the story of those dreadful times, but this is not the occasion to expatiate upon such horrors. We have but just glanced at this chapter, one of the most eventful and singular of the early social state of Van Diemen's Land.

The social history of the colony is most darkly shadowed forth in the drinking system among its inhabitants.

When we regard the origin of the settlement, the character of the guardians of that island-gaol no less than of the convicts themselves, we cease to be surprised at the enormity of intemperance. Most were expatriated for offences directly or indirectly occasioned by drink. Arrived among scenes even more debasing than those to which they had been accustomed, it was not to be expected that their appetite for liquor would be lessened. Miserable in condition, and hopelessly dejected, they gladly fled to the only comfort open to them—the momentary excitement of pleasure in rum. Even their officers felt exiled from civilization, from society, from humanizing influences, and, in many instances, rapidly sunk, even to the low moral standard of the very prisoners themselves.

Rum, from the first, was the difficulty of the colony. It was the source of the social disorders of the early times. As at New South Wales, it was the medium of exchange. Articles were bought and sold for so many gallons of rum. A property, since valued at several thousands of pounds, was exchanged for five gallons of rum. Sometimes the payment was a return of merchandize and so much rum. Labour was paid for in rum. The mechanic received his wages in rum. He had to exchange some for food, but was naturally tempted to consume most himself. The very police, convict constables, had a stipend of rum from the paternal government. Provided with rations and clothes, they were allowed for private expenses a quart of rum weekly. But as this was administered in quarterly quantity, the recipients usually made merry with their companions till the stock was exhausted. Among other commercial transactions with this medium of exchange, the early annals furnish us with a curious story. A man was tired of his wife. She might have left him on terms of mutual understanding, and could easily have found a *protector*. A time or two she had deserted him for the home of another; and rough measures seem to have wearied out the husband. But he could not engage to part with her, or rather, not to leave her unmolested with

with another, unless he got an equivalent. A neighbour was willing to bargain. After some debate, the article was knocked down to him for twenty ewes and a gallon of rum.

We were informed by an eye-witness of a most extraordinary state of affairs; for the space of nearly six weeks everybody in the island was drunk from the governor downwards! The occasion was a singular one. Soon after the colonization a terrible famine raged for two years. Supplies were not forthcoming from England; Sydney could not spare any, and cultivation was in its infancy. The French war engaged too much of the thoughts of the British ministry to induce them to regard the wants of a penal settlement at the antipodes. Fortunately there were kangaroos, if not flour; and the establishment lost its little show of discipline in this hunting existence. When the tide of suffering turned, and the commissariat stores were filled to the joy of all who loved low prices of drink as well as biscuits, the governor expressed himself marvellously pleased with the conduct of the convicts. The fact is they had been little trouble, because they were usually scattered about in the bush, hunting for kangaroos—there were no country settlers to rob—and there was no rum to drive them to insubordination or to crime. It was said that the officers sought an occasion for a jubilee, as they called it, or a spree, in modern nomenclature. Any how, a license was proclaimed. There was to be freedom from public work, and a liberal grant of rum per day during the carnival. The consequence was, the total subversion not only of temperance, but of those common notions of decency and propriety to be found among savages.

Colonel Davey, who reigned some fifty years ago, was a consistent expounent of the primitive order of virtues. He was esteemed a 'jolly good fellow' by the prisoners. He would sit in public, with his long pipe and glass of rum-punch, to the envy of passers-by, with whom, however, he had always a friendly word or vulgar joke. By no means harsh as a disciplinarian, he was anxious, he said, that the poor wretches should enjoy themselves as well as himself. He was the first to establish a sort of drinking court. Though by no means a teetotaller at other times, he relaxed once or twice a month, and held a convivial meeting out of town with his officers and their ladies, which was not quite upon a par with the institution of the drawing-room of majesty. Surrounded by choice spirits, he indulged in the wildest merriment, and threw off the cares of state as he quaffed the bowl. To add to the sports of the occasion, the town gang would be introduced, who sought by the lowest buffooneries and other excesses to amuse this viceregal court. Strange to say, some fastidious merchants, alias shopkeepers, chose once to decline an invitation to one of these orgies, and were well punished for their disloyalty. Soon after, the governor had a more becoming celebration at the Hobart Town Palace, and specially invited the malcontents. They felt flattered with the attentions of his honour, and resorted in due course. The old colonel was bland in the extreme, and most courteously led his mercantile guests into the dining-room. The table was spread with tempting viands, and the gentlemen sat themselves down smilingly before the smoking dishes. Just then, according to previous arrangement, at a wink of the merry lord of the feast, the aforesaid convict gaol gang rushed into the apartment, seized upon the spread in spite of the resistance of the guests, and left a naked board for the repast.

The officers of government themselves held no mean position in the liquor-traffic of the early times. Favoured with privileges in obtaining the article, they were not slow in turning their good fortune to mercantile account. Unfortunately, the demand usually exceeded the supply, and made their toil easy and their profits large. As it was not quite according to the rules of official etiquette to be seen vending themselves, they found active agents in the ladies attached to their establishments, as their previous habits and existing sentiments presented no obstacles in the path of trading delicacy. Though the customs of the day sanctioned their left-handed alliance with gentlemen, they were none the less able to be porteresses of rum to the ruffians of society.

In those rude times it was not thought essential to a debauch that men should be furnished with the luxurious refinements of modern civilization. A party, intending to treat themselves, would empty the liquor into a bucket, and,

and, sitting round, dip a tin pannican into the vessel and so supply their thirst. All classes were more or less addicted to this sad habit. The criticism, given to us by an old convict, of his ancient master, a magistrate, would forcibly apply to a large number: 'When spirits were plenty in the colony he was generally indisposed.'

At first spirits were supposed to be prohibited. Then they came on sufferance. No distillation was allowed. No vessel could land intoxicating drinks except for the Government, and supposed to be for government purposes. Originally all civilians as well as military attached to the State were provided with rations from the public stores; and, of course, rum, regarded then as a necessity, was furnished along with pork and flour. This led to the abuses. Men got out by favour or bribery more than their due, and thus became traders, as well as robbers of the British treasury. The low state of public morals favoured this system of peculation. As prisoners emerged from bondage into the condition of partial freedom, called emancipation, they secured directly or indirectly a share in the public plunder, and helped their superiors in the infraction of colonial regulations.

To meet this growing evil, it was enacted that all free persons, free by arrival or servitude, should have *permits*, authorizing them to get ten gallons of rum, and ten only, from any merchant vessel coming into the harbour; that is, they were allowed to purchase for their private use to that extent. But such was the corruption of the officers, that it was easy to make such terms with them as would make the same permit last several trips to the vessel. One man acknowledged that thus he made his ten gallon order run up to three hogsheads. Of course, all this would become material for clandestine trade, for at that period none was authorized to dispose of alcoholic drinks.

Then it was, to correct the abuses of this system, that the licenses came into vogue. They were granted with great caution, and to persons supposed to be trustworthy; so dangerous was the traffic even then felt to be in the community, notwithstanding the deterioration of morals, and the universal propensity to alcoholic indulgence. The same watchfulness was supposed to be exercised by officers throughout the country. It was expressly asserted that a few such public-houses would be sanctioned, on purpose to arrest the clandestine sale. If that was the object, it signally failed; for, upon the introduction of taverns, so cautiously originated, so jealously guarded, the sly grog-selling progressed more than ever. The material was to be procured with less difficulty, and, therefore, more entered into that irregular but profitable pursuit.

As the first publicans did so well, others were importunate for a share of the advantages. The Government, though a little shocked for the time, saw the demand for licenses with secret pleasure, as it furnished the treasury without trouble; men willingly paid for licenses, and as willingly paid duties levied upon the liquors. When once the license system was formally established, this financial reason at once upheld and encouraged it. A Tasmanian historian thus remarks upon it: 'The specious advantage to the revenue exhibited by our colonial statistics, protected a vice so useful. The influence of this interest cannot be overstated; to put down spirit drinking would, in equal proportion, disturb colonial finance.' It was soon after 1810 that public-houses were sanctioned by law. The duty levied upon spirits was seven and sixpence a gallon British, and ten shillings foreign. When, for a short time, the experiment of colonial distillation was allowed, the duty upon the home-made product was one-half that upon the British one. This was in 1828. It is a curious fact that one of the colonial distilleries, situated near Hobart Town, was purchased by Government, about the year 1826, and converted into a place of confinement for female prisoners. This was a sort of cause and effect transition, pretty well understood even in this day. The state protection, and even fostering, of the liquor-traffic, so unfortunately conspicuous in colonial legislation, would be found to exist, for the same financial reasons, in this latter half of the nineteenth century, in the most civilized and Christian nation in the world. It becomes us, then, to suspend hasty judgment of condemnation in our early colonial rulers, in the infancy of a rude state of society.

These primitive inns were not more remarkable for their propriety of conducting,

ducting, than for the comfort of their accommodation. Some of them were in their original rough state upon our first acquaintance with Tasmania, in 1841. They were miserable in structure, size, furniture, and keeping. A few of the Osteria sort in Rome might possibly compare with them. They were essentially drinking places, intended for the lowest characters. One, writing thirty years ago, says: 'I remember when I arrived here first, the public-houses were filled with convicts night and day, tippling, gaming, and concocting robberies. It was often dangerous to walk the streets in day-time.' And yet the law declared that any publican permitting prisoners to get drunk in their places would be fined twenty dollars for each offence. When these men of the barrel were spoken to about the enormity and danger of supplying liquor in such quantities to this class, especially upon Sundays and unseasonable hours, they pleaded the claims of self-interest. Gorgenson tells us: 'They pleaded, in defence of suffering convicts in their houses at all hours, that they dared not offend them, for that they derived their principal profits from money spent by the prisoners.'

It is not surprising that the publicans became soon important members of the colonial aristocracy. Wealth is honoured in Britain, without fastidious inquiry as to the means by which it is acquired; some indulgence, then, may be granted to a penal settlement in its recognition of the public claims of riches. Spirit dealers were the leading merchants of the day. We were personally cognizant of the fact of several of the leading publicans being the chief lenders of money. Their principal customers in this department of their trade had been the most frequent visitors at their drawing establishment. A mortgage would be readily granted to persons of that class for three particular reasons: affection to their thirsty friends, the provision of twenty to thirty per cent. interest, and the high probability of the property, from non-fulfilment of the deeds, coming into their hands some day at a cheap rate. Gratitude to the man who extricated him from difficulties, at such a rate of usury, led the poor inebriate to spend a little more cash for the benefit of the dealer.

We have before our minds the story of those early residents, who rose to opulence upon the ruin of others through drink. One of these, forsaking a more respectable trade, opened a groggery in a place renowned for devotion to Bacchus. Had a person desired to conduct business respectably, as it is called, here, the state of society would have prevented it. Where all was coarseness, refinement could not be assumed. It is but justice, however, to this gentleman to say, that though uneducated himself, and not too particular at first about the house he kept, he sought to add the attractions of literature to the seductions of liquor, to increase the popularity of his business, and the weight of his gains. He succeeded, and took a position of credit and influence. At the present moment he is one of the leading men of Australia, and for years has identified himself with means for the improvement of his fellows. A second became also a wealthy man. The third established one of the largest landed estates in the country. Both of these two commenced their rum trade in the humblest manner. They each managed somehow to procure two gallons of spirits; and it was with this moderate supply that they hoisted their signs.

The terrible consequences of this extension of the traffic awoke the thoughtful to a sense of coming destruction. The resources of the colony were being absorbed in drink, the time was wasted through it, crime was alarmingly increased by it, and deaths were almost wholly occasioned by it. The Rev. Mr. Horton wrote home in 1821 a dismal tale of horrors. Referring to one locality he says: 'Of the deaths there, all except two are attributed to accident or drunkenness.' He might have added that the accidents were usually the fruits of intemperance. Dr. Ross made but a cautious statement when he wrote thirty odd years ago: 'One-half of those that die in the colony at the present time perish directly or indirectly through drunkenness.' When the Governor Arthur arrived, he sought in this, as in other ways, to effect moral reform. But, as a harsh military man, of stern principles, and high-handed rule, he placed too much reliance upon the force of proclamations. He sought to do all by the aid of constables, those wretched convicts who were thus enlisted in the administration of law. He resolved to deal

deal a death-blow to the sly grog-sellers, the supposed primary source of mischief. These parties were always more obnoxious than others to government officers, because, though, from the secret way they effected their sales, they could not be so injurious to the peace of the community as those over whose public course of trade there was little or no restraint, yet they never took out licenses, and so failed to contribute to the coffers of the treasury. This greatly increased the criminality of their conduct in the eyes of financial rulers. In 1827, therefore, we find that, armed with a warrant, a constable could break open any place of which he had, or said he had, suspicions, and there search for beer or spirits. These were seized. If the owner were unable to satisfy the magistrate as to the quantity found, the whole would be forfeited. Any one charged by one of these convict constables with clandestinely selling drink, would be summarily sentenced to very heavy penalties, and, in default of the payment, be sent to perpetual imprisonment, or until the fine was forthcoming. This cruel edict of Governor Arthur's, so arbitrarily exposing men to the malice and avaricious wickedness of prisoner police, was subsequently mitigated. It was also easy by a prudent douceur to avoid prosecution and silence slander. Thus, the really offending escaped, and the impracticable, though innocent, fell into the snare.

It is pleasing to record, just in passing, that a great change took place in the pretty island in reference to this feature of the social economy. If not acquainted with the people during the epoch to which our remarks referred, we were resident there twenty years ago, and can speak with some confidence upon their state. We dare assert that, in spite of its convictism, its numerical majority of bondsmen, its antecedents of reproach, Tasmania exhibited ten years since a development of temperance superior to what existed in Britain. Even now, in spite of the retrograde influence of the gold discovery, Tasmania need not be ashamed of comparison for sobriety with any other Anglo-Saxon people.

A few words will explain the POLITICAL CONDITION of Van Diemen's Land in the early times.

Established wholly as a penal settlement, no one could land thereon but with a permit; it was truly, 'No admittance except on business.' It was not till 1813 that the disability was removed. In that year the Home Government threw open the island. Any might go thither 'without any license whatever.' The mercantile class would be the first in the field. Then came the capitalist for money lending on easy terms of twenty, thirty, and forty per cent. At the close of the great European war, officers of the army and navy flocked there, to take advantage of grants of land, and labour at small cost. The favourable report of the country by a Wesleyan missionary visitor, drew a number of that religious communion to this field of money making and usefulness. Other classes followed. Thus did the free element gain progress. At the same time, the convicts were gradually working through their term of first punishment, gaining their emancipation, and taking their place among the free men.

As might be supposed, the discipline and laws were arranged only for a penal establishment. The advent of immigrants, respectable and intellectual as most of them were, even in comparison with other colonies, and with other immigrations, causing at first no change in the administration of affairs, which pressed heavily enough upon that portion of the community. The rise of the prisoner class to freedom, also, seemed to necessitate a change. But the desire of power is natural, and the love of the retention thereof common to all ages. Governors felt no wish for encroachments upon their glorious prerogatives, and the Home Government was led by the representations of officials more than by the petitions of questioned individuals. The evils of the primitive rule of despotism, therefore, remained to a late period in Van Diemen's Land, and no little martyrdom was experienced before the blessing of liberty was obtained.

Though nominally the governor was assisted by a council, all the members of which, however, were appointed by himself or predecessor, yet he was not bound to abide by their decisions, nor act upon their advice, if he deemed the circumstances, for instance, of a character to endanger the peace of the settlement, or insufficient for the repression of what he might regard as a mutinous

mutinous sign. Of this condition of things he was to be sole judge, and might then act upon his individual responsibility, even against the united will of his nominee council.

Magistrates were appointed by the governor, but removable at any moment. Originally they received no pay, but had an allowance of rations for four convict servants, which assisted them in their farm, or helped to maintain their family. The power used by these men of justice was often most arbitrary. It is a matter of regret that the first chaplains of the townships, who served as the earliest justices, were not always noted for their mercy, much less their justice. Busied in their farms, they were not too lenient in the treatment of supposed neglect or insubordination with servants. The punishment was flogging, and that given in a very summary way. The tale is told that magistrates, being in a hurry to attend to their business or pleasure, would sometimes not trouble to hear either charge or evidence against a fellow brought before them; but, charitably hoping the best, would cry out, when rushing off, 'Give him two dozen and send him back to his master.' As witnesses were usually convicts, if they failed to give the evidence expected or desired in the conviction of an offender, the lash was freely administered afterwards as a warning for the future.

If the magistrates possessed little knowledge of law, the head of the Supreme Court, the Deputy Judge Advocate himself, had little more. One of these primitive presidents, upon being most humbly told that his recent decision was quite contrary to the principles of common law, hastily exclaimed, 'I am no lawyer, and don't want to be bothered with law.'

The first debt court was in 1816. Two assessors were appointed by Government. These were for the term. Acquainted with the causes before they came into court, they had abundant opportunities of forming their judgments beforehand, and also of receiving suitable suggestions, in words or cash, to influence their opinions. To make all perfectly right, no appeal against their adjudication was allowed. Of course, *trial by jury* was not to be thought of. An earnest petition for this great boon was presented in 1827, but not then granted. A military jury of seven officers on service—that is, under the Government and connected with it—tried all great criminal cases. These gentlemen were supposed not to be immaculate. If not to be gained by money, a direct, and often more successful attack was made, through the medium of that common and disreputable connection which stood in the stead of honourable marriage.

All trials in life or death matters were conducted in Sydney, as Van Diemen's Land was then placed under the government of the older New South Wales. The Judge Advocate of Hobart Town was simply a deputy of the one at Port Jackson. Considerable delay and expense were not the only inconveniences attending the voyage for justice. It gave time and opportunities for tampering both with witnesses and officers under that corrupt *régime*. To increase the difficulties of justice, the constables were all convicts themselves, often appointed more from favour than from a sense of their superior conduct. These men, ill supported, were especially open to bribery; and immoral in their lives, were susceptible of all improper influences. To gratify a revengeful impulse, they would often combine against an innocent man. The value of the oath of men, foresworn with frequency and shame, may be easily calculated. As we have lived ourselves under the reign of convict constables, we were fully able to appreciate their worth in the community.

It may be interesting to state something of the origin of that class, so much required and contemned in our age of progressive civilization, — the *lawyers*—the *barristers*. At first, each man made his own tale the best he could. But the advantages of presence, of words, of tact, of power, are not granted to all persons; and hence the rise of legal practitioners. The earliest gentleman of this order, the first to carry the blue bag, was one who was at the time a prisoner of the crown. The first *free* pleader appeared in the Hobart Town Court in 1822. He had been a schoolmaster; but, on arrival, finding little scope for the exercise of his faculties in his old line, and seeing the golden prospect in another, he seized a blue bag, and, without any acquaintance with Blackstone, but with a great belief in himself, he stood before the terrible representative of justice,

tice, the defender of the unfortunate. He was a man of singular capabilities. Untroubled with the subtleties of law, he hewed himself a path through a charge, and upon principles best known to himself argued vehemently for his client. This favoured illuminator of the judgment seat was sometimes required by his honour to perform an extra service. After he had exhausted human ingenuity in pleading one side for pay, he was requested, for the pleasure and enlightenment of the judge, to declare all that could be said for the other party. The latter duty was sometimes so successful as to bring the verdict against his own client. He had the satisfaction, however, of displaying his eloquence in court, and still securing his fee.

There were many vexatious interferences with individual liberty that sorely tried the early settlers. The manifestation of a liberal spirit was sufficient to make one a marked man. There were many ways of annoyance. Government patronage was withheld. His trade suffered, his produce was unsold, his business lacked servants, his assigned workmen were arbitrarily withheld or removed, and his grants were subject to constant obstructions. The quit-rent was rigidly enforced from him when not pressed upon others. A word uttered or written, supposed to reflect upon the honour of Government, would at once subject him to an action for slander and treason; and his hopes for fair treatment on trial were slight indeed. A heavy fine or a prolonged imprisonment silenced his objections, and closed the mouths of others.

In spite of all this persecution, there were some who from factious spirit, or love of freedom, never ceased to be thorns in the side of the governor. The clamour for trial by jury, and some shadow of representative government, grew louder and louder. It was caught up by gathering numbers of respectable settlers, and got a faint echo in England from such men as Mackintosh and Wilberforce. There were not wanting others who repudiated with scorn and contempt these efforts to obtain British institutions. Even down so late as 1840, we find a clergyman in England recording the condition of Australia, ridiculing this desire for the extension of liberty in such words as these: 'A people who live in a land almost free from taxes, and quite exempt from tithes and poor rates, can without much difficulty conjure up complaints of taxation and oppression not less piercing than those which are heard in a kingdom where tax-gatherers, tithe-proctors, and aristocrats still exist.' He adds still more unkind words reflecting upon our colonial press, so long galling with the yoke of bondage: 'A corrupt press and incessant agitation are instruments suitable enough to accomplish the works of darkness, for which they are usually employed.' Had that worthy man lived, as we have, under an irresponsible government, and had seen, as we have, the moral disorders consequent upon a non-elective administration, he might not have been so hard upon our colonial struggles to be free.

This leads us naturally to reflections upon the Van Diemen's Land press. Its father was Andrew Bent. The first editor was Mr. Emmett, whose friendship we had the honour to claim, and whose intelligence and virtue attracted our regard. Unprovided with sufficient means to establish the 'Derwent Star and Hobart Town Gazette,' which was to be recognized as the Government organ of intelligence, the treasury advanced a loan to purchase materials. It was a single leaf, and contained, of course, no political news and no information, beyond advertisements, saving a notice of births, deaths, and marriages. Even when years after it ventured upon a statement of colonial affairs, no discussion of their merits was permitted, much less condemnation of policy. Venturing at last upon a very humble intrusion of opinion, poor Bent was dismissed his office, and heavily fined in the bargain. As the great struggle for the freedom of the press came on during the reign of Governor Arthur, especially after 1827, we forbear entering upon this tempting subject in our detail of the very early times of Van Diemen's Land. It is sufficient to say that no paper could be established without a license, and without good security. This license was liable at any moment to be revoked, and the poor printer imprisoned as well as ruined. The same argument was employed then in Tasmania, as of late in France and Germany, that the people were not fit for the freedom of the press. Personally acquainted with one editor who suffered several months' imprisonment for his advocacy of the rights of the people, who lost some thousands

thousands of pounds in his martyrdom, and who had ever borne the character of a virtuous member of society, and no wild, unprincipled demagogue, we are not without our sympathy for the cause of a shackled press, and our pleasure in the fall of its chains. It is but justice to record that, bad as was the moral position of the community, and great as were the temptations to adopt a style of writing that should flatter the vicious propensities of a depraved people, few instances occurred in which the early Tasmanian press thus lost its self-respect. The name of Dr. Ross is a sufficient guarantee for purity of morals and independence of feeling. We cannot forbear, however, noticing the grand style assumed by the early writers. One thus describes his sentiments at the serious responsibility of his situation: 'We esteem ourselves a beacon placed by divine graciousness on the awfully perilous coast of human frailty.' Another writes: 'We contemplate ourselves as the winnowers for the public.' A third says: 'We desire to encourage the cloudless flames of rectified communion.'

As there was primarily a great difficulty in the expression of public opinion, ingenuity devised a scheme by which the satirist could make himself known and felt by those who had excited his displeasure. In the centre of the town the road was in a very primitive condition, and huge stumps of trees lingered in the best thoroughfares. One of these had a good barrel, and was in a most conspicuous situation. It was, in fact, a common lounge—a place where officers and citizens met for idle chat, or to discussion of topics of business. This was the post selected by the Pasquins of the day for affixing their caricatures of individuals, their witticisms upon passing events, and their expression of official tyranny. These were generally put up at night, to avoid detection and penalty. The posters were not always fortunate in their escape, and not a few thus caught were subjected to the vigorous fall of the lash as a punishment for slanderous bill-sticking. The old colonists are fond of referring to this age of 'Punch,' and detail with great glee the couplets and bon mots of the times.

The means of communication were sadly wanting. Hobart Town and Launceston, distant but 120 miles from each other, were as much separated as London and Naples at the present time. The country was certainly of an impracticable nature from the elevation of hills, the density of scrub, and the immensity of forests. An adventurous individual undertook to place the two settlements *en rapport* in 1820. He established himself as a foot messenger, and undertook to be no more than a week in the conveyance of letters and parcels. It was years after before a vehicle could be driven through. In our own time of residence, though twenty years after the passage was thus opened by the postman, the journey by coach occupied two days, and the road was much in the same state in which it had been as originally marked out by blazed trees.

Commerce was managed in a very simple manner. The possession of small quantities of few articles constituted a merchant. A couple of kegs of nails made an ironmonger; a sheep or two a week would serve a butcher, and some prints and ribbons would fill the boxes of the draper, and an uncommon small store sufficed for the wholesale establishment. The medium of exchange, when not rum, was less coin than promissory notes. These bits of paper, issued by all tradesmen, underwent various degrees of discount, according to the credit of the party, and were valued from threepence upward. Even when provided with coppers it was expedient to give notes in change, as they would probably suffer damage in the pocket, light a fire in mistake, or be liable to repudiation as a forgery by the merchant upon their presentation for payment. The coin was less English than foreign. Even in our own time, we used the Spanish and American dollars; and we manufactured a couple of media by cutting out the centre of a dollar, so that the piece or dump may stand for a quarter, and the ring dollar for three quarters. A curious difference in the exchange then existed. We can remember the time when we could gain threepence upon the silver coin by taking it past the half-way house on the road to Launceston from Hobart Town. The Van Diemen's Land Bank was established in 1823. The rate of discount was high: private discounters of bills sometimes got forty per cent.

Many articles of export were unheeded then. The hides were thrown aside as useless: the skins of sheep were

were pitched upon the dunghill. We knew a neighbour of ours whose antipathy to manure was such, that he would never allow any to be put upon his land to poison it, as he said. Produce fluctuated greatly in price; and the uncertain advent of vessels made objects of consumption from without very high in value at one time, and absurdly low at another. Tea was sold, even as late as 1825, at 40*l.* the chest. Flour has been up to 110*l.* the ton. In 1807 wheat was 4*l.* the bushel, and in 1809 it was down to 15*s.* In 1816 there were 3000 acres in wheat, 180 in barley, and 240 in potatoes. The imports always exceeded the exports considerably. In 1824 the imports amounted to 62,000*l.* The first sheep introduced by Col. Paterson, were of the Secswater, Leicester, and Bengal breeds. In 1820 some merinoes were procured from Sydney, of Mr. Macarthur. As late as 1819 wool was regularly burned for manure by the careful, and thrown aside to perish by others.

The state of morals in that early colonial epoch was not one answering to the expected Millenium. A nation of convicts and expirers would hardly be recognized as a model of the virtues. The ameliorating influences of latter days were then so wanting that no suitable language could describe the moral darkness of that early period. Far be it from us to depreciate, for slander sake, the lovely little island. A residence of several years there has taught us the moral worth of its sons and daughters too well not to feel impelled to say a kind and tender word for it, and a hearty approval of its society, its free inhabitants, who would not suffer in comparison with any other community. But still, at the time of our story, darkness prevailed rather than light, and the very want of humanizing and Christian agencies deepened the gloom of the social circle.

The first prisoners were unfortunately without proper moral supervision. It is true that a chaplain was attached to the expedition, who thus became the first, and for many years the only minister in the colony. But as his chief claim upon the goodwill of his flock arose from his conviviality of manners, and his non-recognition of their peccadilloes, his influence was small indeed in the restraint of vice or the inculcation of piety. The introduction of the Rev. Dr. Bedford, after the colony had been established nearly a quarter of a century, in conjunction with the administration of Governor Arthur, became the inauguration of a better state of morals among those in official positions, and the forerunner of progress among those of a lower grade.

Not only was intemperance the plague of that primitive order of society, but a general looseness of law and morals prevailed. It might have been supposed that such a band of men as formed that population, would be disposed to rebel against authority, and seize that island gaol as their own. But in the very early times the coercion was so slight, from the weakness of Government and indifference about discipline, that few inducements were offered to agitation and violence. The very state of immorality among all classes prevented the direction of thought toward politics of any kind. When the reins were drawn tighter, especially during the administration of Colonel Arthur, the police arrangements were much improved, and a strong armed force was in available proximity. The general mistrust of each other, as well as the advantages of treachery and betrayal, kept down anything like organization of revolt, and defeated attempts at rebellion. The wilder spirits were content to rush off to the bush, and maintain there a while an armed defiance of the resident power. Even when, in a subsequent period, a union of four-and-twenty mounted bandits took place, under the command of an educated and chivalrous leader, there never seemed a thought of anything beyond the indulgence of joyous freedom, and the robbery of settlers as a means of supporting that life.

Strange is it that, during that fearful period of colonial history, that first score of years, no silver lining appears on the cloud that overshadows them; it is unmingled gloom. No Howard comes to soften the rigour of those iron fetters; no Wilberforce has words of liberty to breathe; no hand of Florence Nightingale there soothes the brow of sufferers; no gentle tones of Elizabeth Fry can reach those female outcasts; no Vincent de Paul is there to cherish little ones; no Raikes regards the Sabbath vagrants; no Whitfield and no Wesley break those stony hearts with tears of love, with words of saving power. Unheeded by the Christian

land from which, as vile carrion, they were flung, and unwarned, unloved, on that distant, barbarous shore, upon which those festering ones were stranded, they felt, if they felt at all, as banished ones of earth and heaven, with demons as companions here, and no better prospective society hereafter.

Even when, in later days, the evangelist did come, the social difficulties arose like the wild vines in the forest, closing the path to the traveller. Dr. Ross, writing as late as 1835, says of the minister of God's gospel there: 'He has to grapple at the very gates of hell if he would rescue a soul from the headlong ruin to which he is hurrying. He has to struggle with the enemy in close combat, face to face, and foot to foot.' But that day was as a May morning to November gloom, compared with the early times. Alas! still darker shadows thickened than ever Ross observed, and these well known to the writer, when Britain remorselessly sought to stifle every colonial effort for moral emancipation, by desolating our lovely home with shiploads of criminals, and herding them in vast cancerous groups of crime. Having passed through that dark valley, we are able better to understand the moral shade of the very early days.

Almost universal licentiousness reigned then. From the governor downward, concubinage was the rule. The females, as they arrived, were drafted off as sheep for slaughter. Women, who had thus fallen beneath the burden of the law, but had never lost the modesty of the maid or the honour of the wife, here found it next to impossible to maintain their virtue. They were slaves. They were taken by masters, nominally for servants, but really for mistresses. It was the story of the Southern States. With no redress, with no means of release from service, with no counsellors but evil ones, with no hope for the future, is it surprising that they sank like others in that abyss, and justified the words of a governor that 'women who come here virtuous will be prostitutes in a fortnight!'

The introduction was unfortunate In that early time the convict vessels were under little or no surveillance. Shippers undertook to convey the prisoners at so much per head, and the Government to protect them from mutiny. When women were so sent, the way was often open from the cabin to the forecastle. It was nothing better than a floating brothel. As Captain Bertram tells us: 'The captain and each officer enjoys the right of selection.' When, as it often happened then, males were in the same vessel with females, the maintenance of order and propriety was no easy task. Our maritime authority goes on with his sketch. We blush to copy this record of the early social state of one of England's colonies, founded by a Christian commonwealth, ruled by a Church-and-State confederacy. He then goes on with his story of the passage out: 'The unhappy male convicts are denied, save occasionally, these profligate liberties. Occasionally, however, they range into the quarter assigned to the women. The males, accustomed in London to indiscriminate license, discover the greatest regret at the restraint of their passions in the grossest oaths, and in the coarsest language. The females, who rather resemble the brutes than rational creatures in their excesses, answer their reproaches, and rage with equal effrontery and unbounded impudence. It is a scene like pandemonium, a second hell.'

This wild licentiousness of the passage usually destroyed the little remaining good in the poor creatures, and prepared them for their convict home. On one occasion, the insubordination of these floating hells reached a climax. The women on board the 'Jane Shore' were so well pleased with the freedom they enjoyed with the libertine crew and guard, that they persuaded them to seize the vessel, so that their unholy connection might not be dissolved. Urged by these wretched women, the sailors and soldiers rose against the officers, shot the captain, and threw the mate overboard. Then, turning the helm, they directed their course to South America.

If so little care was taken of the morals of the women in their passage out to the colony, it is not surprising that their state was so bad after arrival. The unblushing impudence with which the officials carried on their licentious intercourse astonishes us. They got an order, passed by the governor, exempting from church attendance upon a Sunday the ladies of their respective establishments, so that their amours

amours might not be disturbed by the regulations of penal discipline. The avenue to success in trade, as well as removal of disabilities, lay in courtesy to these convict mistresses. It was worse than France under Louis XIV., or England under George II. Old Gorgenson might well relate: 'In former days pardons were easily obtained; the best passports were to lend money to public officers, or make presents to their concubines.'

It is sickening to go on in such recitals. The same state of corruption was observed in the so-called free society. Marriage was the exception. The clergyman seemed not to heed this system of living. It was far diferent under the second chaplain, Mr. Bedford. He boldly condemned the practice. Not content with pulpit exhortations and private appeals, he halted not in his crusade until he had obtained a Government order commanding all persons in official positions to cease their illicit connexions, to marry their mistresses and the mothers of their children, or to resign their situations. Most unrelenting was the pitiful persecution to which this good man was exposed by his fearless conduct, but most grateful did every true-hearted man and woman feel for his heroic defence of virtue. From that time public sentiment seemed to turn, and vice became less conspicuous in society, though not chased from its borders. Disorders of a less heinous character, however, prevailed long after. It was no uncommon circumstance for wives to exchange protectors, nor for men to barter their partners. We hear of one who bought a wife for a hundred sheep, and found he had paid very dear for his whistle.

The increased supply of women tended naturally to a relief of some of the disorders of the community. The paucity of wives must ever be a cause of libertinism and a darker crime. As the females were the property of the State, though they might indulge privately in vice, they could not marry but with the consent of the authorities. We have ourselves, on several occasions, appended our names and certificate to a memorial for marriage. The standing order was a residence of one year in service without getting *into trouble*, so called to insure the marriage permit. But in such a corrupt condition of things, bribery achieved what law objected to. Other remedial measures followed. No publican was permitted to have a convict woman assigned to him, and no single man could have that privilege without being known to the authorities, or recommended for his character. Thus the times mended; and we gradually emerged from that curious exponent of Christian civilization, so aptly set forth in an old colonial newspaper marriage-notice. After giving their names, the journalist adds: 'They had cohabited together fourteen years, verifying at last the old adage, "*Better late than never.*"'

We owe great thanks to Mr. Commissioner Bigge for his unsparing delineation of the immorality of those early times. Appointed by the Home Government to report upon New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, he made a visit to the island in 1822, and afterwards described scenes which, but for the high sanction of his name, and the appearance of the tales in a Parliamentary Blue Book, could not have been credited. We content ourselves with a single extract from that official document. He was at Launceston, the northern capital of Tasmania, when he saw that which he describes in these words: 'The female convicts, for want of any separate room in the prison, were placed in a small wooden hut near the blacksmith's forge, now converted into a church, and a constable was placed over them to prevent their escape. This mode of punishment was found so ineffectual that latterly the female convicts were sent to George Town, where they cohabited with the Government convicts.'

We forbear making further remarks upon this sad story. We have told the simple tale of the past as an illustration of a social state perhaps unparalleled. It remains only to say, that now, and for some years past, Tasmania can present features of moral purity and social order which justly place her upon an equality with any other place.

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ART.

## ART. VII.—SOCIAL STATISTICS.

THERE has recently been printed, by order of Parliament, a 'Statistical Abstract for the last Fifteen Years,' which contains many items of social interest. We make a few extracts.

NO. I.—INCOME and EXPENDITURE of RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES for 1860–61.

| | Income. | | | Expenditure. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. |
| Bible Society | 167,941 | 14 | 7 | 165,462 | 12 | 2 |
| Church Missionary Society | 149,182 | 0 | 0 | 145,822 | 0 | 0 |
| Wesleyan Missionary Society | 140,678 | 9 | 9 | .. | | |
| London Missionary Society | 85,363 | 7 | 3 | 81,199 | 6 | 0 |
| Baptist Missionary Society | 30,468 | 15 | 4 | 29,684 | 8 | 11 |
| Religious Tract Society | 103,127 | 16 | 11 | 102,311 | 14 | 5 |
| City Mission | 35,018 | 0 | 0 | .. | | |
| Colonial and Continental Church Society | 30,036 | 10 | 3 | .. | | |
| Church Pastoral Aid Society | 41,220 | 4 | 8 | 42,627 | 5 | 11 |
| London Society for Jews | 35,460 | 11 | 2 | 35,155 | 12 | 1 |
| Irish Church Missions | 26,196 | 17 | 6 | 27,357 | 0 | 5 |
| Turkish Missions Aid Society | 3,681 | 19 | 4 | 3,466 | 19 | 3 |
| Primitive Methodist Missionary Society | 14,858 | 17 | 8½ | .. | | |
| Home Missionary Society, Congregational | 6,428 | 11 | 0 | 4,516 | 19 | 0 |
| Additional Curates Society | 27,293 | 8 | 4 | .. | | |
| Army Scripture Readers Society | 9,972 | 19 | 9 | 8,024 | 4 | 3 |
| Home and Foreign Schemes of Established Church of Scotland | 19,860 | 0 | 0 | .. | | |
| Income of the Free Church of Scotland | 329,383 | 3 | 11¾ | .. | | |
| Thus divided:— | | | | | | |
| I. Sustentation Fund | 113,462 | 17 | 7 | .. | | |
| II. Building Fund | 36,539 | 8 | 11½ | .. | | |
| III. Congregational Fund | 100,134 | 6 | 1¼ | .. | | |
| IV. Missions and Education | 62,487 | 4 | 5 | .. | | |
| V. Miscellaneous | 16,759 | 6 | 11 | .. | | |
| United Presbyterian Church Congregational Fund | 157,627 | 13 | 1½ | .. | | |
| Missions and Benevolence | 40,152 | 9 | 4 | .. | | |

NO. II.—TOTAL.

No. II.—Total Amount Received and Paid by Trustees of Savings Banks from and to Depositors, and of the Capital of Savings Banks.

| — | | England. | Wales. | Scotland. | Ireland. | United Kingdom. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | £. | £. | £. | £. | £. |
| 1846 | Received | 5,522,539 | 140,563 | 562,976 | 1,074,289 | 7,300,367 |
| | Paid | 5,497,318 | 104,476 | 498,048 | 1,155,812 | 7,255,654 |
| | Capital | 26,759,817 | 674,657 | 1,383,866 | 2,924,910 | 31,743,250 |
| 1847 | Received | 5,191,831 | 139,361 | 495,202 | 822,614 | 6,649,008 |
| | Paid | 6,877,070 | 134,890 | 733,037 | 1,315,078 | 9,060,075 |
| | Capital | 25,838,109 | 697,840 | 1,182,518 | 2,488,713 | 30,207,180 |
| 1848 | Received | 4,826,671 | 115,012 | 415,678 | 505,381 | 5,862,742 |
| | Paid | 6,368,770 | 139,773 | 545,880 | 1,598,685 | 8,653,108 |
| | Capital | 24,985,730 | 692,495 | 1,080,110 | 1,355,801 | 28,114,136 |
| 1849 | Received | 5,205,673 | 104,871 | 485,945 | 400,394 | 6,196,883 |
| | Paid | 5,381,512 | 139,144 | 444,025 | 558,079 | 6,522,760 |
| | Capital | 25,480,508 | 678,313 | 1,154,338 | 1,223,851 | 28,537,010 |
| 1850 | Received | 5,226,778 | 103,673 | 612,164 | 421,075 | 6,363,690 |
| | Paid | 5,735,550 | 151,620 | 477,197 | 375,961 | 6,760,328 |
| | Capital | 25,655,145 | 648,669 | 1,325,063 | 1,302,105 | 28,930,982 |
| 1851 | Received | 5,620,388 | 111,792 | 620,457 | 429,422 | 6,782,059 |
| | Paid | 5,276,875 | 123,537 | 497,160 | 407,994 | 6,305,566 |
| | Capital | 26,770,457 | 659,387 | 1,488,707 | 1,359,103 | 30,277,654 |
| 1852 | Received | 6,041,533 | 122,089 | 648,363 | 469,192 | 7,281,177 |
| | Paid | 5,624,231 | 118,471 | 536,259 | 405,945 | 6,684,906 |
| | Capital | 27,967,641 | 681,614 | 1,645,040 | 1,459,966 | 31,754,261 |
| 1853 | Received | 6,231,989 | 153,095 | 736,640 | 531,796 | 7,653,520 |
| | Paid | 5,985,281 | 112,155 | 582,882 | 436,012 | 7,116,330 |
| | Capital | 29,182,776 | 742,483 | 1,837,856 | 1,599,145 | 33,362,260 |
| 1854 | Received | 5,988,328 | 161,151 | 735,790 | 514,872 | 7,400,141 |
| | Paid | 6,603,104 | 129,457 | 674,048 | 549,738 | 7,956,347 |
| | Capital | 29,400,685 | 795,829 | 1,931,928 | 1,607,638 | 33,736,080 |
| 1855 | Received | 5,853,145 | 165,678 | 720,506 | 448,882 | 7,188,211 |
| | Paid | 6,331,363 | 142,535 | 695,748 | 484,487 | 7,654,133 |
| | Capital | 29,771,139 | 842,432 | 2,033,925 | 1,615,639 | 34,263,135 |
| 1856 | Received | 6,335,285 | 177,122 | 722,202 | 506,844 | 7,741,453 |
| | Paid | 6,561,221 | 164,825 | 853,504 | 444,033 | 8,023,583 |
| | Capital | 30,404,870 | 878,844 | 1,938,572 | 1,723,726 | 34,946,012 |
| 1857 | Received | 6,240,909 | 175,303 | 652,734 | 512,469 | 7,581,415 |
| | Paid | 6,820,415 | 181,075 | 866,372 | 507,233 | 8,375,095 |
| | Capital | 30,694,646 | 898,260 | 1,776,746 | 1,775,915 | 35,145,567 |
| 1858 | Received | 6,450,849 | 169,938 | 780,023 | 501,115 | 7,901,925 |
| | Paid | 6,498,481 | 185,973 | 649,863 | 505,586 | 7,839,903 |
| | Capital | 31,533,736 | 907,301 | 1,960,902 | 1,818,423 | 36,220,362 |
| 1859 | Received | 7,435,248 | 194,216 | 815,034 | 577,409 | 9,021,907 |
| | Paid | 6,085,052 | 159,038 | 648,651 | 442,608 | 7,335,349 |
| | Capital | 33,810,564 | 968,792 | 2,210,710 | 2,005,810 | 38,995,876 |
| 1860 | Received | 7,814,270 | 204,764 | 861,975 | 597,576 | 9,478,585 |
| | Paid | 6,851,149 | 167,320 | 723,092 | 516,860 | 8,258,421 |
| | Capital* | 35,747,348 | 1,034,410 | 2,415,381 | 2,144,948 | 41,342,087 |

* The Capital for 1860 is an approximation only.

No. III.—Number

## No. III.—Number of Criminal Offenders Committed for Trial, Convicted, and Acquitted.

| | Years. | Committed for Trial. | | | Convicted. | Acquitted, exclusive of persons found and detained as insane. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Males. | Females. | Total. | | |
| England and Wales. | 1846 | 19,850 | 5,257 | 25,107 | 18.144 | 6,935 |
| | 1847 | 22,903 | 5,930 | 28,833 | 21,542 | 7,251 |
| | 1848 | 24,586 | 5,763 | 30,349 | 22,900 | 7,423 |
| | 1849 | 22,415 | 5,401 | 27,816 | 21,001 | 6,786 |
| | 1850 | 21,548 | 5,265 | 26,813 | 20,537 | 6,238 |
| | 1851 | 22,391 | 5,569 | 27,960 | 21,579 | 6,359 |
| | 1852 | 21,885 | 5,625 | 27,510 | 21,304 | 6,176 |
| | 1853 | 20,879 | 6,178 | 27,057 | 20,756 | 6,265 |
| | 1854 | 22,723 | 6,636 | 29,359 | 23,047 | 6,274 |
| | 1855 | 19,890 | 6,082 | 25,972 | 19,971 | 5,967 |
| | 1856 | 15,425 | 4,012 | 19,437 | 14,734 | 4,672 |
| | 1857 | 15,970 | 4,299 | 20,269 | 15,307 | 4,927 |
| | 1858 | 13,865 | 3,990 | 17,855 | 13,246 | 4,576 |
| | 1859 | 12,782 | 3,892 | 16,674 | 12,470 | 4,175 |
| | 1860 | 12,168 | 3,831 | 15,999 | 12,068 | 3,907 |
| Scotland. | 1846 | 2,901 | 1,168 | 4,069 | 3,065 | 948 |
| | 1847 | 3,320 | 1,315 | 4,635 | 3,558 | 1,040 |
| | 1848 | 3,490 | 1,419 | 4,909 | 3,689 | 1,196 |
| | 1849 | 3,228 | 1,129 | 4,357 | 3,274 | 1,063 |
| | 1850 | 3,301 | 1,167 | 4,468 | 3,363 | 1,081 |
| | 1851 | 2,892 | 1,109 | 4,001 | 3,070 | 907 |
| | 1852 | 2,949 | 1,078 | 4,027 | 3,018 | 975 |
| | 1853 | 2,768 | 988 | 3,756 | 2,821 | 907 |
| | 1854 | 2,883 | 1,111 | 3,994 | 2,989 | 979 |
| | 1855 | 2,568 | 1,062 | 3,630 | 2,689 | 902 |
| | 1856 | 2,591 | 1,122 | 3,713 | 2,723 | 951 |
| | 1857 | 2,743 | 1,097 | 3,840 | 2,920 | 898 |
| | 1858 | 2,718 | 1,064 | 3,782 | 2,850 | 891 |
| | 1859 | 2,402 | 1,070 | 3,472 | 2,589 | 880 |
| | 1860 | 2,306 | 981 | 3,287 | 2,441 | 846 |
| Ireland. | 1846 | 14,204 | 4,288 | 18,492 | 8,639 | 9,822 |
| | 1847 | 23,552 | 7,657 | 31,209 | 15,233 | 15,952 |
| | 1848 | 28,765 | 9,757 | 38,522 | 18,206 | 20,286 |
| | 1849 | 31,340 | 10,649 | 41,989 | 21,202 | 20,767 |
| | 1850 | 22,682 | 8,644 | 31,326 | 17,108 | 14,203 |
| | 1851 | 17,337 | 7,347 | 24,684 | 14,377 | 10,288 |
| | 1852 | 12,444 | 5,234 | 17,678 | 10,454 | 7,206 |
| | 1853 | 10,260 | 4,884 | 15,144 | 8,714 | 6,390 |
| | 1854 | 7,937 | 3,851 | 11,788 | 7,051 | 4,711 |
| | 1855 | 6,019 | 2,993 | 9,012 | 5,220 | 3,777 |
| | 1856 | 5,097 | 2,002 | 7,099 | 4,024 | 3,064 |
| | 1857 | 5,458 | 1,752 | 7,210 | 3,925 | 3,273 |
| | 1858 | 4,708 | 1,600 | 6,308 | 3,350 | 2,940 |
| | 1859 | 4,462 | 1,403 | 5,865 | 2,735 | 3,109 |
| | 1860 | 3,996 | 1,390 | 5,386 | 2,969 | 2,393 |

*Note.*—The decrease in the Number of Persons committed for Trial in England and Wales since 1855, is partly to be attributed to the operation of the Criminal Justice Act of 1855, which authorizes Justices to pass sentences for short periods, with the consent of the prisoners, instead of committing for Trial to the Sessions.

## ART. VIII.—RECORD OF SOCIAL POLITICS.

THE past quarter has been crowded with events of the most pulse-stirring and thought-exciting character. The press, day by day, has been borne down, as it were, with the weight of its mighty and fearful intelligence of civil war in America, famine in India, massacres in Poland, rebellion and war in New Zealand, riots in Newfoundland, an earthquake at Modena, and the death of Count Cavour in Italy.

Nor has all been placid and uneventful in the home circle. We have had the annual budget battle to fight; and Mr. Gladstone this year has come off conqueror, on the same field on which, last year he sustained a partial defeat —paper duties. The last excise impost upon useful articles of home manufacture is now repealed for ever. The Commons have so decided, and the Lords no longer demur. There now remains nothing under the claws of the revenue officer connected with the industry and manufacturing capital of Great Britain and Ireland, except those most exceptionable 'commodities' connected with the liquor-traffic of the country. The progress of social science, political economy, and fiscal policy, has at last brought our statesmen and the Cabinet to the conclusion —long arrived at by temperance reformers—that the traffic in intoxicating liquor cannot be placed in the category of useful or ordinary trade; but that it is an anomalous system, not responsive to the laws of political and commercial science, any more than to the claims of social justice, public morality, and Christian principle.

The thanks of the friends of temperance and social progress are due to Mr. Gladstone for his persistent and courageous determination to rescue paper from the contamination and thraldom it endured, whilst subject to the grasp of the Inland Revenue Office, in juxta-position with intoxicating liquors.

In the Customs department there is yet a work to do; and it must be the aim of social reformers to rescue sugar, tea, coffee, and other really useful articles of importation from the ignominy of being taxed by the side of such noxious articles of demoralization as tobacco, rum, gin, and wine. Villiers, Cobden, Bright, and Gibson, who laboured so long and well for cheap food for the people, should not leave it to politicians of the opposite camp to take up the popular cry and just demand for cheap sugar and tea.

The new and long contended for Bankruptcy Bill has been printed, as altered by the select committee to whom the measure was referred by the Lords. The bill, when it left the House of Commons, provided for the appointment of a chief judge in lieu of the present commissioners in London. The object of this provision was to insure uniformity in the decisions and practice of the court, to provide an economical and satisfactory court of appeal, and to procure for the administration of the bankruptcy laws the same decorum that is observed in other courts of justice. The select committee have struck out this part of the bill, and leave the law to be administered by the existing commissioners. The bill provided that the creditors should decide whether a bankrupt's estate should be realized by agents chosen by themselves or the official assignee. The select committee refuse to give the creditors such option, and leave the estate to be realized as at present. The bill provided that the creditors should be periodically informed of the course of liquidation of a bankruptcy estate by receiving a statement from the official assignee. The select committee refuse to assent to such information being conveyed to them. The bill provided that any debtor might petition the Bankruptcy Court for an adjudication against himself. The select committee will allow any non-trader to do so, but only those trader-debtors whose estates will realize 150*l*. The bill provided in the cases of trust deeds for giving validity to such deeds where the holders of bills of exchange could not be discovered. The select committee refuse to permit private arrangements to be effected unless all the creditors can be found. These are some of the changes made in this important measure, and will justify the observation of the Lord Chancellor that they might more aptly be termed alterations than amendments.

A most

A most excellent and useful bill, if carried, has been introduced by Sir L. V. Palk, Bart., M.P., entitled 'The Labourers' Cottages Bill.' The measure is sound in principle, and calculated to diminish a great and crying evil — the insufficiency of dwelling accommodation for the rural labourers who till the soil.

Another most useful measure for The Drainage of Land, has been brought in by Mr. Clive and the Home Secretary, by which the Queen is to be empowered, on the recommendation of the Enclosure Commissioners, to establish Commissioners of Sewers in all parts of England, and to assign areas to them. The bill is permissive, and the commissioners are only to act after a petition from the district has been presented to them; but if the owners of one-third of the land in the proposed district dissent, the petition is to be dismissed. The Drainage Board, under this Act, is to be elected by the persons in the district rated to the sewers rate. A private landowner needing an outfall for his drainage through another person's land may apply to such person for permission, and, if he does not consent, may refer the matter to arbitration, as under the Railway Clauses Act.

On the motion of Sir S. Northcote, a select commitee has been appointed 'To inquire how the education of destitute and neglected children may be most efficiently and economically assisted by any public funds.' He, Sir S. Northcote, differed from the recommendations of the commissioners with regard to ragged schools, and he disputed the evidences by which the recommendations were sustained. Mr. Hanbury, M.P., entered into a glowing eulogium on ragged schools.

In the House of Lords the Earl of Shaftesbury moved for the production of evidence on which the part of the Report of the Education Commissioners which relates to ragged schools is founded. His lordship complained that the commissioners were unfair in their statement of facts and unfriendly in their tone. The Duke of Newcastle defended the honesty of the report, whatever error as to facts it might contain. After debate the motion was withdrawn. It is to be hoped that the select committee in the Commons will both do justly and love mercy. Ragged schools have peculiar claims on our sympathy and aid.

The Post Office Savings Bank Bill has passed through both houses, with some amendments in the Lords. A protest has been entered by Lord Monteagle on the journals of the House of Lords against the bill.

The Government have also introduced a Lace Factories Bill, which aims to place the employment of women, young persons, youths, and children, in lace factories under the regulations of 'The Factories' Act.' The bill passed a second reading in the Commons on the 7th June.

The question of cotton supply never assumed a more momentous and pressing aspect than at the present moment. In Manchester the Cotton Supply Association held its fourth annual meeting on the 11th ult. in the Town Hall. The President, John Cheetham, Esq., was in the chair, and said:— 'The principle on which that association was founded was, that it was unwise in a great manufacturing trade of this country, upon the continuance and extension of which so large a number of population and of varied interests were concerned, year after year to allow it to continue in almost total dependence upon one source for the supply of its raw material. It was further said, in reference to that principle, that that great source of supply was connected with a mode of employing labour in its cultivation which could not, if they were believers in truth and righteousness, ultimately be continued, but might at some moment unexpected to them all fail and break down, leaving them in the direst emergency.'

Mr. Henry Ashworth said, 'It was his firm conviction that if proper attention were given to this subject by the Indian Government, we should be transferring to that country annually from twenty to forty millions of money which were now carried away by the United States. He complained that the governors of India were only just now adopting the suggestions which had emanated from the Manchester Chamber of Commerce for the last thirty years, and argued that if India were as well governed as Ceylon and Java she would not only be able to supply us with cotton, but be capable of purchasing almost every yard of cloth

cloth we manufactured at this moment.'

The Rev. Mr. Arthur, from India, said that there was more cotton wasted in India than was grown in America. According to the returns of 1859 the total exports of cotton from India amounted to about one-third of the imports to England from the United States. In India all the people were clothed with cotton; every man had on his head an immense cotton turban; and the women, more or less, were clothed in cotton; the halters for the horses were of cotton, and saddles, &c., were stuffed with cotton. Cotton was most extensively used, and the waste was beyond calculation. Supposing the ryot was asked, 'Why don't you sell your cotton for 2*d.* per lb. instead of for 1½*d.*?' the answer would be, 'Because there is no demand.' Demand was not necessity, but the offering the holder an inducement to sell. It was calculated that of the 200,000,000 of people in India, every man, on an average, consumed 10 lb. to 12 lb. of cotton annually, and yet there was as much wasted. If it could only be got at, 1,000,000,000 lb. of cotton could be laid down at Liverpool without any trouble. The railways would help towards doing this, but a cheaper mode of carriage would be by water. If the Cotton Supply Association had been properly aided when it was first started, it might, by opening the rivers of India, not only have secured a supply of cotton, but have made from 30 to 200 per cent. upon the money expended. The river Godavery ran through a cotton district four times the size of Ireland, whilst the American cotton field was only about the size of Yorkshire. If he were the Government he would not allow the Manchester manufacturers to have possession of the waterworks of the Godavery, because he believed they would prove an admirable investment; on the other hand, if he were the manufacturers of Manchester, he would tell the Government, 'You shall not have these works; we will develop them by private enterprise.' By opening up this river they would open the best cotton field in the world. More than that, it was a field for flax, rice, and other produce; an immense population would throng into it; and by this means slavery in America would be brought to a natural end, and the slave trade in Africa would become impossible.

Dr. Beke, who has been a traveller in Abyssinia, said, whilst every portion of the habitable globe had been put forward as a competitor for the supply of cotton to England, there was one country which had not hitherto found an advocate in public. Yet it was superior to most other parts of the world as a cotton-producing country, and certainly second to none. The region to which he alluded was that portion of North-Eastern Africa contiguous to the shores of the Red Sea, lying south of Egypt and Nubia, and within the limits of the tropical rains. It might in a general way be called Ethiopia or Abyssinia, though the limits of the country commonly known by the latter name did not extend quite so far northward as the Ethiopia above Egypt of the ancients. It was an historical fact that in former times the region in question was famous for the cotton it produced, for Pliny in his Natural History told us that 'Ethiopia, the country adjoining Egypt, possesses scarcely any trees of importance except those bearing wool.' He contended that Ethiopia was capable of furnishing an almost unlimited supply of cotton, and he exhibited two samples of the raw material which he recently obtained from the Abyssinian coast, where the plant grew wild, or nearly so. The Abyssinians were essentially an agricultural people; the people were Christians, not savages, and labour was to be had at almost a nominal rate. The pressing demand in England for what was in former ages the staple production of Ethiopia offers a simple but effectual means of restoring her to her place among Christian nations. The establishment of a factory at the edge of the elevated table-land of Abyssinia, in the immediate vicinity of the sea coast, with agencies in the interior, would soon induce the inhabitants to turn their attention to their extensive and valuable cotton fields; and he was quite willing to put down 1,000*l.* for this purpose if twenty-four gentlemen would join him with a like sum, and he would go out himself to establish the factory.

An important question with regard to the licensing powers of borough and county

county magistrates, which has been long agitated in Sunderland, has been recently decided in the Court of Queen's Bench, by which it was ruled that in towns corporate without a separate quarter sessions the borough justices have no power to grant spirit licenses. The case tested was Candlish *v.* Simpson. Mr. Manisty, Q.C. (with whom were Mr. W. D. Seymour, Q.C., and Mr. S. Pope), argued the case for the borough justices. A meeting of the borough magistrates at Halifax has been held on this decision, and a deputation appointed to wait on the borough members and Sir G. C. Lewis, the Home Secretary, to press on them the necessity of some remedy for this anomalous state of things. This is another illustration of the rotten and complicated state of the license system. We trust the right remedy, because the only efficient one—prohibition, by the will of the people, will be soon conceded.

Lord Brougham, on the 11th ult., presented a petition from a meeting of the inhabitants of Plymouth, including the mayor, magistrates, and many leading citizens, praying, in the interests of public morality and sobriety, that any measure receiving the sanction of the legislature, respecting the sale of wine, beer, or spirits, might contain a clause conferring upon two-thirds of the ratepayers of cities, boroughs, parishes, and townships, the power to prevent the granting of any license. The noble and learned lord, after reciting the contents of the petition and reading its prayer, stated that it proceeded from a great public meeting, presided over by the mayor, and representing to a large extent the inhabitants of Plymouth. His lordship expressed his entire concurrence with the averments of the petitioners, which, he said, were the opinions of the judges and all who had an opportunity of observing the causes of crime. The petitioners therefore appealed to their lordships as the highest court of criminal justice, for protection against the evils created by the trade in intoxicating liquors; and he added that the evils of the existing licensing laws were such that it was desirable that, in any measure for the licensing of public-houses of any description for the sale of fermented liquors, there should be inserted a provision that two-thirds of the inhabitants of a district should have the power of suspending or prohibiting the licenses of those houses, by adopting what was called the 'permissive system.' The noble lord entered at some length into the subject, and concluded by stating, that the great town of Plymouth had been carefully canvassed on this subject before the meeting at which the petition was passed was held, and it was found that an immense majority of the inhabitants were in favour of the measure. It was remarkable that in this inquiry it was proved that the proportion in favour was much the greatest in the body of the working classes, and less in the highest and the most degraded classes of the community. The corresponding petition, which had been presented to the House of Commons, was signed by upwards of 12,000 of the inhabitants of Plymouth. The same universal approval of the principle of the petition, the permissive system, had been found in the other great towns, such as Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, and Leeds; and it was devoutly to be wished that it might be acted upon by the Government and the legislature.

During the last few weeks an agitation has been going forward on behalf of a bill to be shortly introduced into the Commons, to close public drinking houses during the whole of the Lord's Day. The movement is mainly being promoted by the British Temperance League, and petitions are being got up by its auxiliaries, and by numerous religious congregations. We hope the bill will be shortly introduced and speedily carried.

Numerous other topics and matters of social interest invite our attention, at home and abroad:—the emancipation of the Russian serfs; the abolition of passports in France; the new Indian budget; the recent May meetings; the convict outbreaks; the factory and trade strikes; the co-operative movements; the transportation of convicts, and fifty other questions full of interest for the social reformer. But our space will not admit them. We cannot, however, close our rapid sketch without a brief and most sympathetic notice of what is going on among our friends and brethren of the United States of America. Every true-hearted Englishman must feel intense emotion in the contemplation of the fearful struggle now going on between the Northern

Free

Free States and the Southern Slave States. The issues involved are vaster, it may be, than any imagination has yet conceived. The interests at stake are incalculable. No one can tell when or where the 'irrepressible conflict' will end. It has gone beyond the control of cabinets, commanders, or any earthly potentate. Nothing, we fear, but a horrible deluge of blood, shed by hands that a short time since were clasped in friendly compact and brotherhood, can appease the fierce spirit of licentious rebellion on the one hand, and of outraged humanity on the other. Every Englishman's heart must go with the North and Freedom, and pray God to defend the right! We give an extract from a recent letter addressed to a friend in Manchester, by the Hon. Neal Dow, who is well informed as to the feelings and policy of the New England States and of the Federal Cabinet:—

'I know you must all be very much interested in many ways in the atrocious rebellion now existing in the Slave States against our Government. It required something like this to show you and us how much we are interested in each other's welfare and prosperity. Any serious calamity to England would be felt by us almost as much as if it should befall our own country; and so this madness of the South will touch the English almost as sensibly as it does and will us of the Free States. I assure you that we all regret it very much. In all the North, the feeling is so thoroughly kind towards England, that there has been, and is, much talk of permitting the cotton to go to you freely, to mitigate, as much as possible to your country, the evil effects of this war. And yet we see that it is really for your interest as much as ours that this rebellion should be crushed out in the shortest time possible. To do this effectively, the South must be sealed up hermetically—like La Diable Boiteau—in a bottle, cutting off entirely and absolutely all its trade, excluding from it the very breath of life. This policy will greatly shorten the war, and save a vast amount of blood and treasure. The probability now is, that the Administration will act upon this policy, though it will inflict great inconvenience and loss upon the North as well as upon you—for our thousands of cotton mills must stand idle as well as those of England. Set yourselves, then, to work in earnest, to increase to the utmost your cotton supplies from other sources than America. In this way you will most surely promote your own interests, and at the same time help us to strike a deadly blow at slavery. We are quite surprised to notice the want, in England, of accurate information in relation to events as they transpire here, and to the nature of our constitution and government. We notice that the Southern news is often taken as true and reliable, and the Southern view of our constitution as just. The truth is, all the Southern papers carefully exclude every item of intelligence unfavourable to their side, and invent and circulate the most absurd and atrocious falsehoods in order to mislead the Southern people. They say, and you adopt it as true, that our Union is made up of independent States, any of whom have a right to secede from the compact at any time. This is not true at all. The Union is a homogeneous and compact country and government, as much as England or France, except that the States are independent in the management of their own domestic and internal affairs. No State has a right to secede from the Union, more than Cumberland or Northumberland, or Normandy or Provence, have to secede from England or France. My friends in England write me, that it is wiser and far better to permit the disaffected States to go off into a confederacy of their own; that there can be no union between the North and South any more, even after the latter shall be subjugated and broken down. We do not wonder at all that you should take that view of the matter, not knowing precisely the facts. If the South, in pursuance of their intention to secede, had shown that it was the will of the people there to do so—as it was not—and had pursued their object by peaceful methods and constitutional measures, the North would have met the proposition in a similar spirit. But this was not done. On the contrary, the South seized our forts, arsenals, and mints—and ships of war, dockyards, navy yards, and public property of every kind—took captive and even murdered our people, and fired upon our flag. All this changes the question very materially. It is no longer, whether the South may secede in peace,

peace, but whether we have any Government at all, to be respected and obeyed by the nation; and we are resolved, heaven helping us, to demonstrate to all the world, that our system is not the worthless, helpless thing that such conduct assumes it to be, but that it is endowed with a vitality sufficient to preserve itself from disintegration, and to command the respect of all who might otherwise insult or attack it. This is a war for our very existence as a nation, and in all the North, there is only one feeling about it—and that is, to pledge all we are and we have upon the issue. The time for negotiation, compromise, arrangement of whatever kind is passed.

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## ART. IX.—REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

*Life Story: A Prize Autobiography.* By James J. Hillocks. London: Tweedie.

THIS is a most interesting record of the pursuit of knowledge, and of philanthropy under difficulties. The author describes his struggles with a manly energy and with a touching pathos. His tale is genuine, and exhibits what hard poverty, trials, and toils humble genius have to pass through in aspiring to a higher intellectual sphere. This essay surpassed eighty competitors, and is well worthy of being presented to the public in a permanent form. The author's struggle is not yet over, but we trust that a way is now being opened up before him in which the path may be less thorny and the reward more according to his merit.

*Mental and Moral Excellence, and how to attain it: Memorials of John Hessel.* By Joshua Priestley. Fourth Edition. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1861.

MR. PRIESTLEY wrote a few years ago a very able and graphic life of the sister of his present subject, and obtained high commendation for the manner in which he presented the inner history of a life devoid of outer incident. In the volume before us he has achieved a similar success. We are not aware which book was the earlier production. This, judging from the time of Mr. Hessel's death, we suppose to be first published. The departed student and preacher—for such he was—is allowed to speak for himself in an autobiography worthy of the study of aspirants to the Christian ministry.

*Lectures on Homiletics and Preaching, and on Public Prayer, together with Sermons and Letters.* By Ebenezer Porter, D.D. London: Ward and Co.

THE publishers did a great service to the clergy generally when they included this admirable work of a transatlantic divine in their standard series of Christian authors. There is great good sense in the counsels which Dr. Porter addressed to the candidates for the sacred office who were under his care. A number of years has now elapsed since they were first issued, but every *concio ad clerum* from Chrysostom on the *Priesthood* to Bridges on *the Christian Ministry*, including Bernard's *Speculum Episcopi*, Herbert's *Country Parson*, Baxter's *Reformed Pastor*, Burnet's *Pastoral Care*, cannot be too often reprinted or reperused.

*The Homilist.* Vol. II. New Series. Conducted by the Rev. David Thomas. London: Ward and Co. 1861.

THIS volume contains much good thinking expressed in a form free from all theological conventionalism. There is no good reason why religious thought should be stereotyped; but as Christian truth is always the same, great care must be taken that the new words imply the old meaning. It is the danger of some modern divines that they employ the current phraseology with rationalistic idea; and, on the other hand, there are those who conscientiously abjure the language of the schools, with the view of circulating what is called a more liberal theology. The Homilist belongs to this latter class.

*Words*

*Words of Comfort for Parents bereaved of little children.* By William Logan, author of 'The Moral Statistics of Glasgow.' With an Introduction by the Rev. William Anderson, LL.D., Glasgow. London: J. Nisbet and Co. 1861.

THIS is the best book upon the subject of parental sorrow which we have met with. It is a compilation of almost all that has been printed before, and of much that has been expressly written for the volume. It contains a narrative of a promising life early ended, letters of consolation to the bereaved, extracts on infant salvation, and on the comfort of the mourning parents, and almost all the poetry written on the subject. It is a book full of matter on a theme which many families painfully realize, and it is thus eminently fitted to prove a solace of sorrow in the house of affliction.

*The Illustrated History of England.* By Thomas and Francis Bullock, authors of 'Popular Education.' Manchester: John Heywood. 1861.

THIS is a condensed history of England, written in a lively and interesting style. The preface gives twenty 'prominent features' which distinguish it; nor does the performance come much short of the profession. It is an excellent school history, and contains accurate facts, treated always from a Christian point of view. The illustrations are well designed, and were the work printed on better paper, would add greatly to its worth.

*Homeric Translations in Theory and Practice.* A Reply to Matthew Arnold, Esq., Professor of Poetry, Oxford. By Francis W. Newman, a Translator of the Iliad. London: Williams and Norgate. 1861.

IT is quite refreshing to peruse this piece of scholastic gladiatorship. Professor Newman has been touched on a theme where he can put forth strength, and he wrestles against his opponent with scholarly and masculine vigour throughout the hundred pages of this nervous treatise. All admirers of Homer who have read Mr. Arnold's lectures will find a treat in the perusal of this work. Professor Newman takes a grasp of his reader's intellect, and adduces so many arguments as make one believe that they hit hard and keen.

*Sunshine and Shadow.* By A. P. Carter. London: S. W. Partridge and Co. 1861.

VERY many of the volumes of versification now published are still-born, and fall into early oblivion. They are not deficient in rhythm or rhyme, or even good sentiment, but they want the poetic genius. The volume before us is respectable, and contains excellent matter, clothed in appropriate verse.

*Thoughts on Woman and her Education.* By Miss Dickinson. London: Longman and Co. 1861.

FEMALE education is rising in importance, and emerging from mere ornament and pretence into real cultivation of mind and hand. The authoress of this work has a true conception of education, and has been labouring with considerable success to carry it out in the pupils committed to her care. For this she deserves her meed of praise and of reward. In the *brochure* before us there is too much of quotation and personal object to warrant public literary notice.

*Ragged Homes and How to Mend them.*

THIS work is being extensively circulated, and we are happy to notice a new edition. It is eminently calculated to open up a way of benevolent labour to ladies who desire to be useful, and it holds out the encouragement needed to sustain the philanthropist when struggling with difficulties in the outset of home mission work.

## PAMPHLETS AND SERIALS.

*The Uses and Abuses of the Turkish Bath.* By Edward Haughton, M.D. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1861.

THIS pamphlet will repay perusal.

*The Pew System, and the injuries which it inflicts on the Church of England.*

ONE of the vexed questions of church policy is ably discussed in this paper.

*Temperance in France, Italy, and Switzerland.* A Series of Letters. By James Bonwick, Esq., late Inspector of Schools, Victoria. Manchester: United Kingdom Alliance.

THESE letters on the temperance aspect of the countries indicated in the title are all well written, and full of information.

*The*

*The Traffic in Intoxicating Drinks.* By T. K. Wilkinson.

THIS paper was read before the section for Statistics and Sociology of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, and is very worthy of separate publication. Its facts and arguments are telling.

*The Temperance Dictionary.* Nos. 1 and 2. By the Rev. Dawson Burns. London: Caudwell.

THE design of this work, now publishing in parts, is admirable, and the execution highly creditable to the author. The information is accurate, and all the matter is viewed entirely in a temperance light.

*A Popular Explanation of the 'Permissive Bill' for the Suppression of the Liquor Traffic.* By the Rev. John William Kirton. Stafford.

THIS ought to be extensively circulated. It shows the necessity of the proposed measure, and explains it in a manner well suited to the popular mind.

*Address to the Electors and Rate-payers of Scotland, by the Scottish Permissive Bill Association.*

THERE is lucid reasoning in this address, which can scarcely fail to promote its object.

*Maine Law and English Liberty; or, the Licensed Victuallers' Association and the United Kingdom Alliance Contrasted.* By Cephas. London: Caudwell.

*The Duty of Christians in relation to the Temperance Movement.* London: Alliance Depôt.

*The New Discoveries on the Action of Alcohol.* A reprint from 'Meliora.'

*Fallacies of the Saturday Review.*

THESE pamphlets enter into the discussion of temperance and prohibition with great spirit and good argument.

*Temperance Reformer and Telegraph.* St. John's, New Brunswick.

THIS is a weekly paper, various numbers of which have been forwarded to us. We rejoice to know that a paper so well printed, and so ably written, appears weekly in one of our colonies which has shown great zeal in the temperance cause.

*The Bunch of Keys.* Conducted by the Rev. William Knox. London: Elliot Stock.

THE claims of this serial to public encouragement are very small; but there are good articles in it.

*National Education: Reasons for the rejection in Britain of the Irish System.* By the Rev. William Fraser, Paisley. London: Nisbet and Co. 1861.

WHATEVER proceeds from so eminent an educationist as Mr. Fraser deserves very careful consideration. His voice of warning in this pamphlet is such as should stir the conscience.

*The Baptist Magazine.* London: Pewtress and Co.

THE numbers of this serial published since the new editors came into office reveal an earnest purpose, well carried out, to the advantage of the denomination to which they belong. It deserves the general support of the Baptists of the United Kingdom.

*The Origin, Nature, and History of Wine; its use as a Beverage lawful and needful to civilized Man.* A lecture by Charles Ellis. London: Ellis. 1861.

THIS is a defence of wine-drinking by a wine merchant. Teetotallers would do well to get it, that they may learn how much is to be said on the other side. Most of the argumentation is entirely beside the question.

*The Magdalen's Friend, and Females' Home Intelligencer.* A Monthly Magazine. Edited by a Clergyman. London: Wertheim, Macintosh, and Hunt.

GREAT service is being rendered to the philanthropic movement in aid of fallen females by this monthly magazine.

*On the Licentiousness of Scotland, and the Remedial Measures which ought to be adopted.* By Alex. Thomson, of Banchory.

*Preventive and Reformatory Work in Aberdeen.* By the same. London: Nisbet and Co. 1861.

THESE papers were read before the Social Science Association at Glasgow in September last. They discuss the questions raised by them with great wisdom and sagacity. Mr. Thomson is a practical philanthropist, and has devoted much of his time to further social reform, both on his own estate and in the county of Aberdeen.

*The Temperance Spectator.* London: Caudwell.

THIS monthly holds on its way, and continues to propagate valuable information on the great question of the day.

# Meliora.

## Art. I.—SHAKESPEARE ON WINE.

IN a previous number * we suggested that great benefit might be derived from the perusal of our best poets, with a view of discovering their thoughts on the effects produced upon man by the use of stimulants and corporeal means of excitement. We took the liberty of questioning whether wine was the highest source of poetic inspiration, and drew attention to the fact, that Milton, Wordsworth, and others, had referred bardic exaltation to a better origin. But as those poets were notoriously abstinent, their evidence might be looked upon with suspicion by certain persons; and we prefer, on this occasion, to consider the utterances of one who was not remarkable for extremes in any particular; one who has been termed the 'many-sided man,' and who was distinguished by that moderation which is characteristic of the highest genius. Our readers will easily understand that we refer to William Shakespeare, who, of all modern poets, most largely combined the spirit of modern civilization with the calm philosophy of the old Greek drama. In looking over his works, with a view to our present inquiry, the only difficulty was to choose from among the numerous passages which abound. As a matter of course, there are very many thoughts which might occur in other writers: as, 'It was excess of wine that set him on' (Hen. V. 2. 2); 'Give me a bowl of wine; I have not that alacrity of spirit, nor cheer of mind, that I was wont to have' (Rich. III. 5. 3). We might fill whole pages with quotations of this kind; but it will be necessary to adopt some principle of selection, and we make the following divisions: (1.) The effects of wine upon the human mind; (2.) The remorse of the drunkard; (3.) The introduction of stimulants among uncivilized tribes.

I. *The effects of wine upon the human mind.*—Perhaps no passage gives a more powerful description of these effects, than the following from Macbeth, 1. 7:—

* No. 11, October, 1860.

> 'His two chamberlains
> Will I with wine and wassel so convince,
> That memory, the warder of the brain,
> Shall be a fume, and the receipt of reason
> A limbeck only: When in swinish sleep
> Their drenched natures lie, as in a death,
> What cannot you and I perform upon
> The unguarded Duncan?'

To Shakespeare, who never forgot the aboriginal dignity of man, 'How noble in reason, how infinite in faculties, in action how like an angel, in apprehension how like a god,' the falling off must have seemed vast indeed, when the guardian of the brain became a mere fume, and the receptacle of reason a distilling machine. The words which he employs throughout the passage keep up the same idea; *drenched* in *swinish* sleep, as *in a death.*

Similar contempt is expressed by Portia (Merch. of Ven. 1. 2), who says of the young German, the Duke of Saxony's nephew, that she likes him 'very vilely in the morning when he is sober, and most vilely in the afternoon when he is drunk; when he is best he is little worse than a *man*, and when he is worst he is little better than a *beast;*' and she adds, lest he should choose the right casket and claim her in marriage, 'Therefore set a deep glass of Rhenish wine in the contrary casket; for if the devil be within, and that temptation without, I know he will choose it. I will do anything, Nerissa, ere I will be married to a *spunge.*'

The French are very fond of asserting that the heaviness, which they are pleased to attribute to the English, results from the frequent use of beer and other malt liquors, tending to besot the brain; whereas their own vivacity is ascribed to the generous juice of the vine. Shakespeare has not omitted to notice this stroke of Gallic vanity; for in Hen. V., 3. 5, he makes the French Constable say—

> 'Dieu de battailés! where have they this mettle?
> Is not their climate foggy, raw, and dull?
> On whom, as in despite, the sun looks pale,
> Killing their fruits with frowns? Can *sodden water,*
> A drench for sur-rein'd jades, their *barley broth,*
> Decoct their cold blood to such valiant heat?
> And shall our quick blood, *spirited with wine,*
> Seem frosty?'

By the contemptuous terms 'sodden water' and 'barley broth,' fit only for horses, he means ale or beer; and asks whether such a compound can fire the cold English blood, while the wine-inspirited French are not kindled to deeds of arms. It were well, perhaps, if the English did confine themselves to beer; but since Shakespeare's time, the use of ardent spirits has increased upon us to an amazing extent; and it is observed in France, that the English workmen employed in constructing railways are not content with wine; they mostly drink brandy, and that with a freedom which astonishes

astonishes the French. We can hardly doubt that the *kind* of liquor consumed has a various influence upon mind as well as body; and there may be some truth in the statement that beer is a besotting beverage: but it is beyond all doubt that the increased consumption of ardent spirits has produced a train of nervous disorders, delirium, and other frightful maladies unknown to our forefathers. How many an old man, tottering on his peevish ways, would be glad to say with Adam, in As You Like It (2. 3)—

> 'Though I look old, yet I am strong and lusty:
> For in my youth I never did apply
> Hot and rebellious liquors in my blood;
> Nor did not with unbashful forehead woo
> The means of weakness and debility;
> Therefore mine age is as a lusty winter,
> Frosty, but kindly.'

The old English word 'lusty,' like the German *lustig*, originally signified 'pleasant' or 'cheerful.' Thus the German Swiss, in speaking of a road across the mountains, say, *Der weg ist lustig*, 'The way is lusty,' meaning that it is an agreeable road. So here, a 'lusty winter' signifies a cheerful, exhilarating winter, frosty, but genial.

The hot and rebellious liquors are in keeping with many remarks in Shakespeare, upon the heating effects of wine: 'I'll heat his blood with Greekish wine to night' (Troilus, 5. 1); 'I had rather heat my liver with drinking' (Ant. and Cleop., 1. 2); 'Thou art going to Lord Timon's feast . . . . to see meat fill knaves, and wine heat fools' (Timon, 1. 1). But the most elaborate description is given by Falstaff (2 Hen. IV., 4. 5), in that mock-philosophic style which so much enhances the humour of the old rogue. He is speaking about Prince John of Lancaster, and says: 'Good faith, this same young sober-blooded boy doth not love me, nor a man cannot make him laugh; but that's no marvel, he drinks no wine.' According to Falstaff's notion, none of these demure boys come to any proof; for thin drink doth so overcool their blood, that they are generally fools and cowards, 'which some of us should be too, but for *inflammation*.' Then he breaks out into praise of a good sherris-sack: it ascends to the brain, dries up the foolish vapours, and gives birth to excellent wit: next, it warms the blood, which before was cold, leaving the liver white and pale, the badge of cowardice; but the sherris warms it, and summons the vital commoners to their captain the heart, who, great and puffed up with this retinue, doth any deed of courage; and this valour comes of sherris. 'Hereof comes it,' he adds, 'that Prince Harry is valiant: for the cold blood he did naturally inherit of his father, he hath, like lean, sterile, and bare land, manured, husbanded, and tilled with excellent endeavour of drinking good, and good store of fertile sherris; that he is become very hot and valiant. If I had a thousand sons, the first human prin-

ciple I would teach them, should be—to forswear their potations, and addict themselves to sack.'

This is only to be paralleled by his disquisition upon honour (1 Hen. IV. 5. 1). A character of deep wit, and shrewd observation, who knows the right but does the wrong, and exercises all his ingenuity to make the worse appear the better cause. In all real wit, there is an argument expressed or understood; hence ordinary minds, carried away by the brilliancy of the one, allow themselves unconsciously to be influenced by the other. And if any persons, desirous of investigating truth, begin to discuss the latent argument, the very effort produces such a revulsion of feeling in the minds of individuals, that the attempt is generally hopeless. And thus it is, that the pot-valiant Falstaff, though proved guilty of cowardice on numerous occasions, has been forgiven a thousand times over for all his faults, in consideration of his amusing qualities.

II. *The remorse of the drunkard.*—The strongest instance in Shakspeare is the case of Cassio; but to understand the whole bearing of it, as indeed properly to appreciate the entire tragedy, it is necessary to examine the character of Iago, who is contrasted on the one hand with the generous, impulsive Othello, and on the other with the self-indulgent Cassio. We should remember that avaricious and ambitious men are rarely under the dominion of gross debauchery. It is not merely that self-indulgence would interfere with their schemes; but they are consumed by other passions, which, however injurious to their moral nature, have, at all events, the effect of preserving them from downright sensuality. The hawk has not the vices of the hog. Hence there is little merit in the abstinence of such men; they obey the necessity of their nature. Iago describes his own character (Othello, 1. 2) when speaking to Roderigo, who talks of drowning himself for love. He asserts that he 'never found a man that knew how to *love himself*:' for his own part, rather than drown himself for love of a guinea-hen, he would change his humanity with a baboon. The principle of cool, calculating self-interest pervades the whole man. His conviction is, that the reason and the will must rule the passions. 'Our bodies are our gardens; to the which, our wills are gardeners: so that if we will plant nettles, or sow lettuce . . . . either to have it sterile with idleness, or manured with industry; why, the power and corrigible authority of this lies in our wills. If the balance of our lives had not one scale of reason to poise another of sensuality, the blood and baseness of our natures would conduct us to most preposterous conclusions. But we have reason to cool our raging motions, our carnal stings, our unbitted lusts.' If Iago had been an honest man these principles would have rendered

dered him a noble character; but though he can rule his bodily passions he cannot control his avarice: for in the same breath he advises Roderigo to put money in his purse, that he himself may 'make the fool his purse.'

To serve his own purposes (1. 3) Iago persuades Cassio to drink; the latter excuses himself on the ground that he has very poor and unhappy brains for drinking, and could well wish courtesy would invent some other custom of entertainment. Iago suggests 'but one cup;' and the other rejoins, 'I have drunk but one cup to-night, and behold what innovation it makes here. I am unfortunate in the infirmity, and dare not task my weakness any more.' At length Iago prevails, and chuckles to himself—

> 'If I can fasten but one cup upon him,
> With that which he hath drunk to-night already,
> He'll be as full of quarrel and offence
> As my young mistress' dog.'

The carousal begins; Iago leads the revel, and sings songs which he says he learned in England, where they are most potent in potting, being easily able to overthrow Danes, Germans, and Hollanders, who are 'nothing to your English.' In a short time Cassio begins to prove that he is not drunk, which is always one of the surest symptoms that a man distrusts his own sobriety. We have seen a man sit down in the open streets, and exclaim, 'Well, a man's a man, let him go where he will;' and there are a hundred stages of similar moral reflection before an individual is so far gone that he will crawl upon the door-steps, lie down, and 'thank God that he is in bed at last.' Cassio proceeds from the argumentative to the quarrelsome stage; a brawl ensues; weapons are drawn; Othello appears, receives a hypocritical account from Iago, and says to Cassio, 'Never more be officer of mine.'

Then Cassio comes to his senses. 'Drunk? and speak parrot? and squabble? swagger? swear? and discourse fustian with one's shadow?—O thou invisible spirit of wine, if thou hast no other name to be known by, let us call thee—devil. O, that men should put an enemy in their mouths, to steal away their brains! that we should, with joy, revel, pleasure, and applause, transform ourselves into beasts!' Iago says he wishes this had not befallen; but, 'since it is as it is, mend it for your own good.' 'I will ask him for my place again,' says Cassio: 'he shall tell me I am a drunkard! Had I as many mouths as Hydra, such an answer would stop them all. To be now a sensible man, by-and-by a fool, and presently a beast! O strange! Every inordinate cup is unbless'd, and the ingredient is a devil.' Iago replies that wine is a good familiar creature if it be well used; that we ought not to exclaim against it; and that the best plan is to importune Othello's wife to use her influence for his restoration. From this point the plot

of the play is developed, and thus it is made to arise out of an incident in a drunken brawl. Iago, himself a moderate drinker, knew how far to go, yet he could simulate sufficient enthusiasm to excite others. This misleading of the weak Cassio was an easy game, and not for a moment to be compared with his influence upon Othello; but, in its own way, it is a masterpiece, and proves how carefully, in the more finished plays, Shakespeare worked up his subordinate scenes, making them subservient to the main action. We cannot fail to notice the weakness of Cassio, conscious of infirmity, yet unable to resist solicitation. If he had possessed but a little of the strong will which Iago speaks of he would have been safe; but self-indulgence undermines the will, and easy compliance too often passes for good nature. In this sense the old proverb is true, that 'A good-natured man is little better than a fool.' That Cassio was acquainted with higher principles is proved by the indignation—nay, the revenge, which he denounces against himself after his fall. Here, again, was a man who knew the right but did the wrong; yet he does not seek, with Falstaff, to justify the wrong. For a time he mourns over it, though liable to fall again under a future temptation. There is all the difference in the world between a repentant sinner and a sinful penitent. A wolf howls when he is caught in a trap.

III. *The introduction of stimulants among uncivilized tribes.*—The conduct of Christian nations towards savage races is one of the blackest chapters in modern history. True it is that the roughest specimens of our European civilization have generally been the first to come in contact with the natives of Africa or America; but the comfortable merchants at home inquired little about the interests of the savages abroad if they themselves could make money. If slaves paid, they bought them; if whiskey left a profit, they shipped it; and certainly the temptation was great. Articles of small value were sent out from England, exchanged for slaves upon the coast of Africa, and resulted in a rich cargo of rum or sugar from Jamaica. But we sometimes see retributive justice working on a large scale; and nations should learn that in the long run honesty is the best policy.

In Shakespeare's time America was emphatically a new world. The strangest reports were circulated about its inhabitants: while the spirit of the adventurer was stirred to seek the land of gold, the imagination of the poet drew gorgeous pictures of the country, and the philosopher speculated on the future destiny of colonists and natives. Considerable attention was excited by an account which was published of the shipwreck suffered by part of a squadron on the Bermuda Islands, on which narration Shakespeare is supposed to have founded his play of the Tempest; and there

there is good reason to suppose that in the savage and deformed slave Caliban he drew a picture of the natives of the western continent, borrowing from the exaggerated descriptions current at the time. The savage is taught the use of wine by drunken fellows; and it is worth our while to follow Shakespeare in his delineation of the effects produced, remembering that the abuse of stimulants has caused the destruction of whole tribes and races of North American Indians.

Caliban, who complains that his own island has been taken from him, groans under servitude to Prospero, and wishes, if possible, to shake off the yoke. He is met by Stephano, a drunken butler, and Trinculo, a jester (Tempest, 2. 2), and begs them not to torment him. 'Do not torment me, pry'thee; I'll bring my wood home faster.' Stephano rejoins: 'He's in his fit now, and does not talk after the wisest. He shall taste of my bottle; *if he have never drunk wine afore* it will go near to remove his fit: if I can recover him and keep him tame I will not take too much for him; *he shall pay for him that hath him*, and that soundly.' Here we see the two curses introduced by civilized nations among the uncivilized—drunkenness and slavery.

When Caliban has tasted the wine, he exclaims, 'These be fine things, an' if they be not sprites: that's a brave god, and bears celestial liquor; I will kneel to him.' He swears upon that bottle to be a true subject, for the liquor is not earthly. He will show Stephano every fertile inch of the island, will kiss his foot, and beseeches him to be his god:—

> 'Ill show thee the best springs; I'll pluck thee berries;
> I ll fish for thee and get thee wood enough;
> A plague upon the tyrant that I serve!
> I'll bear him no more sticks, but follow thee,
> Thou wondrous man!'

On which Trinculo remarks, 'A most ridiculous monster, to make a wonder of a poor drunkard.'

In considering the history of early discoveries it is important to inquire what the savages thought of their visitors. Many of the American natives were well disposed until they found by bitter experience that confidence was misplaced. They were amazed by the ships, the fire-arms, the equipments, and in some instances believed that the strangers were gods, who had come from the rising sun to visit them. So, too, the wine which they introduced seemed a nectar, or drink of the gods, possessed by these wonderful beings; and what wonder if, in their ignorance, they were ready to fall down and worship the possessors! This was one among the many powers which the Europeans held in their hands, and was by them abused for the vilest purposes, to win gold and to enslave the unsuspecting savages.

Caliban enters into a conspiracy with his two superiors to murder Pr[redacted]

Prospero and to regain the island. The scheme fails, of course, and at the end of the play even Caliban gains knowledge enough to see that he has been grossly deceived (5. 1) :—

> 'I'll be wise hereafter,
> And seek for grace. What a thrice double ass
> Was I to take this drunkard for a god,
> And worship this dull fool!'

In spite of missionaries and all the efforts of philanthropists, very few of the American Indians have been equally enlightened: the fire-water, as they expressively term it, was too strong for them, too deadly a foe; and it has been calculated that the ravages of rum, whiskey, and other stimulants have been more destructive among the red-skins than war or disease. A hundred years ago there were about sixteen millions of Indians in North America; now there are barely two millions, and the number decreases every year. It is remarkable, however, that the evils of the 'fire-water' have signally reached upon the 'pale faces' themselves, the descendants of those who first introduced it; so much so that, in this very America, attempts have been made to stay the plague by legal enactment. The Maine Liquor Law, as it is commonly termed, whether wise or unwise as a legislative measure, is convincing evidence that the tremendous evil has recoiled upon the introducers of stimulating drinks; for if the abuse had not reached an alarming height, the mind of man would never have thought of limiting individual action, and appealing to the interference of government.

It is surprising that Shakespeare should have touched upon a point which has had such important consequences upon the native tribes of the western continent; but it is only another proof, if proof were wanting, that the highest poet is the highest philosopher: he beholds the past, the present, and the future: the past, to see what has been, and to derive instruction; the present, to improve and make it better; the future, to divine what will be, and to speculate upon the destinies of humanity.

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ART. II.—*A Vindication of Secession and the South, &c.* By B. M. Palmer, D.D., New Orleans. Columbia, South Carolina. 1861.

NOTWITHSTANDING the expressions of sorrow for the threatened dissolution of the American Union, with which the newspaper and other periodical exponents of English public opinion have almost invariably set out when discussing the matters at issue between the seceding States and the National government of the Republic, the *practical* tendency of their remarks, with few exceptions,

exceptions, has been to give encouragement to the rebellious States, and to strengthen them in the belief, that, however difficult it may be for them to attain their independence, and however many reverses they may at present, and in the immediate future, experience, in their efforts to organize and establish a rival confederacy, still that, ultimately, they cannot fail to succeed.

This position of our press is not always the fruit of an avowed sympathy with the cause of the Secessionists, nor yet of dislike to the North; but arises sometimes from a misconception of the real questions at issue; sometimes from a lack of knowledge of the constitutional relations between the States and the national government; and sometimes from the tone in which the subject is approached, and the measures of the Washington administration criticised.

Some writers altogether ignore the great principles at stake, and look upon the struggle as simply premonitory of the downfall of Democracy, and as such an event to be welcomed rather than otherwise. Others, looking at the matter from an equally sinister point of view, talk of the impending dissolution as a meet recompense to the American people and government for what is termed the impudence and arrogance which have almost uniformly characterized their conduct towards Europe in general and Great Britain in particular. With two republics, we are told, we shall have more reason and less bombast. The rival nations will have enough to do in watching the movements of each other, and will both have an interest in observing a more civil demeanour towards the great powers of Europe. These insinuations, though intended to be applicable to both North and South, manifestly affect the latter but little, save in helping it in its treason, insomuch as it is the North alone which is endeavouring to prevent a disruption of the country. The accusation, therefore, in plain English, amounts to this—the Free States are seeking, through the preservation of the Union, to perpetuate an insolent and overbearing foreign policy, whilst the Slave States are endeavouring, through the destruction of the Union, to inaugurate a civil and gentlemanly diplomacy. Now whatever may be the effect upon the American people as to the mode of carrying on their foreign affairs (and it is purely speculative to suppose that any change will take place at all), should a separation of the conflicting sections occur, it is unjust to charge the North with the bad manners of American diplomatists in times past, the offending parties having pretty nearly always hailed from the South. It was not the freemen of the North, but the slaveholders of the South, and their contemptible and unprincipled organ, the 'New York Herald,' that made all the noise about the affairs of Central America a few years ago, and created all the bad feeling about the right of search still more recently.

It

It was the South which bullied Spain into selling Florida; which let loose the Fillibusterers who got up the Mexican war, and 'annexed' (including Texas and California) something like a thousand millions square miles of territory. It was the South which invaded Cuba, and attempted to revive the African slave trade. None but Southern politicians have talked of bringing 'abolitionist old England to her senses,' by cutting off her cotton supplies. Even at the present time, as if conscious of the badness of their cause, as if aware that they can expect no sympathy from the outside world, they seek to coerce England into recognizing their 'Confederacy' on the pain of riot and starvation in Lancashire and Yorkshire, and yet these are the people who are to be let alone! whose every demand, however outrageous, is to be conceded!

Another class of writers oppose the present war on the grounds that the policy of the Unionists is inconsistent with the principles of the 'Declaration of Independence;' and they tauntingly ask the Lincoln Cabinet why it refuses to accord to the Secessionists the right of self-government, claimed and obtained by the colonists from the mother-country in 1776. Such a carping spirit can have no other effect than to give offence to the proverbially sensitive people of America, more especially as the analogy attempted to be drawn between the present war and the rebellion of eighty-five years ago, fails in every essential feature. 'The Declaration of Independence' exhibited a long string of grievances; but the Secession Ordinances are miserable imitations of a great original, and remarkable only as exhibiting an utter failure to point out a single instance in which the rights of the Southern people have been infringed upon by the National Executive.

As to the cause of the present troubles, it should be distinctly understood, that though there is a difference of opinion between the North and South as to whether the institution of slavery should be extended or restricted, and though there may have been a considerable amount of ill-feeling engendered between the people of the two sections by the intemperate agitations of the extreme abolitionists on the one side, and the ultra pro-slaveryites of the other, still the object of the present war is not the abolition of slavery, for the North has never on any occasion expressed an inclination to interfere with the rights of the Southern slaveholders. Indeed, the Free States have been very justly censured for their indifference in the matter, and for the manner in which they have on many occasions given their support to measures which have added to the possessions of slavedom, and increased the power of the institution in the national council. Nevertheless, we are repeatedly told that the present war is a contest between slavery and freedom; that it was the attempt of the Northern States to abolish the peculiar institution of the South, which has caused the leading politicians

politicians of the Slave States to band themselves together for the purpose of breaking up the Union; that, however the matter may have been disguised, it was the intention of President Lincoln, had he been allowed uninterruptedly to assume the executiveship of the entire Union, to commence such proceedings as would have resulted in the forcible abolition of negro slavery in the States where it at present exists; and this position is assumed in spite of the disclaimer contained in the 'platform' of the Republican party six months before the secession movement had fully set in, and its subsequent reiteration by President Lincoln in his inaugural address. 'I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists; I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so,' said Mr. Lincoln, in a speech delivered before his inauguration; and 'I now reiterate these sentiments, and in doing so, I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in anywise endangered by the incoming administration,' said he, in his inaugural message.

But even if President Lincoln had adopted the line of policy he is accused of, it would not have materially altered the case, for there are constitutional obstacles to such a course of conduct, which it would have been impossible for him to have overcome save by revolution. The object aimed at could not be attained through the action of Congress, nor yet by means of a convention of the people, except by a vote of two-thirds of the members or three-fourths of the States; and such a vote would require the concurrence of the whole of the senators from the Free States and the senators of four Slave States; whilst for its ratification the consent of the legislatures of seven of the Slave States would be necessary. Ultra-secessionists, indeed, say, that what they call the black republican party would not stand on constitutional forms, but would endeavour to at once set free the negroes by revolutionary force, and thereby introduce all the horrors of a servile war. This doctrine is too outrageous to need refutation on either the North or Great Britain; but there is no doubt that it is believed by a considerable portion of the Southern people, deceived as they are by their lying journals and unprincipled nest of political conspirators. There may be a few fanatical abolitionists in some of the New England States who advocate such an atrocious policy, but they are extremely limited in number, and are as cordially detested by the great mass of the Northern people as by the slaveholders themselves.

If any proof be required that the abolition of slavery forms no part of the political programme of the Lincoln administration, it is amply supplied by the conduct of the government since its accession

cession to power. On the 16th July a resolution was passed by the House of Representatives, and a similar one was subsequently passed by the Senate, to the effect that it was no part of the object of the present war to interfere with the institution of slavery. Numerous instances have occurred in which fugitive negroes have been returned to their owners by the officers of the federal army; and General M'Dowall, in an order of the day, warned the division of the army under his command to give no succour to fugitive negroes. It is merely puerile, therefore, to assert that the conflict now going on is a war between abolitionists and slaveholders.

Another circumstance which, it is said, has been a source of considerable annoyance and oppression to the South is the protectionist direction which has been given to the fiscal policy of the government in consequence of the preponderating influence of the Northern States in the Congress, and whereby the prices of certain articles of manufacture have been kept much above their natural value. From the manner in which this question has been brought forward, we would suppose that the Slave States have always been an unit in their advocacy of free trade, and that the Free States have been equally unanimous in their defence of protection; but a reference to the votes of Congress will show that there has always been a large number of free traders in the Northern States, and a considerable number of protectionists in the Slave States. John C. Calhoun, though originally an ultra-protectionist, allied himself, towards the latter part of his political career, with the free traders, and became as violent an advocate of the one system as he had previously been of the other. The Tariff Bill of 1842 was opposed by the great South Carolinian, yet one-fourth of the senators of the Slave States voted against him. The Bill of 1846 received the sanction of Calhoun, but was, nevertheless, opposed by one-third of the Southern senators. The Bill of 1857 received only eight negatives, thirty-three Northern and Southern senators voting together in the affirmative. But in spite of these facts the contrary notion has been so long and so successfully harped upon by designing Southern demagogues, that a considerable number of the people have been led to believe that they have been immensely victimized by the cupidity of Northern manufacturers; and for this reason they demand the right to secede in order that they may adopt a tariff more favourable to foreign nations, and better calculated, in their opinion, to advance their own interests; but instead of following up their promises, they have adopted a scale of duties differing very little from the United States Bill of 1857; and in addition thereto have proposed to mulct the spinners of Europe by an export duty on cotton, to be followed, as is said, by a similar raid on the foreign consumers of tobacco! Away, then, with this bugbear of the tariff: it, like slavery,

slavery, is a mere party cry, got up in order to disguise the real motives of the Secessionists, and to give their proceedings a character in the eyes of the world. In writing thus we must not be understood as advocating the principle of protection, nor yet as defending the Morrill tariff passed by Congress this year; which ill-timed measure, it should not be forgotten, was ratified by a pro-Southern president, and has proved quite as offensive to a majority of the Northern people as to the people of the South. It is pretty certain that it will be repealed during the next congressional session, and the more moderate Bill of 1857 fallen back upon. Down to the period when the latter tariff was passed, the policy of free trade had been in the ascendant; and if the slaveholders, instead of ignoring everything except their sectional interests; if instead of irritating the North by their attempts to extend the institution of slavery into the free territories of the Union, and legalizing it even in the Free States themselves, they had confined their attention to matters of national importance, there is not the slightest doubt but that protection would have lost ground in place of gaining it as it has done, for in addition to the Slave States all the great States of the West are attached to the doctrines of free trade.

The present war, then, is not a conflict between rival industrial, commercial, or social interests. It is a struggle between great and antagonistic principles—between government and anarchy, freedom and despotism. The attitude taken by the Unionists is the declaration of a great people that it will not allow its government to be annihilated, its flag to be trampled upon, and its dearest interests to be sacrificed to satisfy the ambition of an unscrupulous clique of politicians, smarting though they may be under the infliction of a constitutional defeat.

True, the 'Southern Confederacy,' so called, avers that the secession movement is not a work of revolution, but the exercise of a lawful right reserved by the States when they ratified the United States Constitution in 1787. The best defence of this position we have met with is contained in the pamphlet of Dr. Palmer of New Orleans, the title of which will be found at the head of the present article.

The groundwork of the argument is the assertion of the sovereignty of the States in the highest sense of the term; and, according to an interpretation peculiar to politicians of the secession school, Dr. Palmer accuses the Unionists of mistaking the nature of the United States government; and he maintains that the American Union is not a nation in the proper meaning of the term, but merely a congress of sovereign and independent republics, which have agreed to delegate certain of their powers to a common executive, such delegated powers to be enjoyed by the said common executive only so long as it pleases any or all of the sovereign

sovereign republics not to recall them. The States joined the Union voluntarily, says the Doctor, and they may therefore leave it voluntarily. Who ever heard of such a corollary as this? It means that a contract voluntarily made is not binding upon the parties who made it! What sort of a contract then *is* binding? Surely not an *in*voluntary one. If the doctrine which Dr. Palmer advocates was allowed to govern the intercourse between nations and individuals, the morality of society would be completely upturned.

Dr. Palmer wastes a great deal of very energetic argument, and gives vent to a considerable amount of rhetorical flourishing to prove what no one ever questioned—namely, that the thirteen original States were not coerced into the Union. During his remarks he draws particular attention to the dilatoriness of North Carolina and Rhode Island in signing the present Constitution of the United States, the former having waited two, and the latter three years after the ratification of the instrument by the people of the remaining States in 1787; and he asks with an air of conscious triumph, which is sometimes adopted by controversialists when they have, or think they have, cornered an opponent,—Suppose the two States had withheld their assent to the Constitution—what then? Would you have coerced them into the Union? Certainly not; because they were then what they are *not* now—sovereign and independent States, and had the option of either joining or not, as they pleased, the new Union. But they did enter the Union. Why? Simply because they found that it would conduce to their prosperity and safety to do so. Had they refused their assent they would have remained separate and independent nations, enveloped amidst a great and progressing people. They would never have held any other than a subordinate position in the world. They would have seen their late compatriots extending their territory west and south until they had increased it from less than three hundred thousand square miles to over three thousand two hundred million square miles! from the advantages of which the two isolated States would have been for ever excluded. They would have seen the United States shoulder to shoulder with the great powers of the old world in the race of national progress, whilst they would have found themselves somewhere at the tail end of the course, and literally of 'no account' (to use an American vulgarity). North Carolinians and Rhode Islanders could appreciate the benefits to be derived from being component parts of a great nation, and, in consideration of being allowed to participate in the advantages of the Union, consented to give up their insignificant sovereignties. Henceforward they no longer prided themselves on being North Carolinians or Rhode Islanders, but citizens of America, owing allegiance to no other government than that of the Union, and to no other flag than that of the stars and stripes.

stripes. They styled themselves subjects of the United States, not of the particular States of North Carolina and Rhode Island. By joining the Union they became entitled to all the privileges of the citizens of the various States, as per the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution, and as a people they were as effectually amalgamated with their sister States as Scotland is to England, or Savoy and Nice to France: they retained their municipal institutions and the control over their own domestic affairs; but to speak of them as sovereign communities is as great a solecism as to speak of the independence of Scotland or the sovereignty of Wales. The States were sovereign before they united themselves under the present Constitution; but by the act of unity they relinquished their sovereignties, ceased to be separate republics, and became one nation undivisible, except by mutual consent or revolution.

If the States had desired to retain the privilege of withdrawal from the Union whenever they thought proper to do so, it would have been very easy for them to have had the Constitution worded in such a manner as to give them that option; but they did not as a body express such a desire: on the contrary, when the States of New York, Virginia, and Rhode Island, in giving their adherence to the Constitution, asked for such a permission, the request was peremptorily refused by the other States, and the delegates from the three States named modified their sentiments accordingly. Instead of declaring that the States reserved unto themselves individually the right of withdrawal, they contented themselves with proclaiming a very self-evident truism: 'That the powers granted under the Constitution being derived from the people of the United States, may be resumed by them whenever the same shall be perverted to their injury and oppression;' which means simply that the makers of the government could unmake it if they found that their work was being turned against them. Notwithstanding the plain import of the phrase 'people of the United States,' the modern Secessionists have interpreted it to mean 'the people of *any* of the States,' making the Union to be, as President Lincoln has said, a sort of free connection, to be broken up at the caprice of any of the parties, and not a regular marriage, legally binding upon all. But supposing that the Secessionists are correct in their interpretation of the Constitution, upon what grounds do they assume that the powers delegated to the central government have been 'perverted to the injury and oppression' of the South? Can they point out a single instance in which such injury and oppression have been inflicted? The only reasonable, or rather unreasonable, answer we have met with to this question is, not that the government has done the South any injury, but that it is going to do so! or, to transcribe more literally, the Northern people have elected a sectional president, and

and mean to inaugurate a sectional policy! There would be some reason in the conduct of the Cotton States if these fears had the slightest foundation; but even then they would not be justified in resorting to forcible secession until they had first expended every constitutional remedy to prevent their rights from being infringed upon. As it is, it is they who have been the aggressors, not the North.

A brief comparison of the compact which preceded the present Constitution with that instrument will prove that the States have to-day no claim to sovereign rights. 'The Articles of Confederation' were made by 'we, the delegates;' the 'Constitution' by 'we, the people' of the United States. The first were called 'Articles of Confederation *between* the States,' and the second was denominated 'A Constitution *for* the States,' the object of which was 'to form a more perfect Union.' The third article of the first document says: The States 'hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other,' 'binding themselves to assist each other' against common enemies; and the second article says each State 'retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence;' but in the Constitution neither the word 'sovereignty' nor the word 'league' are to be found. A synonym of the latter term does occur once, viz., in the tenth section of the first article, where the States are told that they cannot, without the consent of Congress, enter into any agreement or compact, either between themselves or with a foreign power. The word 'confederation' occurs twice, once in the section just alluded to, where it is said that 'no State shall enter into any treaty or alliance, or confederation,' &c. To talk of the sovereignty of a State under such circumstances is simply an abuse of language. The second place in which the term 'confederation' is found is in the sixth article, in which it is said that 'all debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation;' plainly implying that the ratifiers of the Constitution considered that they had established a form of government very different from that which had preceded it. They had ceased to be a *confederation* governed by *articles of union*, and became a people —*a nation*, governed by a *constitution*, a fundamental law. The 'Articles of Confederation' partook of the nature of a treaty between independent peoples, and were made between the legislatures of the States as sovereign governments; but the Constitution bears not the slightest resemblance to a compact, and was not made between the legislatures of the *several* States, but was ordained and established by the people of the *United* States. Under the Confederation, members of the Congress voted by States, but under the Constitution the distinction is obliterated, and on voting a State representation is as often found divided against itself

itself as are English towns and counties in the British House of Commons. This result is quite in accordance with the intentions of Washington when he recommended the Constitution to the consideration of the people, his great aim being to extinguish all party politics founded on 'geographical discriminations.'

It was because the States were sovereign under the Articles of Confederation that the government of the country could not be carried on, and which made the adoption of the present Constitution a grave necessity. The old Congress was embarrassed in its work because of the feebleness of its powers, and it soon became apparent that either a stronger government must be formed, or else that disintegration and anarchy would take place. In the words of Dr. Palmer, the old Confederacy 'was found to be breaking down from its own imbecility, and the necessity of a more perfect union was becoming apparent,' simply because (to again quote Dr. Palmer) 'the people were accustomed to act, not as an organic whole, but as constituting separate States.' The weakness of the Congress was especially manifested in its inability to raise a revenue sufficient to meet the expenses of government, and in its failure to provide those regulations essential to the prosperity of the trade and commerce of the country and the general welfare of the people.

'The incompetency of the Articles of Confederation for the management of the affairs of the Union at home and abroad was demonstrated to them by the painful and mortifying experience of every day. Washington, though in retirement, was brooding over the cruel injustice suffered by his associates in arms, the warriors of the revolution; over the prostration of the public credit and the faith of the nation in the neglect to provide for the payment even of the interest upon the public debt; over the disappointed hopes of the friends of freedom; in the language of the address from Congress to the States, of the 18th April, 1783, "the pride and boast of America that the rights for which she contended were the rights of human nature."'—*Williams' History of the Union, in 'The Statesman's Manual.'* 1860.

Various attempts were made to improve upon the Articles of Confederation, but without success—the evil was radical, the disease chronic. At last, chiefly through the instrumentality of Washington, it was resolved to call a convention of delegates from the various States, independent of the Congress, whose exclusive duty it would be to consider the defective condition of the federal compact, and to suggest a remedy for the same. The first meeting was held at Annapolis in September, 1786, but being attended by delegates from only five out of the thirteen States, viz., Virginia, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, and finding the powers intrusted to them entirely inadequate to the work before them, they recommended the States' legislatures to appoint a new Convention, to be attended by delegates from all the States, and having more ample powers than any yet conferred.

'The Constitution of the United States was the work of this Convention. But in its construction the Convention immediately perceived that they must retrace their

their steps, and fall back from a league of friendship between the sovereign States to the constituent sovereignty of the people—from power to right—from the irresponsible despotism of State sovereignty to the self-evident truth of the Declaration of Independence. From the day of that declaration the constituent power of the people had never been called into action. A confederacy had been substituted in the place of a government, and State sovereignty had usurped the constituent sovereignty of the people.

'The Convention assembled at Philadelphia had themselves no direct authority from the people. Their authority was all derived from the State legislatures. But they had the articles of confederation before them, and they saw and felt the wretched condition into which they had brought the whole people, and that the Union itself was in the agonies of death. They soon perceived that the indispensably needed powers were such as no State government, no combination of them, was, by the Declaration of Independence, competent to bestow. They could emanate only from the people. A highly respectable portion of the Assembly, still clinging to the confederacy of States, proposed, as a substitute for the Constitution, a mere revival of the Articles of Confederation, with the grant of additional powers to the Congress. Their plan was respectfully and thoroughly discussed, but the want of a government, and of the sanction of the people to the delegated powers happily prevailed.'—*History of the Union.*

The Constitution, as it at present stands, was therefore adopted. The document was signed by George Washington, President of the Convention, and deputy from Virginia, and by the whole of the States delegates, and was forwarded, along with a letter from the great patriot, and two resolutions from the Convention, to Congress.

In his accompanying letter the President states that in all their deliberations the object which the members had kept steadily in view was the 'consolidation of the Union,' in which, he said, was involved 'the prosperity, felicity, safety, and perhaps national existence of the country.' This consolidation the Articles of Confederation had failed to secure, and the Convention had come to the conclusion that an entirely 'different organization' was necessary to accomplish the object in view. The distinctive feature of this 'different organization' was that a national government should be formed in which the 'power of making war, peace, and treaties should be fully and effectually vested,' and not merely delegated, as under the Confederation—should be given, not lent.

Under the Articles of Confederation the powers held by the Congress had been given to it, not by the people direct, but by the legislatures of the States; but the first of the two 'resolutions' mentioned above suggested that the proposed Constitution should be ratified, not by the States' legislatures, but by the citizens of the States; and that the powers given to the Congress should be vested, not by the legislatures independent of the people, as were the 'Articles of Confederation,' but by the people independent of the legislatures. 'The Constitution of the United States' was thus created by the people of the United States direct, through conventions chosen by themselves for that purpose. Hence the difference in the wording of the new form of government: 'We, the people,' not 'We, the delegates;' 'We, the people of the *United* States,' not 'We, the delegates,' of the States of New Hampshire, and

and so forth to the end of the list; nor 'We, the people of the *Confederate* States' (as the 'Southern Confederacy' has it) 'do ordain and establish this Constitution;' not 'do agree to certain Articles of Confederation.' By this act the States ceased to be a confederation, and became a nation ruled by a sovereign government entirely independent of the control of the States government, and responsible for its acts to the people of the Union as citizens of America, and not as citizens of any particular State: the government being created by the people, and not by the States. The Union is thus one and undivisible, and no part or parts of it have the legal right of withdrawal: such a doctrine would be the very essence of anarchy.

'To the efficacy and permanency of your Union,' said George Washington in his 'Farewell Address,' 'a government of the whole is indispensable. No alliance, however strict between the parties, can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances, in all times, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former one for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of your own choice, uninfluenced and unawed—adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim upon your confidence and your support.'

The Unionists, then, are right when they maintain that the Constitution is not a compact between the several States, 'each State in its sovereign and independent character,' but a government made by the people of all the States in their national capacity, and as such to be annulled only by the people of the United States, and not by the people of any particular State. With this intent the Congress is clothed with all the powers and attributes of sovereignty, whilst the States are deprived of every power bearing the semblance of sovereignty. The Congress has the power to levy and collect taxes, duties, &c.; to borrow money on the credit of the United States; to regulate commerce; to coin money; to declare war; to raise and support armies; to provide and maintain a navy; and to do a variety of other things which appertain only to sovereign powers; whilst the States are prohibited from doing any of these things. The members of the several States' legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers of the several States are bound by oath or affirmation to support the Constitution; and the Constitution is declared the supreme law of the land, anything in the States' constitutions to the contrary notwithstanding.*

What may be the end of the present struggle it is impossible to tell. The recent reverses experienced by the Union army have

* Compare Section viii. of Article I. with Section x. of the same article, and the second and third paragraphs of Article VI. of the Constitution.

gone far to give countenance to the idea that the two sections will never be united again under the one government. With better management on the part of the United States War Department, the battles of Bull's Run and Springfield might have been differently written; but still it does not follow that because at first unsuccessful, the Washington government cannot be ultimately victorious: and even should secession be accomplished by the South, it would not detract one iota from the right of the North to prevent its consummation.

The threatened curtailment of our cotton supplies has from the first made the war extremely unpopular in England, and if the merchants and brokers of Liverpool, and the spinners and weavers of Lancashire were polled on the subject, our belief is that the majority would vote on the side of secession; nevertheless the fact is, that we were never in a better position to meet the cessation of American imports. Our stocks of goods and yarn have long been heavier than is compatible with a profitable trade, whilst the chief markets of the world have been completely glutted by the enormous exports of the past two years. A resort to short time, then, will be anything but unmixed evil to our manufacturers; and we have the authority of Messrs. Du Fay and Co., the extensive Manchester merchants, for saying that short time must be adopted, not only because of the American war, but to reduce the stocks at home and abroad, 'in order to bring the prices of cotton and those of the articles produced therefrom to due proportions.' The general opinion is, that the entire trade will shortly go to four, if not three days a week. This would reduce the requirements of the country from 46,000 bales of cotton per week to about 30,000 bales; exporters would probably want more than their usual quantity out of the Liverpool market, say 15,000 bales, against a past average of 10,000 bales per week. This would give a total of 45,000 bales per week, or 1,305,000 bales from to-day (September 6th) to the close of March next year, by which time it is confidently expected that hostilities will have ceased. To meet this consumption, there are 200,000 bales in the hands of the trade; 886,000 bales in Liverpool; 227,000 bales already on the way, and to arrive from India by the end of November; to be followed by at least 300,000, to arrive from the beginning of December to the end of March; and 150,000 bales to arrive from other countries, making a total supply of 1,763,000 bales to meet a demand of 1,305,000 bales, leaving a surplus stock of 458,000 bales to go on with until the arrival of the new crops from India, Egypt, the Brazils, and the West Indies, due about the middle of the year. By giving the mills three-fourths time, instead of only two-thirds, as suggested above, the stock on the 31st March would be 317,000 bales.

So

So far the policy of the Lincoln government has been directed exclusively to the preservation of the Union on a constitutional basis, and the question of slavery has been carefully excluded from the war programme; but who can say that non-intervention with the Southern institution will continue to be adhered to by the Northern people? Already the temper of the Free States is assuming a new phase; and though, at the commencement of the war, they were loud in their denial of an abolition crusade, their protestations have been growing more and more feeble, and we should not be surprised to see the conflict become, what it was never intended to be, a struggle between slavery and freedom. Let us hope that such may not be the case, for great as is our detestation of slavery, our heart's desire and prayer is, that the cause of all the nation's troubles may be got rid of, as is practicable, by peaceful means, and that the people of the South may be spared the horrible occurrences which would take place on the outbreak of a servile war.

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ART. III.— *The Encyclopædia Britannica.* Eighth edition. Edited by Thomas Stewart Traill, M.D., Professor of Medical Jurisprudence in the University of Edinburgh. Twenty-one volumes 4to, and Index. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 1852-61.

THE publication of 'The Encyclopædia Britannica' is of national interest. The edition just finished, we are told, 'is the largest literary enterprise ever undertaken by one single house in Great Britain.' Whether we consider the talent employed in the preparation of its matter, the knowledge contained within its compass, or the capital invested in the undertaking, it is worthy of general regard. Three hundred and forty writers, whose names are given, numbering in their ranks the most eminent in all departments, besides others of whom there is no record, have united their learning to make this gigantic storehouse of knowledge. Almost all subjects—theological, historical, philosophical, political, scientific, mechanical, artistic, and literary—are discussed within its pages. The index alone fills a quarto volume of two hundred and thirty pages of small print, arranged in four columns on each page; while on the two editions issued during the last thirty years, twenty of which have been consumed in the publication, 184,421*l.* have been expended by the spirited proprietors. It is illustrated by nearly five thousand engravings on wood, and four hundred on steel. The possession of such a work is a library, for its matter is equal to one hundred ordinary octavo volumes. No library of English literature is complete without this Encyclopædia.

Two expressions have been used to denote such a compendium of

of knowledge as is contained in the work before us—'Cyclopædia' and 'Encyclopædia.' The latter is to be preferred as being etymologically more correct and definite. Turning to the term in its proper place, we are informed that 'Cyclopædia may mean "the instruction of a circle," as Cyropædia is "the instruction of Cyrus;" whereas in Encyclopædia, the preposition determines the meaning to be "instruction in a circle."'

The General Preface affords some information respecting this class of works, and from it chiefly, as well as from independent sources by way of supplement, we compile the following article.

It is only since the inductive philosophy held sway that collective digests of knowledge have been prepared. Pliny alone of all the ancients attempted an Encyclopædia in his 'Natural History;' but his books bear no comparison with the class of publications usually designated by the term now. In the tenth century of the Christian era, an Arabian philosopher, Alfarabius, 'the great ornament of the school of Bagdad,' compiled a work with the same title, a copy of which in manuscript exists in the library of the Escurial in Spain. But we have to come down to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, before we find any work worthily bearing the comprehensive term of Encyclopædia:—

'The most noted and valuable of the early Encyclopædias was that of John Henry Alstedius, a Professor of Philosophy and Divinity at Weissembourg in Transylvania, and who is said to have been the author of about sixty other works, though he died at the age of fifty in 1638. His Encyclopædia, by which alone his name is remembered, appeared in 1630, in two folio volumes. A smaller and less comprehensive work of the same kind, which he published ten years before, served as the groundwork of this more extensive undertaking; in which he professedly aimed at the formation of a complete Encyclopædia. It consists of thirty-five books, of which the first four contain an explanation of the nature of the various subjects contained in the rest. Then follow successively, six on philology; ten on speculative, and four on practical philosophy; three on theology, jurisprudence, and medicine; three on the mechanical arts; and five on history, chronology, and miscellaneous topics. This work was held in high estimation till the close of the century in which it appeared.'

This work of Alsted had not the dictionary form, and was not arranged in alphabetical order. Another century had to elapse before these improvements were introduced. The first attempt at the dictionary form was made by Dr. Harris in his 'Lexicon Technicum,' which was issued in two folio volumes in the years 1706 and 1710 respectively. It was limited to the sciences, mathematical and physical; but was replete with accurate information. It was reprinted five times in the course of thirty years. The alphabetical plan was introduced by Ephraim Chambers, a native of Kendal in Westmoreland. He was educated for business, and apprenticed to a globe-maker in London. During his stay with Mr. Senex, for such was his master's name, and who was a skilful mechanician, young Chambers acquired that taste for learning which marked his future career. Even then he conceived the

the design of the work which was to make him famous, and he actually wrote several of the articles behind the counter. Globe-making had to give way to the construction of a universe of knowledge, and Mr. Chambers quitted his employer that he might devote himself entirely to his Cyclopædia. Many years were consumed in his work, which was entirely written by himself. It was published by subscription in 1728, and dedicated to George II., who had lately ascended the throne. Chambers was not a man of profound knowledge, but was possessed of much general information. His work procured him the honour of a Fellowship of the Royal Society. A second edition was called for in ten years, followed by a third in the succeeding year. The author did not long enjoy his fame, for he died in 1740; but he obtained a burial in Westminster Abbey, where the modest inscription which marks his resting-place, and which was written by himself, may recal to the reader the memory of the first alphabetical encyclopædist of England. Its popularity drew forth similar works. This work, after five editions had been printed, was remodelled and enlarged, so as to keep its ground until the beginning of the present century. The Rev. Dr. Abraham Rees, an able divine, and mathematical tutor at Coward's College, Hoxton, was engaged by the proprietors to superintend and enlarge the new issue, which appeared in 1785. In 1802 the first volume of another edition came forth, embellished with illustrations in the highest style of art. The work extended to forty-five volumes in quarto. Chambers' Cyclopædia was translated into Italian and French. The French translation, however, was never published, but it suggested the famous 'Encyclopédie' which extended to seventeen volumes in folio, and eleven volumes of plates and descriptions. It was edited by D'Alembert and Diderot, and appeared during the years 1751-65. A supplement in four volumes, with one of plates, appeared in 1776-77. The whole work consisted of thirty-three volumes.

In this country the success of Chambers brought out several rivals. In 1751 appeared Barrow's 'New and Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences,' and in 1754, a 'New and Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences,' by 'a Society of Gentlemen,' in four octavo volumes; and in 1766, 'The Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences,' compiled by the Rev. Henry Croker, Dr. Thomas Williams, and Mr. Samuel Clerk. Goldsmith prepared a prospectus of a 'Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences,' in which he was to be assisted by eminent men of his day, but his death prevented the accomplishment of his purpose. All of these were incomplete, several classes of subjects being omitted, and others treated without sufficient care or accuracy.

French philosophers projected and carried out a work of the same kind towards the close of the eighteenth century. It was called

called the 'Encyclopédie Méthodique.' Lacretelle wrote the portion on logic, metaphysics, and ethics, in four volumes, published in the years 1788-91. He was a counsellor of Parliament, and one of the editors of the Grand Repertory of Jurisprudence and of the 'Mercure de France.' In 1787, he was a member of the Committee to reform the penal code. At the Revolution he was a moderate man, and, during the ascendency of Robespierre, retired to private life, and devoted himself exclusively to literature. Marsais, Marmontel, and Beauzec contributed the articles on grammar and literature, in three quarto volumes, published in 1789. Marmontel was associated with D'Alembert and Diderot in their famous 'Encyclopédie.' Bergier, a canon of Notre Dame, supplied the dictionary of theology, which has long been considered one of the most complete. He was an author of a work against materialism, and exhibited in all his works 'a logical arrangement and precision which well qualified him for being the strenuous opposer of the modern philosophers of France. Yet this did not prevent them from engaging him to write the dictionary of theology for the 'Encyclopédie Méthodique;' but there was some guile in this, as it served as a cloak for the infidelity insinuated in other parts of the work.' His portion was published in six quarto volumes in 1788. The whole formed fourteen volumes.*

The 'Encyclopædia Britannica' was planned by Mr. William Smellie, a printer in Edinburgh, but also a man of science, and an eminent naturalist, and was published in 1771 in four quarto volumes. 'Instead of attempting to elucidate the sciences by a number of separate articles corresponding to their technical titles or sections, introduced in the order prescribed by the alphabet, and with no continuity of explanation other than could be obtained through references from one head to another, it treated each science completely, in a systematic form, under its proper denomination: the technical terms and subordinate heads being also explained alphabetically, when anything more than a reference to the general treatise was required.'† At first it was little more than a dictionary of arts and sciences; but a second edition, begun in 1776, and containing ten volumes, embraced biography and history. The third edition, published in 1797, in eighteen volumes, was greatly enriched by separate treatises on grammar and metaphysics by the Right Rev. Dr. Gleig, one of the bishops of the Scotch Episcopal Church, and father of the present Chaplain-General to the Forces; on philology, mythology, and mysteries by Dr. Doig; and on physical science by Professor Robison. Two supplementary volumes were added, 'in which Professor Robison supplied the

* The contents of this great work may be seen in Brunet's 'Manuel du Libraire.' Paris, 1842.

† Preface to 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' p. xii.

contributions

contributions wanting to complete that series which he had commenced when the principal work was far advanced.' The work then rose very high in public esteem, and it has kept its position ever since, by being skilfully adapted to the advanced state of knowledge in its successive editions. The name of Professor Robison was sufficient to give it fame. He was, as M. Arago called him, 'the most illustrious contributor' to the Encyclopædia. While yet a student at the university of Glasgow, he exercised a great influence on the application of natural philosophy to the mechanical arts. It was he who first directed the attention of James Watt—with whom he was linked in a mutually admiring friendship—to the steam-engine, on which the fame of Watt and the glory of the nineteenth century are founded. Robison, after several adventures in the navy and in Russia, in which country he filled a post of professor of mathematics at Cronstadt, became professor of natural philosophy in the university of Edinburgh. For this office he was admirably fitted. James Watt, who knew him well, said this of him: 'He was a man of the clearest head and the most science of anybody I have known.' He possessed a great amount of scientific knowledge, and had an unusual skill in generalizing his information for the purpose of instructing others. His contributions to the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' amounted to forty-six articles on subjects of natural philosophy. 'But his great strength lay in the articles in which just mechanical principles were applied successfully, and often with marked originality, to practice, as in arch, roof, carpentry, and strength of materials; resistance, rivers, waterworks; seamanship, steam, and steam-engine; machinery, telescope, and watchwork.'

The fourth edition of the Encyclopædia was published in 1810 in twenty volumes, under the care of Dr. James Miller, who gave it a character from the articles on his own favourite studies—chemistry and natural history—then rising into new importance. The valuable papers of Professor Robison, in the supplemental volumes of the previous edition were, however, omitted. But the mathematical papers of Professor Wallace gave a permanent value to the work. The fifth and sixth editions were little more than reprints of the fourth.

During this pause a spirited attempt was made to meet the demands of the age by a rising philosopher, who still lives to enjoy his honours, and to pursue his favourite studies. In 1808, Dr. (now Sir David) Brewster began the 'Edinburgh Encyclopædia,' which extended to eighteen quarto volumes, and was completed in 1830. Sir David had peculiar fitness for conducting a work of such high pretension. He was then in his twenty-seventh year. He was one of a galaxy of illustrious men who have long cultivated science and philosophy. In 1799 he was induced by Mr. (now Lord)

Lord) Brougham to repeat Newton's experiments on the inflection of light. In 1808 he heard of the great discovery of the polarization of light and reflection, made by the French philosopher Malus. On account of the war he could not gain correct information; but he pursued independent researches on light, and made some most remarkable discoveries. Sir David was not a man of one idea; his general knowledge was extensive, and he enlisted into his staff some of the most illustrious men of the day in the production of his Encyclopædia, which still contains most valuable matter in its scientific department. The work was not republished; and the eminent abilities of Sir David have been given in aid of the national Encyclopædia of which we have been writing. Sir David and Lord Brougham survive as the last of the illustrious band that adorned Edinburgh in the beginning of this century.

In 1815, another work was begun which departed from the alphabetical arrangement, and classed its articles in what was considered the most natural and philosophical order; first pure, then mixed and applied sciences; thirdly, history and biography; fourthly, geography; and, lastly, lexicography. This was called the 'Encyclopædia Metropolitana,' and extended to twenty-six volumes, with three volumes of plates and an index volume. Very eminent names were associated in its production, among whom may be mentioned Coleridge, Whately, Whewell; Airy, Babbage, Bonnycastle, Sir John Herschel, Dr. Lardner, Capt. Kater; Arnold, Maurice, Hampden, &c. The editors were the Rev. Edward Smedley, the Rev. Hugh James Rose, and the Rev. Henry John Rose. Much of this work is of permanent and standard value, and has been issued in separate volumes during recent years.

These attempts stimulated the proprietors of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' to adapt their great work to the times. It had passed into the hands of the enterprising publisher, Mr. Constable, who projected a Supplement in six volumes. It was edited by Mr. Macvey Napier, who long and honourably filled the chair of Conveyancing in the University of Edinburgh. The greatest names, both of Great Britain and France, were attracted to this work. Professor Dugald Stewart wrote a Preliminary Dissertation on the History of the Sciences. Contributions were added by the following illustrious men—Playfair, Jameson, Sir John Leslie, Sir James Mackintosh, Sir Walter Scott, Lord Jeffrey; Drs. Thomas Thomson, and Thomas Young; Messrs. Ricardo, Malthus, Mill, and Wallace; and MM. Arago and Biot, the distinguished French *savans*. The issue was commenced in 1815, and was completed in 1824.

In 1830, the copyright passed into the hands of Messrs. Adam and Charles Black, who immediately announced a seventh edition, to

to be under the care of Professor Macvey Napier, who had superintended the publication of the supplement, assisted by Dr. James Browne. The work now assumed that character which distinguishes it above all other compendia of information.

'The attention of the editor was early directed to the completion of those Preliminary Dissertations on the History of the Sciences which had been published in the Supplement. They were intended to form two distinct dissertations, each divided into two parts. The first was to contain the history of Metaphysical, Ethical, and Political Philosophy; the second, that of Mathematical and Physical Science. The one was undertaken by the late Dugald Stewart, the other by his friend and colleague, the late Professor Playfair; and incomplete as they were left at the death of these eminent men, they yet, to a considerable extent, supplied a great desideratum in British literature. The idea of a continuous delineation of the progress of the human mind in the discovery of truth and the correction of error, as an Introduction to a work in which the sciences are examined in detail, was for the first time exemplified in the discourse prefixed by D'Alembert to the French Encyclopédie; and nothing of the kind of acknowledged merit had, in any shape, been given to the world, in our own language, prior to these dissertations. . . . . Stewart had originally intended to trace the history of all the principal branches of philosophy connected with the knowledge of mind; but his plan was completed only in as far as regarded the fundamental or metaphysical branch; the others, with the exception of some valuable observations occasionally introduced in the former, concerning the ethical and political notions of the sixteenth and early portion of the seventeenth centuries, having been left untouched. Fortunately, however, the portion completed and published had received, before the death of the venerable author, a careful revision and some additions of moment from his own hand. The history of the Mathematical and Physical Sciences, again, was at Professor Playfair's death brought down only to the period rendered memorable by the names of Newton and Leibnitz; thus leaving the discoveries of a century, eminently progressive in scientific knowledge, to be detailed by other hands. It was the wish of the editor to procure such continuations as should complete the plan which the original masters had sketched out; and, in as far as concerns mathematical and physical science, this may be considered as having been in great measure accomplished by the animated and instructive sequel to Professor Playfair's treatise, written by the successor to his academical chair, the late Sir John Leslie.'*

Sir James Mackintosh also prepared a most lucid and comprehensive, though imperfect sketch of the progress of ethical philosophy, chiefly during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was a new attempt in the English language; and had Sir James possessed sufficient time, none was more able to have done it full justice. He was then fully engaged with his history, and did not accomplish all that he desired. The history of the progress of political philosophy was omitted, as was also that of the ethical philosophy of the Continent. Such as it is, however, it is *instar omnium*, and a repertory of information of the highest value. These preliminary dissertations, taken as a whole, are unrivalled, and many a student, in his undergraduate career, has received very material benefit from their information. The writer cannot help pausing to acknowledge his personal obligations to these noble works while studying philosophy in Edinburgh, his veneration

* Preface *ut supra*, pp. xvi–xviii.

for

for the memory of their illustrious authors, and his gratitude to the editor and publishers, who were the means of their production. They will long continue to direct the studies of the schools, and to aid in advancing the progress of philosophy. The edition of the Encyclopædia in which these masterpieces appeared, contained other new and valuable papers by men of first ability in their several spheres, and incorporated the supplement of the sixth edition. It also embraced what the two former issues had lacked —the splendid articles of Professor Robison, which had been published separately under the editorial care of Sir David Brewster. The time occupied in the publication of the seventh edition was twelve years, from 1830 to 1842. Its success was equal to its merits, and ten years only elapsed when it was found to be necessary to issue another edition.

The publishers confided the work to the editorial superintendence of Dr. Thomas Stewart Traill, Professor of Medical Jurisprudence in the University of Edinburgh, assisted by a most efficient staff. 'From the beginning it was resolved that the revision and extension of the articles should be more thorough than had ever been attempted in any previous edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica.' The old arrangement was maintained—as for all practical purposes the best. Each science is, however, treated completely and apart. So much of fresh matter has been added, we are informed, 'that nine-tenths of its contents may be said to be entirely new.' The preliminary dissertations have been enriched by considerable additions, and by two entirely new contributions, one by Dr. Whately, Archbishop of Dublin, 'On the Rise, Progress, and Corruption of Christianity,' and the other by Dr. Forbes, then Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, but now Principal of the United Colleges of St. Salvator and St. Leonard, St. Andrews, 'On the Progress of Mathematical and Physical Science, principally from 1775 to 1850.' Both are worthy of their authors, but that of Principal Forbes is a vast compendium of information, and occupies two hundred quarto pages closely packed with matter. It comprehends a century of scientific progress—the greatest yet seen in the history of man. It includes the most eminent names in scientific study; and the author, while keeping a strictly methodical arrangement, has 'allowed the biographical principle to predominate—thus giving as much as possible a historical character to the whole, and endeavouring to introduce the reader to the intellectual acquaintance of the eminent men who are selected for notice.' The Dissertations now fill a volume of a thousand quarto pages, and contain a repertory of historical information on science and philosophy not available elsewhere.

Throughout the work the most eminent writers of the day have a place

a place. The subjects discussed are no compilation, which any writer can condense from standard works; but are themselves standard, and proceed from the masters in each department. Their names are given in the index volume, and by initials at the end of their respective articles to enable the reader to identify them with ease. The following list of the most illustrious may interest our readers and evince the high character of the productions from their pens. In Theology and Ecclesiastical Literature, there are the Archbishop of Dublin as already specified; Dr. Lindsay Alexander on Theology and Scripture, Baron Bunsen on Luther, Isaac Taylor on Jesuitism, Principal Tulloch on Gnosticism. In Philosophy there are, in addition to those named, Dr. Hampden, Bishop of Hereford, Professor Mansell, and Lord Jeffrey. In Politics and Sociology we have M'Culloch, Mill, Ricardo, Malthus, Hill Burton, Drs. Letheby and Lankester. In pure Mathematics there are Professors Wallace, Swan, and Kelland. In Natural Philosophy, there are Sir John F. Herschel, Bart., on the Telescope, Sir David Brewster on Optics, &c., Rev. Robert Main, and others on Astronomy. In Natural History, James Wilson—brother of the Professor, the Christopher North of Maga—occupies a distinguished place from the part he bore, while around him are Professors Owen, Gregory, Balfour, and Dr. Latham. Medicine and Surgery are treated by these living celebrities, Professors Miller, Laycock, Traill, Christison, and Simpson. Philology and History are discussed by Latham, Donaldson, Masson, Merivale, Layard, &c. Biographies have been written by Lord Macaulay, Sir William Hamilton, Bart., De Quincey, Henry Rogers, Carruthers, Hepworth Dixon, Kingsley, Cairns, Walter Thornbury, W. H. Russell, &c. In Geography, are the contributions of Petermann, Strang, Hooker, Ellis, Barrow, Sir John Richardson, J. L. Porter, Sir J. Emerson Tennent, &c. The Fine Arts are described by Hazlitt, Haydon, Westmacott, Dr. Doran, &c.; the Useful Arts by James Caird, M.P., Dr. P. Neill, Charles Mackintosh, J. C. Loudon; the Mechanical Arts, by Robert Stephenson, M.P., Thomas Tredgold, Charles Tomlinson, E. B. Denison, Q.C., &c. In Manufacture, cotton lords, and heroes of furnaces and factories figure in print, T. Bazley, M.P., W. Fairbairn, James Napier, Charles Cowan, &c. Civil and Military Engineering are discussed in their several branches by Lieut.-Col. Hamilton Smith, Sir John Barrow, and others. Besides all these there are hundreds of well-skilled pens whose names are all embalmed in this national work for the admiration and gratitude of posterity.

It would be as impossible as it would be presumptuous to attempt to criticise the productions of the eminent men now mentioned. Their names are a sufficient guarantee for the excellence

cellence of their productions, and afford abundant testimony to the merits of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' and its claims to be considered a national work. All who want the most accurate and philosophical information on any great department of learning or science can have it in these volumes. It is a vast storehouse for all minor matters of knowledge. Besides the alphabetical arrangement of its contents, reference is greatly facilitated by the comprehensive and most minute index appended to the whole, and which has been compiled with great care and accuracy. It is a monument of great and patient research, and we are glad to observe that the name of the compiler, the Rev. James Duncan, of Denholm, is given in the list of contributors.

Since the first edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' nearly a century has elapsed, and numerous have been the changes, and vast the progress of history, science, and philosophy during that period; but this work, while it retains all that belongs to past knowledge, gathers up and presents to view all that characterizes the present. It is the greatest collection of literary wealth ever compiled, and the greatest investment of wealth in literature ever made. Several items respecting the latter were given by Mr. Adam Black, M.P., at an entertainment liberally provided by him for a number of the most eminent contributors to the work during this summer. The following are the chief amounts paid for the two editions published by his house during the past thirty years: Amount paid to contributors and editors, 40,970*l.*; cost of paper, 52,503*l.*; of printing and stereotyping, 36,708*l.*; of engraving and plate-printing, 18,277*l.*; of binding, 22,613*l.*; of advertising, 11,081*l.*; of miscellaneous items, 2,269*l.*, making a total cost of 184,421*l.*

Of these two editions there have been printed above 10,000 copies. The amount of duty paid upon the paper, calculated at 1½*d.* was 8,573*l.*; but 3*d.* per pound was paid on a considerable part of the seventh edition. These figures indicate the magnitude of the literary enterprise.* It is gratifying to be able to record the success which the spirited publishers have obtained by the sale of copies, which, considering their great outlay and liberal conduct throughout, is eminently deserved. Such publishers do much for their country, and enshrine by their works, their names among the memorable.

While upon the subject of Encyclopædias, we may mention that there are other claimants to the favour of the public in the publishing world. Messrs. Blackie and Son have issued 'The Popular Encyclopædia,' and which is an admirable compendium of information. It contains dissertations on the Progress of Science,

* 'Athenæum,' June 15th, 1861.

by

by Dr. Thomas Thomson, Professor of Chemistry in the University of Glasgow, on the Progress of Literature, by the late Sir Daniel K. Sandford, Professor of Greek, and on the Fine Arts, by the late Allan Cunningham, Esq. It is published in seven large octavo volumes and profusely illustrated. Dr. Dionysius Lardner edited a Cyclopædia which extended to one hundred and thirty-one small octavo volumes. It contained several valuable works on Natural Philosophy, Arts, Manufactures, History, Biography, &c. The ablest writers in each branch contributed to the work, among whom may be mentioned, Sir James Mackintosh, Sir Walter Scott, Sir John Herschel, Sir David Brewster, &c. The volumes are still highly prized and circulated. But the Cyclopædia does not carry out the idea of the great work we have been describing. Cyclopædias on separate branches also abound. In Commerce we have M'Culloch's great work; on Arts and Manufacture, Dr. Ure's, and Charles Tomlinson's; on Practical Medicine, one by Drs. Forbes, Tweedie, and Conolly; on Anatomy and Physiology, by Dr. A. T. Thomson; on Surgery, by Dr. Costello. In Theology, too, we have the 'Biblical Cyclopædia,' edited by Dr. Kitto, and contributed to by the first divines of the present age, European and continental. Herzog's Encyclopædia, now being issued in this country and America, and translated from the German, is the fullest and most comprehensive yet published. In English literature we have Chambers' Cyclopædia.

Bibliography is a science in itself in which there is abundant room for research and production. The history of books in general, or of an individual book, possesses peculiar interest, and will always repay the inquirer. No attempt has yet been made to compile an Universal Bibliographical Dictionary. Perhaps it will never be attempted. There are, however, many works more or less connected with the subject, but the greatest have been issued in foreign countries—in France, Germany, and Italy. In 1763-68, was published at Paris a work by G. F. De Bure, in seven octavo volumes, entitled, 'Bibliographie Instructive; ou, Traité de la Connoissance des Livres rares des singuliers.' It is arranged under five divisions—Theology, Jurisprudence, Sciences and Arts, Belles Lettres, and History. De Bure published a supplement in two volumes in 1782, and an index to anonymous works was added by another compiler. Altogether the work was highly creditable to the learning of the collector, who was a bookseller in Paris. In 1810 appeared a work of great value by Monsieur J. C. Brunet, 'Manuel du Libraire et de l'Amateur de Livres; contenant, 1. Un nouveau Dictionnaire Bibliographique; 2. Une Table en forme de Catalogue Raisonné.' It has been supplemented by additional matter, and was re-issued by the author in 1842 in five large octavo volumes.

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In this country one of the earliest bibliographical efforts was made by Dr. Adam Clarke, a man of great scholarship and excellence. In 1803, he published 'A Bibliographical Dictionary, containing a chronological account, alphabetically arranged, of the most curious and useful books in all departments of learning, published in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and other Eastern languages.' The work contained six volumes, extended by two more in 1806. 'The Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature,' was compiled by W. T. Lowndes, and issued in four octavo volumes in 1834. It has the merit and the defect of being the first of the kind, but it exhibits considerable accuracy and research.

The 'Cyclopædia Bibliographica,' by Darling, not yet complete, is a great undertaking, and affords ample information of books, their authors, and their subjects. The first volume of authors contains 3,328 columns of small print, entirely descriptive of the theological productions of the writers who swell the alphabetical enumeration. It is, nevertheless, on the principle of selection. In the second volume, biblical subjects, of which part first is published, are enumerated. It has been well said, 'He that *will* be so original as to scorn to borrow from others, may indeed acquire the wisdom of age, but he throws away the wisdom of ages. In this world that originality is sufficiently original, which having first acquired the knowledge and practice of others, improves on them—adds one story to the original edifice.' These works of Darling are a treasure to the divine. Few men can ever attain encyclopædic knowledge; but it should be the ambition of most to possess, either in their own or their public library, an Encyclopædia, which brings within their reach any information they may desire to gain. It is to aid our readers in this that we have specified at length the features and merits of the works mentioned in this paper, and specially that we have described the recently completed and highly valuable work of national importance—the 'ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA.'*

* With regard to the demerits or faults of this great work, we have had our attention called to one omission, which, as sociologists, we are bound to notice. There is no account given in the Encyclopædia of the temperance movement. Literary men must have heard of this Cause. Its advocates and adherents have long been the butt of post-prandial talk; and they have been collected into societies which have a good position in the country, and ought to have been known to literary men. When a future edition is issued we believe the Temperance Reformation will have its principles expounded and its history written in this national work. In the course of the work we occasionally meet with some expressions which cannot but be offensive. We take an instance that turned up in our casual reading. Cupar-Angus, 'in addition to the parish church, contains chapels for the Free Church, United Presbyterians,' &c. In Scotland it is not the custom to call the places of worship belonging to any Presbyterian church by the name of chapels. It is offensive to draw this distinction where it will not be allowed. We observe it is frequently repeated throughout the work. Church is the most proper appellation for a place of worship, and the Scotch almost universally use it in preference to chapel. Their old '*meeting-house*' is more becoming than '*chapel*.'

ART.

ART. IV.—*Om Ædrueligheds Tilstanden i Norge.* (*The State of Sobriety in Norway.*) Af Eilert Sundt, Theol. Cand. Christiania, 1859.

THE growth of public opinion in Norway in favour of temperance may be traced in the deliberations of the Storthing. The means of checking the sale of intoxicating liquors forms one of the chief subjects of discussion in every session of that body, a bill for the absolute prohibition of brandy having in 1848 been thrown out by a majority of only 38 against 30, even the opposing majority having little to urge against the prohibition, except the exceeding difficulty of making the law effective. Every succeeding session has shown that the views as to this question remain the same, and each one has sanctioned the introduction of new restrictions to be imposed on the manufacture and sale of the poison, which, previous to the temperance movement, seemed rapidly destroying the physical and mental energies of the people.

Where so much unanimity exists as to the desirability of an object, and the difficulties to be overcome for its accomplishment are, in consequence, merely of a practical character, a thorough knowledge of the circumstances amid which the people live, and the bearing of the legislative measures upon these, becomes the points of the utmost importance to ascertain; for to know every symptom and circumstances of the disease is almost tantamount to having found the remedy. Feeling this, Mr. Eilert Sundt, who has for many years held a foremost place among the men who have exerted themselves to raise the state of social morality in Norway, conceived the plan of the work before us, the object of which we give in his own simple terms, as he explains it in a letter addressed, in the autumn of 1857, to the popular schoolmasters in the rural and urban districts throughout Norway, whose co-operation he invites.

'There is a vicious habit,' says this letter, 'which, above all others, has been called the misfortune of our country and the bane of our people, I mean the abuse of strong drinks. We all know how much concern this vice has caused, and still causes, every true philanthropist.

'Yet it seems to me that we are still far from being sufficiently acquainted with the details of this national evil. I mean, more especially, that the degree in which it prevails in the different parts of the country is not as yet correctly ascertained.

'It is a fact proved by experience, that in regard to those obnoxious customs, and that laxity of social restraints that lead to other immoralities and crime, there are decided differences between the various localities; and it is probable that the same is the case as regards the abuse of strong drinks. But we have no certain information on this point.

'Such information would however be very useful. If it were known that drunkenness were more prevalent in one locality than in another, further investigation might lead to the discovery of certain circumstances in the life of the people, which lie at the root of this deplorable result, and this may again render it

it possible to devise means for eradicating the unfortunate cause, and thus obviating the disastrous result.'

Having next pointed out how such knowledge might be obtained through the class whom he is addressing, and in whose power and desire to discriminate the truth he is willing to trust, the letter goes on to request that every schoolmaster whom it may reach, will furnish the writer (whose appeal was endorsed by the directing committee of the 'Association against Brandy Drinking in Norway,' and was distributed by the aid of Government) with a list of the number of married men and widowers in his district, discriminating between those that he considers habitually intemperate, those that are 'uncertain,' or liable to become intoxicated under peculiar inducements, and those who are decidedly sober, without this being meant necessarily to imply that they abstain altogether from the use of strong drinks, or that they are members of a temperance society; and distinguishing likewise between those belonging to the proprietary class (in which he includes all government officials, peasant proprietors of all grades, skippers, traders of various grades, manufacturers and others considered as belonging to the upper classes), and those who belong more essentially to the working class (such as farm servants and cottagers, factory labourers, day labourers, sailors, village craftsmen, &c.). Added to this is a wish that as many of the persons addressed as have time and feel themselves competent, would further furnish him with as full accounts as possible, of the customs and habits prevalent in their particular locality in respect to the use of brandy and other strong liquors at convivial meetings, in cases of sickness or of unusually hard work, on journeys, at auctions, &c.; of the changes that have taken place in these customs and habits; and of the causes that have led to such changes.

The reasons assigned for limiting the inquiry to married men and widowers, are the necessity, in case unmarried men were to be included, of fixing a limit of age, and the difficulty of doing this under the peculiar circumstances, except by choosing the period of confirmation (which in Norway is compulsory and must not be postponed beyond the sixteenth year, we believe), as the criterion, which would, however, be objectionable, as at that tender age the habits of life cannot be said to be formed, and the returns would, in consequence, become less reliable; whereas the state of temperance or intemperance among the married men being known, that of the unmarried may easily be inferred, as the habits of the heads of families cannot fail to exercise a decided influence on the morality of their children and dependents, while, on the other hand, the habits of a man's youth will, as a general rule, be traced in his more mature age.

When

When it is taken into consideration that every parish (Præstegjeld) in Norway is divided into school-districts, that, in consequence, there is not an isolated homestead or hovel in town or country that is not included in one of these districts, and that the population, in the rural school-districts at least, is very sparse, so that the schoolmaster cannot fail to become personally acquainted with every family belonging to it, it will be seen how complete and how important might be the returns asked for by Mr. Sundt; and the result shows that he had not made a false calculation when thus appealing to the philanthropy and public spirit of this class of his countrymen. However, before entering upon this, and in order to enable the reader fully to understand the bearing of the questions put by Mr. Sundt, it may perhaps be as well to preface all further remarks with a sketch of the natural features of Norway, and of the consequent constitution of Norwegian society, which is in many respects peculiar.

Stretching from Cape Lindesnæs, its southernmost point in 58°, through 13° of latitude, till terminating in the North Cape in 71°, Norway has a coast line of very nearly one thousand miles in length, while the average breadth of the country, for nearly two-thirds of this extraordinary length, does not exceed seventy-five miles. Over this vast area is spread a population of less than one million and a half of souls, of which about 197,000 are gathered in the towns, while the rest are scattered over an expanse of country, intersected in every part by mountain ranges, which sometimes shelve down abruptly to the shores of the numerous fjords that run high up into the land, sometimes spread out in vast *plateaux*, whose loftiest peaks, rising to an altitude of from 5,000 to 7,000 feet, are capped with perpetual snows; while the slopes and the table-lands are partly covered with almost impenetrable forests, and the rocky clefts are occupied by foaming mountain torrents, which precipitate themselves in stupendous cascades into the calm waters of the great inland lakes, which here and there are gathered in the bosom of the mountains, and which, together with the fjords or bays (for the rivers or elves are mostly too rapid for navigation) afford most welcome means of intercommunication in tracts where intercourse by land is almost impossible; even the great high roads of the country being carried over elevated mountain-passes, where tempests of wind and rain are frequent at all seasons. Town is separated from town by distances of three hundred or four hundred English [illegible] such as these, and valley from valley by [illegible] rock, or by gradually ascending ridges [illegible] inaccessible even to the hardy [illegible] ary table-lands

'Dim mountains, silent forests, and lonely lakes,' present the general features of Norway; but softer lineaments and milder beauties are not wanting in that country of strong and sudden contrasts; for while the broad valleys and slopes, and the banks of the lovely fjords and lakes in the southern division of the kingdom more especially, present many a scene vying in freshness of verdure and richness of fertility and culture with the most luxuriant landscapes of happier climes, even in the most rugged alpine districts, and in the midst of the densest forests, the traveller may come upon some verdant dell, some grassy slope, some small clearing, which, with its homestead, surrounded by patches of corn land and potatoes, or its hamlet in the midst of green pastures, offers to the eye a cheering picture of simplicity and contentment. For the Norwegian Bonde, who was never subjected to the feudal system, and who is now, as he ever was, absolute possessor of the land he holds, is essentially agricultural and pastoral, though the dwellers on the coast take readily to the sea, as did their fathers of old, who did not either disdain to combine the life of the farmer with that of the *viking*.

Unfortunately, however, with this taste for agricultural pursuits and a seafaring life, many of the other habits of their rude forefathers have descended to the Norwegian peasantry, and among these that of hard drinking is one of the most conspicuous and the most deplorable. Now, as of yore, the men but too often pride themselves upon their powers in this direction, more especially at the entertainments with which, according to ancient custom, they celebrate weddings, christenings, and burials, the two latter having retained the names by which they were designated among the ancient Scandinavians, viz., *barnsöl* and *gravöl* (child's ale and grave ale), which sufficiently indicate their character. Modern science has, however, substituted fiery brandy for the homely and somewhat less potent brew of the ancients; and to the facilities which for a long time existed for the home distillation of this baneful spirit may be attributed the fearful pre-eminence in drunkenness which the Norwegian people long enjoyed, while from the time of their discontinuance dates a period of gradual improvement. Each farm has, or used to have, its so-called *bedelag* (invitation district), within the limits of which all dwellers must be invited to the ceremony, whether wedding, christening, or funeral; and what the amount of the drinking must be on these occasions, which generally extend over several days, may be judged by one instance, a wedding, mentioned by one of Mr. Sundt's informants, at which the guests numbered about eighty, including children, and the merry-making was carried on for four consecutive days; and for which they had brewed several barrels of beer, and purchased three ankers of brandy (containing about ten gallons each), which did

did not, however, suffice, and 'they considered themselves very fortunate in being able to borrow some more.' Drinking not only goes on at the bride's home before and after the marriage, but in many places the brandy bottle is even taken to church and handed round immediately after the ceremony, uninvited strangers present being likewise allowed to partake, but for a consideration. Even on ordinary occasions of church attendance on Sundays, it is customary (numbers of the people having come from afar), to send round the supposed strengthening draught among the groups of gossips assembled along the 'church dike,' before and after service, and the young lasses make themselves agreeable to their 'beaux' by bringing a small flask especially for their use. At funerals it is customary for every invited guest, before the corpse leaves the house, to walk up to the coffin, and empty, in honour of the dead, a glass of brandy and a glass of beer, which is handed by the master of the ceremonies, or kooking-master (*kjögemester*), as he is termed; and this being subsequent to the general feasting that has been going on, it is not surprising that the funeral cortège should at times arrive reeling at the churchyard; the more so as so much importance is attached to due liberality being exhibited on these occasions, that instances are mentioned of peasants having prescribed beforehand how much beer was to be brewed, and how much brandy purchased, for their own funeral entertainments.

Regular brandy shops are happily rare in the more sparsely-populated tracts of the country; but the spirit of gain, ever on the alert to improve opportunities, avails itself more especially of sales of household furniture, &c., which in these remote localities gather together a number of people, to establish there retail booths for brandy, inducing the young people, even after the business of the day is over, to remain on the spot to drink, by getting up dancing, which exercises an irresistible charm over Norwegian youth; and these sales, therefore, count among the inducements to intemperance in the country. The dealers in general wares in the towns or at the country trading stations, likewise avail themselves of the people's love for drink, to purchase customers at the expense of a few quarts of brandy, it being usual to bestow a present of this kind on every peasant coming from afar, and thence it is that frequent journeys to town rank among the brutalizing instead of the civilizing events in a Norwegian peasant's life.

But the brandy bottle is not only the heightener of convivial merriment, it is also the common resource in sickness, and more especially in cases of childbirth, no woman being considered safe after delivery, until she has had a draught of this supposed *elixir vitæ*, which is looked upon as the unfailing restorer and supporter of

of strength, and therefore also partaken of in double quantities whenever especial fatigue is to be endured.

Where such habits of intemperance exist, other vices, we know, must follow; and, indeed, the picture of the general morality of the Norwegian peasantry afforded by the book before us, is very melancholy: the vice of unchastity, however, which more especially prevails, being as much the consequences of the indecent home arrangements and lax social customs, as of the intemperate habits.

We now return to Mr. Sundt's investigations as to how far the vice of drunkenness really pervades the nation.

According to the official returns of 1853, there are in the rural districts of Norway 419 stationary schools, and 2,012 school districts, the schoolmasters of which have no fixed abode, but live by turns with the farmers belonging to their respective districts. Of these 2,431 schoolmasters, 2,008 responded to Mr. Sundt's appeal,* while from the masters of the urban schools he obtained returns from only 21.

The number of persons (married men and widowers) included in these returns is—

| | |
|---|---|
| In the rural districts . . . . | 177,325 |
| In the towns . . . . . | 5,143 |
| Total . . | 182,468 |

or about three-fourths of the entire number of married men and widowers in the rural districts throughout the kingdom, and about one-sixth of the entire number of the same classes in the towns, the census of 1855 having given the numbers for the whole kingdom as follows:—

| | Married Men. | Widowers. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| In rural districts . . . . | 210,456 | 20,756 | 231,212 |
| In towns . . . . . | 29,608 | 2,870 | 32,478 |
| Total . . . | 240,064 | 23,626 | 263,690 |

As regards the rural districts, the numbers comprised in the returns are therefore sufficiently large to allow of their being considered as representing all the heads of families belonging to the rural population throughout Norway, and consequently of the most essential portion of the Norwegian nation; for those school districts and parishes from which no returns were sent in, are pretty equally distributed through all parts of the country; and it is therefore legitimate to conclude that the state of things within their limits is similar to that of the districts that surround them, from which

* To which number may be added twenty more returns which came in too late to be included in his calculations, and twenty which were excluded because of their evident inaccuracy.

returns

returns have been furnished. As to the state of sobriety, the sum total of the returns in the rural districts is—

| | |
|---|---|
| Sober . . . . . | 111,174 |
| Uncertain . . . . | 59,434 |
| Drunkards . . . . | 6,717 |
| Total . . . | 177,325* |

Giving a per centage of—

| | |
|---|---|
| Sober . . . . . | 62·7 |
| Uncertain . . . . . | 33·5 |
| Drunkards . . . . . | 3·8 |
| | 100· |

Calculated by *provstier* (archdeaconries), in number fifty-four, each comprising several *præsteqjeld* (parishes), each of which again contain several school districts, the per centage of habitual drunkards among the married men and widowers varies from 2·1 to 8·8, the average per centage being about 3·6. This calculation is, however, exclusive of Finmarken, the per centage of habitual intemperance in that provsti being so abnormally large, viz. 16·5, that Mr. Sundt sets it aside for special investigation.

In order to obtain greater certainty, and to facilitate a general view, the fifty-four provstier just alluded to, are next gathered into twelve larger groups, which, as they form the basis of a great number of Mr. Sundt's subsequent calculations and reflections, we subjoin :—

Group 1. Christiania stift,† east of the Christiania fjord, and as far as the Mjösen lake.
Group 2. The eastern uplands in the same stift.
Group 3. The western uplands in the same stift.
Group 4. The tract west of the Christiania fjord in the same stift.
Group 5. Christiansands stift, east of Cape Lindesnæs.
Group 6. The same stift west of Cape Lindesnæs.
Group 7. Bergens stift, south of the Sognefjord.
Group 8. The northern division of the same stift.
Group 9. Throndhjems stift's coast districts.
Group 10. The inland districts of the same stift.
Group 11. Tromsö stift, exclusive of Finmarken.
Group 12. Finmarken.

The last-mentioned group is in point of population far below the others,

* To which must, however, be added for the districts, the returns from which came in too late :

| | |
|---|---|
| Sober . . . . . | 1,244 |
| Uncertain . . . . . | 486 |
| Drunkards . . . . . | 86 |
| Total . . . . | 1,816 |

† The stift is the largest subdivision of the country, and answers pretty nearly to our county. There are, however, in Norway but five stifts, which are, in consequence, of considerable extent.

others, but the per centage of habitual drunkards, as shown in the table of the provstier, being so abnormal, it has been considered advisable in this grouping to keep it distinct.

According to this division, the results of the returns are as follow:—

| Group. | Filled Returns. | Married Men and Widowers. | | | | Per Centage. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Total. | Sober. | Uncertain. | Drunkards. | Total. | Sober. | Uncertain. | Drunkards. |
| 1 | 155 | 14617 | 8118 | 5923 | 576 | 100 | 55·5 | 40·5 | 4·0 |
| 2 | 185 | 20287 | 11550 | 8032 | 705 | 100 | 56·9 | 39·6 | 3·5 |
| 3 | 200 | 20171 | 12611 | 6893 | 667 | 100 | 62·5 | 34·2 | 3·3 |
| 4 | 168 | 14688 | 9219 | 4898 | 571 | 100 | 62·8 | 33·4 | 3·8 |
| 5 | 228 | 14571 | 7303 | 6472 | 796 | 100 | 50·1 | 44·4 | 5·5 |
| 6 | 208 | 15043 | 9344 | 5110 | 589 | 100 | 62·1 | 34·0 | 3·9 |
| 7 | 184 | 14552 | 11088 | 3170 | 294 | 100 | 76·2 | 21·8 | 2·0 |
| 8 | 196 | 15457 | 10699 | 4222 | 536 | 100 | 69·2 | 27·3 | 3·5 |
| 9 | 145 | 14158 | 8685 | 5004 | 469 | 100 | 61·4 | 35·3 | 3·3 |
| 10 | 177 | 17502 | 11070 | 5890 | 542 | 100 | 63·2 | 33·7 | 3·1 |
| 11 | 137 | 14052 | 10448 | 2999 | 605 | 100 | 74·4 | 21·3 | 4·3 |
| 12 | 25 | 2227 | 1039 | 821 | 367 | 100 | 46·7 | 36·9 | 16·4 |
| Kingdom | 2,008 | 177,325 | 111,174 | 59,434 | 6,717 | 100 | 62·7 | 33·5 | 3·8 |

It will be readily understood that in forming these groups no attempt has been made (with the exception of Finmarken) to group together such of the subdivisions (provstier), in which the proportion of sober men was the most favourable or the reverse. Nevertheless, it will be observed, that this table, like that of the provstier, shows great variations in the per centage of the intemperate. Setting aside Finmarken, we find that the per centage of habitually sober men is smallest in group 5 (the eastern division of Christiania stift), and largest in group 7 (the southern division of Bergens stift), viz., 50·1 in the former, and 76·2 in the latter, while, at the same time, it appears that the former group has the highest per centage of habitual drunkards, viz. 5·5, and the latter the smallest, viz. 2·0.

The divergencies shown in this table are not, however, greater than may be expected to exist between the different parts of a country; but admitting that they are not yet fully proved to be in accordance with the exact truth, because the returns being merely the expression of each schoolmaster's individual opinion as to the character of the men in his district, and, in consequence hereof, being liable to be influenced by the greater or less severity with which these functionaries were inclined to view the vice of intemperance, Mr. Sundt subjects his numbers to a new test. Taking into consideration that the temptations to inebriety in a locality in a great measure depend upon the general social conditions of the population, and that these are most frequently similar

similar in places immediately adjoining each other, he separates the returns into two classes (distinguished as the Letter Class and the Number Class), so as to include in each class a district immediately adjoining one in the other, and the application of this method gives in the rural districts the following result :—

| Group. | Number Side. | | | | | Letter Side. | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number of Returns. | Number of Persons. | | | | Number of Returns. | Number of Persons. | | | |
| | | Total. | Sober. | Uncertain. | Drunkards. | | Total. | Sober. | Uncertain. | Drunkards. |
| 1 | 78 | 7398 | 4050 | 3037 | 311 | 77 | 7219 | 4068 | 2886 | 265 |
| 2 | 95 | 10362 | 5688 | 4294 | 380 | 90 | 9925 | 5862 | 3738 | 325 |
| 3 | 100 | 10259 | 6456 | 3420 | 383 | 100 | 9912 | 6155 | 3473 | 284 |
| 4 | 85 | 7826 | 5157 | 2373 | 296 | 83 | 6862 | 4062 | 2525 | 275 |
| 5 | 116 | 7220 | 3743 | 3079 | 398 | 112 | 7351 | 3560 | 3393 | 398 |
| 6 | 105 | 7818 | 5014 | 2501 | 303 | 103 | 7225 | 4330 | 2609 | 286 |
| 7 | 93 | 7021 | 5454 | 1432 | 135 | 91 | 7531 | 5634 | 1738 | 159 |
| 8 | 99 | 7818 | 5409 | 2145 | 264 | 97 | 7639 | 5290 | 2077 | 272 |
| 9 | 74 | 6997 | 3976 | 2782 | 239 | 71 | 7161 | 4709 | 2222 | 230 |
| 10 | 93 | 9299 | 5672 | 3328 | 299 | 84 | 8203 | 5398 | 2562 | 243 |
| 11 | 69 | 7578 | 5755 | 1535 | 288 | 68 | 6474 | 4693 | 1464 | 317 |
| 12 | 12 | 1213 | 599 | 449 | 165 | 13 | 1014 | 440 | 372 | 202 |
| Kingdom | 1019 | 90,809 | 56,973 | 30,375 | 3,461 | 989 | 86,516 | 54,201 | 29,059 | 3,256 |

CALCULATION ACCORDING TO PER CENTAGE.

| Group. | Number Side. | | | | | Letter Side. | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number of Returns. | Number of Persons. | | | | Number of Returns. | Number of Persons. | | | |
| | | Total. | Sober. | Uncertain. | Drunkards. | | Total. | Sober. | Uncertain. | Drunkards. |
| 1 | — | 100 | 54·7 | 41·1 | 4·2 | — | 100 | 56·3 | 40·0 | 3·7 |
| 2 | — | 100 | 54·9 | 41·4 | 3·7 | — | 100 | 59·1 | 37·6 | 3·3 |
| 3 | — | 100 | 62·9 | 33·4 | 3·7 | — | 100 | 62·1 | 35·0 | 2·9 |
| 4 | — | 100 | 65·9 | 30·3 | 3·8 | — | 100 | 59·2 | 36·8 | 4·0 |
| 5 | — | 100 | 51·8 | 42·7 | 5·5 | — | 100 | 48·4 | 46·2 | 5·4 |
| 6 | — | 100 | 64·1 | 32·0 | 3·9 | — | 100 | 59·9 | 36·1 | 4·0 |
| 7 | — | 100 | 77·7 | 20·4 | 1·9 | — | 100 | 74·8 | 23·1 | 2·1 |
| 8 | — | 100 | 69·2 | 27·4 | 3·4 | — | 100 | 69·2 | 27·2 | 3·6 |
| 9 | — | 100 | 56·8 | 39·8 | 3·4 | — | 100 | 65·8 | 31·0 | 3·2 |
| 10 | — | 100 | 61·0 | 35·8 | 3·2 | — | 100 | 65·8 | 31·2 | 3·0 |
| 11 | — | 100 | 75·9 | 20·3 | 3·8 | — | 100 | 72·5 | 22·6 | 4·9 |
| 12 | — | 100 | 49·4 | 37·0 | 13·6 | — | 100 | 43·4 | 36·7 | 19·9 |
| Kingdom | — | 100 | 62·7 | 33·5 | 3·8 | — | 100 | 62·6 | 33·6 | 3·8 |

which shows considerable agreement between the two divisions, and leaves it, therefore, to be justly inferred that the returns have not been falsified by any undue leniency or severity in the parties from whom they have been obtained.

Having thus far established the credibility of the returns as to the point on which they were most open to cavil, Mr. Sundt proceeds to examine the second point which he had requested his informants to observe, namely, the distinction in regard to sobriety between the proprietary class and the working class. The aggregate numbers of the returns for the rural districts under this head, are—

| | |
|---|---|
| Proprietary class . . . . | 99,100 |
| Working class . . . . | 78,225 |
| Total . . . | 177,325 |

the relative proportions of the three grades in both classes being—

| | Proprietary Class. | Working Class. |
|---|---|---|
| Sober . . . | 63,875 | 47,299 |
| Uncertain . . | 31,460 | 27,974 |
| Drunkards . . | 3,765 | 2,952 |
| Total . . | 99,100 | 78,225 |

Giving a per centage of—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sober . . . | 64·5 | 60·5 |
| Uncertain . . | 31·7 | 35·7 |
| Drunkards . . | 3·8 | 3·8* |
| Total . | 100· | 100· |

The very names of these classes bring to the mind considerable differences in pecuniary means, in daily avocations, in modes of life, in culture, and in manners, and with these great differences in the temptations to which the two classes are exposed; yet here are upwards of two thousand men intimately acquainted with the life and habits of the people whom they judge, establishing by their returns, that the amount of drunkenness is, proportionately to their numbers, exactly equal in both classes, while among the labouring class there are fewer decidedly temperate men than among the proprietary class, and a greater number of 'uncertain,' or of those prone to yield to temptation.

However surprising this result, it is borne out by the various tests to which Mr. Sundt puts these numbers like the preceding ones, giving first the numbers of the three grades in each class in each provsti comprised in the returns, then in the twelve groups

* The proportions in the returns sent in after Mr. Sundt's calculations were completed, are—

| | Proprietary Class. | Working Class. |
|---|---|---|
| Sober . . . | 694 | 550 |
| Uncertain . . | 275 | 211 |
| Drunkards . . | 47 | 39 |
| Total . . | 1,016 | 800 |

of

of provstier, next in the classification distinguished as Letter division and Number division, containing in each division one of two adjoining districts throughout the country, the prevailing circumstances in which must be assumed to be pretty nearly the same, and ultimately the groups as they appear on the Letter side and Number side, according to this latter arrangement.

In running the eye over the per-centage table referring to the provstier, a twofold difference between them becomes evident. 1st, The unequal proportions between the numbers of the temperate and intemperate generally, which were shown in the previous tables, and 2ndly, The unequal proportions in the amount of sobriety between the proprietary class and the labouring class in the several provstier. In some there is a greater number of habitual drunkards in the former than in the latter class; in others there is, on the contrary, a greater number of drunkards among the labouring class than among the proprietary class; and while this latter class has, as a general rule, the greatest relative number of habitually sober people, there are, nevertheless, instances in which the favourable proportions are on the side of the working class.

According to the per-centage table of the twelve groups of districts, it appears that there are five groups of the twelve in which there is a smaller per centage of habitual drunkards in the working class than in the proprietary class, viz. the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 9th, and 10th, and in two of these groups (1 and 10) the proportions are so favourable on the same side, that they show not only a smaller number of habitual drunkards, but also of the 'uncertain' class, and a larger number of habitually temperate persons.

| Group. | Number of Persons. | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Proprietary Class. | | | | Working Class. | | | |
| | Total. | Sober. | Uncertain. | Drunkards. | Total. | Sober. | Uncertain. | Drunkards. |
| 1 | 7329 | 3989 | 3015 | 325 | 7288 | 4129 | 2908 | 251 |
| 2 | 9421 | 5636 | 3402 | 383 | 10866 | 5914 | 4630 | 322 |
| 3 | 9990 | 6388 | 3223 | 379 | 10181 | 6223 | 3670 | 288 |
| 4 | 7620 | 4929 | 2436 | 255 | 7068 | 4290 | 2462 | 316 |
| 5 | 9240 | 4924 | 3850 | 466 | 5331 | 2379 | 2622 | 330 |
| 6 | 10319 | 6502 | 3426 | 391 | 4724 | 2842 | 1684 | 198 |
| 7 | 9960 | 7639 | 2155 | 166 | 4592 | 3449 | 1015 | 128 |
| 8 | 10194 | 7293 | 2576 | 325 | 5263 | 3406 | 1646 | 211 |
| 9 | 7304 | 4529 | 2515 | 260 | 6854 | 4156 | 2489 | 209 |
| 10 | 7973 | 4910 | 2757 | 306 | 9529 | 6160 | 3133 | 236 |
| 11 | 8410 | 6441 | 1653 | 316 | 5642 | 4007 | 1346 | 289 |
| 12 | 1340 | 695 | 452 | 193 | 887 | 344 | 369 | 174 |
| Kingdom | 99,100 | 63,875 | 31,4[illegible] | | [illegible]99 | 27,974 | | 2,952 |

In the table of [illegible] and [illegible]ber

Number division, we find the above proportions confirmed, in as far as that, with one exception, there is in the five groups indicated, viz. 1, 2, 3, 9, and 10, a smaller per centage of habitually intemperate persons in the labouring class, and in two of these groups (1 and 10) there is also a smaller per centage of persons prone to yield to temptation, consequently a greater proportion of habitually sober persons in the working class than in the proprietary class. The exception is on the Letter side of group 9, in which the per centage of habitual drunkards is somewhat larger in the labouring than in the proprietary class. In addition to this we find that the results of the tabulations further coincide, in so far, that on the Number side as well as on the Letter side, there is in all the other groups a smaller number of habitually sober persons, and a larger number of the division 'uncertain' in the working class than in the proprietary class, with the exception of group 8, where the former class shows a somewhat smaller per centage of habitual drunkards than in the proprietary class.

| Group. | Proprietary Class. | | | | Working Class. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total. | Sober. | Uncertain. | Drunkards. | Total. | Sober. | Uncertain. | Drunkards. |
| NUMBER SIDE. | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 3618 | 1959 | 1495 | 164 | 3780 | 2091 | 1542 | 147 |
| 2 | 4714 | 2734 | 1794 | 186 | 5648 | 2954 | 2500 | 194 |
| 3 | 5103 | 3333 | 1557 | 213 | 5156 | 3123 | 1863 | 170 |
| 4 | 4028 | 2759 | 1144 | 125 | 3798 | 2398 | 1229 | 171 |
| 5 | 4648 | 2554 | 1869 | 225 | 2572 | 1189 | 1210 | 173 |
| 6 | 5245 | 3403 | 1651 | 191 | 2573 | 1611 | 850 | 112 |
| 7 | 4806 | 3736 | 993 | 77 | 2215 | 1718 | 439 | 58 |
| 8 | 5024 | 3521 | 1332 | 171 | 2794 | 1888 | 813 | 93 |
| 9 | 3486 | 2006 | 1341 | 139 | 3511 | 1970 | 1441 | 100 |
| 10 | 4059 | 2410 | 1498 | 151 | 5240 | 3262 | 1830 | 148 |
| 11 | 4534 | 3550 | 833 | 151 | 3044 | 2205 | 702 | 137 |
| 12 | 774 | 428 | 262 | 84 | 439 | 171 | 187 | 81 |
| Kingdom | 50,039 | 32,393 | 15,769 | 1,877 | 40,770 | 24,580 | 14,606 | 1,584 |
| LETTER SIDE. | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 3711 | 2030 | 1520 | 161 | 3508 | 2038 | 1366 | 104 |
| 2 | 4707 | 2902 | 1608 | 197 | 5218 | 2960 | 2130 | 128 |
| 3 | 4887 | 3055 | 1666 | 166 | 5025 | 3100 | 1807 | 118 |
| 4 | 3592 | 2170 | 1292 | 130 | 3270 | 1892 | 1233 | 145 |
| 5 | 4592 | 2370 | 1981 | 241 | 2759 | 1190 | 1412 | 157 |
| 6 | 5074 | 3099 | 1775 | 200 | 2151 | 1231 | 834 | 86 |
| 7 | 5154 | 3903 | 1162 | 89 | 2377 | 1731 | 576 | 70 |
| 8 | 5170 | 3772 | 1244 | 154 | 2469 | 1518 | 833 | 118 |
| 9 | 3818 | 2523 | 1174 | 121 | 3343 | 2186 | 1048 | 109 |
| 10 | 3914 | 2500 | 1259 | 155 | 4289 | 2898 | 1303 | 88 |
| 11 | 3876 | 2891 | 820 | 165 | 2598 | 1802 | 644 | 152 |
| 12 | 566 | 267 | 190 | 109 | 448 | 173 | 182 | 93 |
| Kingdom | 49,061 | 31,482 | 15,691 | 1,888 | 37,455 | 22,719 | 13,368 | 1,368 |

CALCULATIONS

CALCULATIONS ACCORDING TO PER CENTAGE.

| Group. | Proprietary Class. | | | | Working Class. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total. | Sober. | Uncertain. | Drunkards. | Total. | Sober. | Uncertain. | Drunkards. |
| NUMBER SIDE. | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 100 | 54·2 | 41·3 | 4·5 | 100 | 55·3 | 40·8 | 3·9 |
| 2 | 100 | 58·0 | 38·1 | 3·9 | 100 | 52·3 | 44·3 | 3·4 |
| 3 | 100 | 65·3 | 30·5 | 4·2 | 100 | 60·6 | 36·1 | 3·3 |
| 4 | 100 | 68·5 | 28·4 | 3·1 | 100 | 63·1 | 32·4 | 4·5 |
| 5 | 100 | 55·0 | 40·2 | 4·8 | 100 | 46·2 | 47·1 | 6·7 |
| 6 | 100 | 64·9 | 31·5 | 3·6 | 100 | 62·6 | 33·0 | 4·4 |
| 7 | 100 | 77·7 | 20·7 | 1·6 | 100 | 77·6 | 19·8 | 2·6 |
| 8 | 100 | 70·1 | 26·5 | 3·4 | 100 | 67·6 | 29·1 | 3·3 |
| 9 | 100 | 57·5 | 38·5 | 4·0 | 100 | 56·2 | 41·0 | 2·8 |
| 10 | 100 | 59·4 | 36·9 | 3·7 | 100 | 62·3 | 34·9 | 2·8 |
| 11 | 100 | 78·3 | 18·3 | 3·4 | 100 | 72·4 | 33·1 | 4·5 |
| 12 | 100 | 55·3 | 33·3 | 10·9 | 100 | 38·9 | 42·6 | 18·5 |
| Kingdom | 100 | 64·7 | 31·5 | 3·8 | 100 | 60·3 | 35·8 | 3·9 |
| LETTER SIDE. | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 100 | 54·9 | 40·9 | 4·2 | 100 | 58·1 | 38·9 | 3·0 |
| 2 | 100 | 61·6 | 34·2 | 4·2 | 100 | 56·7 | 40·8 | 2·5 |
| 3 | 100 | 62·5 | 34·1 | 3·4 | 100 | 61·7 | 36·0 | 2·3 |
| 4 | 100 | 60·4 | 36·0 | 3·6 | 100 | 57·9 | 37·7 | 4·4 |
| 5 | 100 | 51·6 | 43·1 | 5·3 | 100 | 43·1 | 51·2 | 5·7 |
| 6 | 100 | 61·1 | 35·0 | 3·9 | 100 | 57·2 | 38·8 | 4·0 |
| 7 | 100 | 75·7 | 22·6 | 1·7 | 100 | 72·8 | 24·2 | 3·0 |
| 8 | 100 | 72·9 | 24·1 | 3·0 | 100 | 61·5 | 33·7 | 4·8 |
| 9 | 100 | 66·1 | 30·7 | 3·2 | 100 | 65·4 | 31·3 | 3·3 |
| 10 | 100 | 63·8 | 32·2 | 4·0 | 100 | 67·6 | 30·4 | 2·0 |
| 11 | 100 | 74·6 | 21·1 | 4·3 | 100 | 69·4 | 24·8 | 5·8 |
| 12 | 100 | 47·2 | 33·6 | 19·2 | 100 | 38·6 | 40·6 | 20·8 |
| Kingdom | 100 | 64·2 | 32·0 | 3·8 | 100 | 60·7 | 35·7 | 3·6 |

Going back to the tabular arrangement according to provstier, we are struck with the irregularity in the per centage of intemperate individuals in the different villages or *bygds*,* the preponderance being sometimes on the side of the working class, sometimes on that of the proprietary class; and we shall now proceed to show that this irregularity bears a definite relation to another striking disparity between the same bygds, namely, the relative number of individuals belonging to the working class and to the proprietary class.

By the returns given above, we found that the aggregate of the rural districts comprised the following number of married men and widowers—

* The term *bygd* expresses rather an inhabited or cultivated district than a village, the distances between the farmsteads and cottages in [illegible] being frequently so great that the term village is hardly

| | |
|---|---|
| Proprietary class . . . . | 99,100 |
| Working class . . . . | 78,225 |
| Total . . . . | 177,325 |

and calculated by thousands the proportion stands thus—

| | |
|---|---|
| Proprietary Class . . . | 559 |
| Working Class . . . . | 441 |
| Total . . . . | 1,000 |

It may, in consequence, be stated, that, taken generally, the composition of the population in the rural districts throughout the kingdom gives 559 heads of families in the proprietary class to 441 in the labouring class. Having entered into elaborate tabulations to determine for each provsti, and each group of districts, in what relation the per centage of intemperate persons stands to the number of the labouring class and of the proprietary class dwelling in it, Mr. Sundt establishes, as an incontrovertible fact, that there is a certain relation between the difference in the amount of intemperance in the two classes, and the difference in the relative proportions of these two constituent elements of the population. However, as it appears that the localities in which the number of the labouring class is the smallest, are all situated on the western or sea-board side of the country, and the connection between the amount of intemperance and the relative numbers of the two classes may thus be supposed to be merely apparent, or that the unequal composition of the population and the unequal amount of intemperance in the two classes may be determined by a third circumstance bearing equally on both, viz. the situation of the locality on the coast or in the interior, Mr. Sundt further institutes an inquiry into how far the constitution of the population (that is to say the greater or smaller number of the labouring class comprised in it) affects the state of sobriety, independently of any influence that may be exercised by the situation of the locality and the consequent differences in the modes of livelihood, the amount of wealth, &c., &c.

By means of this inquiry, into the details of which our space will not allow us to follow him, but which is carried out with the same conscientious sifting of the truth that characterizes the whole of his book, he arrives at this remarkable conclusion:—

1. That the per centage of intemperate persons, as a general rule, is greatest on the side of the labouring class in the rural districts in which that class of the population is comparatively small in number, whereas the preponderance of intemperance is on the side of the proprietary class in the localities where the working classes are numerically superior.

2nd. That in one and the same provsti, there is, as a general rule, a smaller number of drunkards in those parishes (*præstegjeld*)

*jeld*) that comprise a comparatively small number of the working class, and, on the contrary, a greater amount of intemperance in those parishes in which the population comprehends a comparatively large number of the working class, the difference being apparent in both classes, but principally in the proprietary class.

This curious state of things Mr. Sundt believes to be the result of the difference of the prevailing circumstances as to the division of land, and, in consequence, of the position of the cottagers who form by far the most numerous constituent part of the labouring class in the rural districts throughout Norway. Of the groups into which he divided the various districts for the purpose of tabulation, groups 1, 2, 3, 9, and 10 (embracing the greater part of Christiania stift, and the whole of Throndhjems stift), constitute an uninterrupted territory in the heart of the land, which comprises the wealthiest and most fertile districts, in the broad valleys of which the lands have been gathered into large farms, requiring for their cultivation a greater number of resident farm-servants and also of cottagers in the employ of the farmers. The other six groups (for Finmarken is again left out) include the districts in Christiania stift west of the fjord, the whole of Christiansand stift, and of Bergens stift, and Tromsö stift, exclusive of Finmarken, that is, almost the whole of the western and northern tracts of the country, where the valleys are narrower and the farms smaller.

In the tract of the large farms the cottier's son generally spends his youth as resident farm labourer in one of the farms on his native bygd, living and working under the eye of his master. Later in life he marries and becomes a cottier, most likely on the same farm, and thenceforward the daily routine of his life is to go in the morning from his cottage to the farmstead and in the evening from the farmstead home again. From time to time he may perhaps attend church on a Sunday, and he may also, as a rare occurrence, be invited to a wedding, a christening, or a funeral, while he may likewise have a chance at long intervals to be sent to the nearest town on an errand for his employer. The monotony of his life saves him in a great measure from the temptations to intemperance which mostly occur at merry-makings or at funerals, besides which, though a man of this class may not be living in absolute poverty, he has, nevertheless, but rarely any cash in his pocket, as his wages are paid partly in his own board, partly in the cottage and plot of ground assigned to him.

The farmers (proprietors) in these tracts, on the contrary, lead a less monotonous life. They often travel long distances to take their produce to market, or to settle other matters of business, and more important still, as to the point in question, having [redacted] labourers in their employ, they are able to leave all the work on the farm to these, limiting their own [redacted]

intendence, which, if they be not improving farmers, is not sufficient to fill up their time. The poor cottier is driven to his work day by day by the urgent wants of his family; he is, as it were, under the rule of a law of physical necessity: but it requires no little amount of mental culture and development to induce a man who is under no necessity of working, nevertheless to find constant useful occupation for himself; and such culture and development being by no means common among the Norwegian peasant farmers, as a natural consequence the wealthier among them seek a resource against absolute idleness in a kind of idle sociability, which is but too often an inducement to intemperance.

In the tract comprising the western and northern parts of the kingdom, the lands, either owing to the natural features of the country, or from other causes, are more subdivided, the number of labourers is smaller, and their whole position different. The unmarried men belonging to this class do not so generally take regular service, but hire themselves out for job work, or become sailors, fishermen, &c. When they marry, and are not sufficiently well off to buy a farm, they indeed also become cottiers, but under different conditions; for even then they do not bind themselves to regular farm service, but continue to maintain themselves and their families by their former more irregular and independent means of livelihood. In these districts it is the peasant-proprietors themselves who lead the steady, laborious home-life, doing all the work on their farms, and this, therefore, is the probable reason why, as the tables show us, in these localities the preponderance of drunkenness is on the side of the labouring class.

The second fact established by the tables, however, that not only among the proprietary class, but also among the labouring classes, there is a greater proportion of intemperance in the districts where the latter class is comparatively the most numerous, Mr. Sundt explains as arising from two circumstances: first, that in these wealthier and more populous districts, tavern life and other inducements to intemperance are more developed; and, secondly, that among the cottagers in these localities a certain amount of discontent exists in consequence of the hardships of their life compared with that of their employers, which discontent, he thinks, leads to melancholy and intemperance.

It having become apparent throughout the tabulations above alluded to that the degree of intemperance does not only vary according to the relative proportions of the two classes of the population, but also according to the geographical position of the localities, Mr. Sundt subjects this new principle also to the test of various combinations, in order to ascertain whether it be really a constant or merely an accidental one.

Having first applied his method to a certain division of the country with which he is personally well acquainted, and having found

found the results of the numbers in perfect accord with his knowledge of the existing state of things, viz. a far greater amount of intemperance in the inner than the outer bygds, even though the proportion of the labouring population in the inner tracts is but 346 in a thousand, and in the outer 383 in a thousand, he next proceeds to subject all the provstier, included in the returns, to the same method as applied to this particular division of the country. The 54 provstier are divided into three classes, viz. 1. Outer tract or bygdelag; 2. Mixed tract or bygdelag; and 3. Inner tract or bygdelag (according to their situation in the interior or along the coast, the mixed partaking of the character of both the others), and then compares the three grades in the proprietary and working classes.

This division gives 30 provstier in the outer tract, 8 in the mixed, and 16 in the inner tract; and, taken in conjunction with the returns relating to each provsti, shows that 29 out of the 30 provstier in the outer bygdelag have in the proprietary class a considerable per centage of habitually sober men, viz. 65 per cent., and that 14 out of the same 30 provstier have, in the same class, a very small per centage of drunkards, viz. less than 3. In the inner tract, on the contrary, only 2 out of the 16 have so large a per centage of sober men, and only 1 out of the 16 has so small a per centage of drunkards. The same result is consequently repeated: greater sobriety in the outer than in the inner tracts. On the side of the labouring class the numbers are also decidedly in favour of the outer tract as far as regards the division 'sober;' but in respect of the division 'drunkards,' there are not fewer than 10 out of the 16 provstier belonging to the inner tract in which the per centage of the habitually sober is less than 3; this latter result being owing to circumstances which will be alluded to in the sequel.

A table for the entire kingdom, according to the above classification of tracts, gives the following numbers:

| Bygdelag, or Tract. | Proprietary Class. | | | | Working Class. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total. | Sober. | Uncertain. | Drunkards. | Total. | Sober. | Uncertain. | Drunkards. |
| Inner . | 54964 | 37526 | 15520 | 1918 | 32334 | 20529 | 10283 | 1522 |
| Mixed . | 10486 | 6594 | 3466 | 426 | 9391 | 5804 | 3230 | 357 |
| Outer . | 33650 | 19755 | 12474 | 1421 | 36500 | 20966 | 14461 | 1073 |
| Kingdom. | 99,100 | 63,875 | 31,460 | 3,765 | 78,225 | 47,299 | 27,974 | 2,952 |
| | Per Centage. | | | | | | | |
| Inner . | 100 | 68·3 | 28·2 | 3·5 | 100 | 63·5 | 31·8 | 4·7 |
| Mixed . | 100 | 62·9 | 33·0 | 4·1 | 100 | 61·8 | 34·4 | 3·8 |
| Outer . | 100 | 58·7 | 37·1 | 4·2 | 100 | 57·5 | 39·6 | 2·9 |
| Kingdom. | 100 | 64·5 | 31·7 | 3·8 | 100 | 60·5 | 35·7 | 3·8 |

Here again we see that the amount of sobriety in the proprietary class is absolutely greater in the outer bygdelag than in the mixed, and in the mixed than in the inner; while with respect to the working class it appears that the per centage of sober people is also larger in the outer than in the mixed and inner bygdelag, but that as regards the number of habitual drunkards the case is the reverse.

It would, however, be premature to conclude that this discrepancy is caused by the situation of the bygdelag, or even by any other circumstance connected with the locality, except the one that has been so frequently noticed, namely, the unequal proportions of the two classes constituting the population; for the tables show that the relative numbers of the two classes stand thus—

| Tract. | Proprietary Class. | Labouring Class. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Outer . . . | 630 | 370 | 1000 |
| Mixed . . . | 528 | 472 | 1000 |
| Inner . . . | 480 | 520 | 1000 |

And, consequently, once more we find the rule confirmed as to the bearing of the relation between the numbers of the proprietary class and of the working class on the state of sobriety. In accordance with this rule is furthermore the fact, that while the preponderance of drunkenness is on the side of the labouring class in the outer tract, it is on the side of the proprietary class in the inner tract.

However, the above table shows a proportion of drunkards among the labouring class in the outer bygdelag, which is not in accordance with the oft-named rule, and this disparity seems to be caused by certain circumstances which are not connected with the geographical position of these districts, but with other matters that will be explained in connection with the returns relating to the towns, which we shall now proceed to consider.

As has been previously stated, the number of married men and widowers included in the returns for the towns does not exceed 5,143, and consequently does not amount to more than one-sixth of the entire town population of the kingdom. But the more unsatisfactory the returns, the more diligently our author exerts himself to investigate how far the conclusions deduced from them may be applicable to the urban population throughout the country.

The towns included in the returns, are: Frederiksstad, Drammen, Kongsberg, Holmestrand, Christiansand, Farsund, Levanger, Hammerfest, and Vadsö, none of which belong to the first rank, though some to the second. The proportions of the different grades of sobriety in the aggregate population are:—Sober, 3347; uncertain, 1326; drunkards, 470; in all 5143; giving a per centage

centage of—Sober, 65·1; uncertain, 25·8; drunkards, 9·1. Compared with the rural districts,* we find thus that in the towns there is a smaller proportion of persons prone to yield to temptation, but at the same time a larger proportion of habitually sober and habitually intemperate people, consequently a more decided distinction between the weak and vicious characters and those capable of self-control. But the returns being so few, there was a likelihood that the aggregate numbers of one division or another might be unduly swollen by a very exceptional state of things in one or other of the towns. However, a division of these into two classes, the eastern and the western (and northern), shows the same relative proportions as compared with the rural districts, though the western towns prove to have a far greater proportion of habitual drunkards than the eastern, and a somewhat smaller per centage of habitually sober persons.

A further peculiarity in regard to the towns becomes evident when we compare the numbers of the proprietary class and the working class. The aggregate returns for the towns give—

| | Proprietary Class. | Working Class. |
|---|---|---|
| Sober . . . | 1662 | 1685 |
| Uncertain . . | 425 | 901 |
| Drunkards . . | 87 | 383 |

which numbers, when compared with the rural districts, give the following per centage:—

| | Proprietary Class. | | | | Working Class. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Sober. | Uncertain. | Drunkards. | Total. | Sober. | Uncertain. | Drunkards. | Total. |
| Country | 64·5 | 31·7 | 3·8 | 100 | 60·5 | 35·7 | 3·8 | 100 |
| Towns | 76·5 | 19·5 | 4·0 | 100 | 65·8 | 30·3 | 12·9 | 100 |

Here a twofold difference becomes apparent between town and country.

1. We see that in both classes of the population there is a smaller proportion of 'uncertain' in the towns than in the country, while in the proprietary class there is a greater proportion of decidedly sober, and in the working class a greater proportion of decidedly intemperate persons; which corresponds with the difference between town and country in the comparison of the aggregate numbers.

2. In the towns the two extreme grades are more distinctly separated than in the country, for in the country the condition of the working class is only in so far worse than that of the proprietary class that there is a somewhat smaller per centage of sober persons; while in the towns, on the contrary, the lower condition of the labouring class is not only shown by a con-

* 

| | Sober. | Uncertain. | Drunkards. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Country . . . | 62·7 | 33·5 | 3·1 | 100 |
| Towns . . . | 65·1 | 25·8 | 9·1 | 100 |

naller proportion of temperate people, but by a very
r proportion of habitual drunkards.

owns, consequently, the condition of the proprietary
far better; that of the labouring class by far worse
e country: and the greater separation between the
e classes in the towns is confirmed.

r comparison with the towns divided into eastern and
ws the same result.

the small number of the returns sent in for the towns
be deplored, Mr. Sundt thinks that, taken in the aggre-
give a pretty correct view of the condition of the urban
in general; and he next proceeds to compare this
not with the aggregate of the country districts, but
ree classes into which he has divided these according
. This comparison, instituted first without any dis-
he two classes, gives the following per centage:—

| | Sober. | Uncertain. | Drunkards. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tract . . | 58·0 | 38·4 | 3·6 | 100 |
| „ . . | 62·4 | 33·7 | 3·9 | 100 |
| „ . . | 66 5 | 29·6 | 3·9 | 100 |
| . . . | 65·1 | 25·8 | 9·1 | 100 |

our attention on the class 'uncertain' in this table,
gradual decrease in number from the inner tracts
ed, from these to the outer, and from these again
s; consequently a wider separation between sobriety

| | Proprietary Class. | Working Class. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Inner bygds | . . 480 | 520 | 1000 |
| Mixed „ | . . 528 | 472 | 1000 |
| Outer „ | . . 630 | 370 | 1000 |
| Towns . | . . 423 | 577 | 1000 |

Consequently, if the preponderance of the working classes among the populations were the determining cause in this case, the state of sobriety in the towns and in the inner bygds ought to have coincided, whereas the reality is quite the contrary, the greatest similarity being between the towns and the outer bygds; and we must, therefore, conclude that some other influence is at work, as has already been hinted. This influence Mr. Sundt believes to be the forcing, and at the same time sifting or separating, power exercised by life in large towns, which causes us there to meet with higher mental and moral culture and greater power of self-control; but, on the other hand, also with a more reckless self-abandonment to vice, consequent on the greater development of the passions, and the more numerous inducements to wrong-doing. He also attributes the greater amount of temperance in the proprietary class and of intemperance in the working class in the towns as compared with the country, to the fact that in the towns it depends very much upon a man's character, upon his habits of industry and sobriety, his power of self-control and self-denial, whether he shall attain to, or remain in, that independent position which qualifies him to be numbered in the returns among the proprietary class. Whereas in the country this latter class consists mostly of peasants, who are either born to the possession of their freeholds, or succeed to them by right of inheritance, however idle and dissipated their habits may be; while, on the other hand, even the most persevering industry, and the strictest habits of sobriety and self-denial, will rarely enable a cottier or a cottier's son to rise to the station of a proprietor through the attainment of freehold property. The same differences which are here mentioned as existing between town and country in a great measure prevail between the outer and inner bygds as well. In like manner as many young men resort from country to town to seek their fortunes there, and, according to their personal qualities, either rise to the proprietary class, and swell the number of the sober men in it, or yield to the temptations that surround them, and not only remain to increase the number of the labouring class, but also the number of habitual drunkards in this; so also the more restless or the more ambitious of the young men belonging to the inner bygds remove to the outer ones, and very likely in numer[redacted] tribute to multiply the number of drunkards t[redacted] of these bygds to the towns (the Nor[redacted] seaports) is felt in the greater indu[redacted]

tion which are held out there in the places of public entertainment and the low pot-houses, more especially in the little fishing hamlets that cluster along the fjords. However, in these outer bygds the greater mobility that characterizes town life as compared with country life also in some measure prevails, the proximity of the sea offering increased resources in the form of fishing, trade, and navigation; and consequently the same changes of condition to which allusion has been made in connection with the towns may likewise be of frequent occurrence there, the more so as the very small freeholders, who constitute by far the greater proportion of the proprietary class, may, by intemperance, idleness, and other bad habits, easily be reduced to the lower class.

The qualities and circumstances which are generally conceived to be conducive to sobriety are, piety, moral principle, and mental culture, together with the taste for purer and higher enjoyments, which is a consequence of these; further freedom from the most pressing cares of life, a position which encourages or necessitates constant industry and attention to duties, and a strongly-developed public opinion as to the shame and degradation attached to intemperance: while, on the other hand, intemperance is generally fostered by a low state of mental development, which knows no higher enjoyment than the satisfaction of the bodily appetites; extreme poverty, with its attendant privation, not only of the comforts but of the decencies of life; legislative measures, or other depressing circumstances, which impede the free activity and enterprise of the people, and thus breed discontent; means of livelihood that necessitate a wandering life or frequent absences from home; and domestic discord, most likely to occur when marriages are contracted from mercenary motives and not from affection, which is very usual among the Norwegian peasantry. And all these circumstances we do indeed find telling for and against the state of sobriety in the various districts from which Mr. Sundt has obtained, in addition to the statistical returns which we have dwelt upon so minutely, reports giving a more or less detailed account of the increase or decrease of intemperance in the districts to which they refer. These reports, which embrace all parts of the country, and from which we have borrowed the description of the national customs given in previous pages, form a very interesting part of the book; though, of course, they are somewhat monotonous in character, which in some measure reconciles us to not being able to give more than a general view of their bearing.

One circumstance we find is insisted on more frequently than any other, as exercising a beneficial effect on the condition of society, and that is, the decrease in the use of brandy, consequent on the legislative measures which have rendered the distillation and retail of it more difficult, and the article itself more expensive;

sive; though many of the clergymen and schoolmasters who have drawn up the reports dwell with much regret on the introduction of so-called Bavarian beer and a kind of fruit wine as substitutes for brandy, which, though not likely to be quite so pernicious, because of their greater cost and inferior potency, nevertheless interfere considerably with the spread of sober habits. An improvement in public opinion as to the shame attaching to intemperance is also mentioned by many of the reporters, the greater number attributing this to the spread of enlightenment and to greater refinement of manners, which is also gradually leading to the discontinuance, or at least modification, of the old-fashioned customs in connection with weddings, funerals, &c., which have already been mentioned, it having in many places come to be considered 'vulgar' to be intoxicated, or even to have brandy on the table. Only a few of the reporters give credit to the introduction of temperance societies for any of the improvement that is visible, though some even of those who do not, allow that the temperance agitation has led to reflection, and has helped to enlighten conscience.

Though the picture of the state of society throughout Norway, as afforded by these statistics and these reports, is painfully chequered, dark ignorance, barbarism, and vice still brooding over many a district, the view is, upon the whole, hopeful, for in very few places is drunkenness described as being on the increase, while in many it is declared to be on the wane, and in some to be utterly unknown, and with it, we may be sure, will disappear its attendant vices. But more than all we may hail as a beacon of hope the attention which the Norwegian Government and Legislature are giving to the subject, proving thereby that they regard drunkenness as one of the vices that canker so deeply the national life and well-being, that it behoves the rulers of a people to endeavour to eradicate it by all fair means in their power.

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ART. V.—1. *The Social Hydra; or, The Influence of the Traffic of Pawnbrokers and Brokers on the Religious, Moral, and Social Condition of the Working Classes and the Poor.* David Macrae, Jun. Glasgow, 1861.

2. *'Wee Pawns:' their Influence on Crime and Drunkenness, and their Organized Antagonism to Ragged and Industrial Schools.* William Hector. Glasgow, 1856.

3. *Proposed Bill for the Regulation of Wee Pawns and Unlicensed Brokers in Scotland.* Glasgow, 1856.

THE diversity of habit as respects thrift and unthrift in particular races and nations has long been acknowledged and variously

variously accounted for by different writers. Excessive frugality is not a characteristic of the English nation; and it is a well-known and noteworthy fact that the labourers and operatives who are in ordinary times in the receipt of the highest wages, are by no means the largest contributors to the savings banks, nor are they generally the most beforehand in the world. The Irish are, as a people, proverbially unthrifty in their own land, and notoriously the reverse when they are by circumstances placed either temporarily or otherwise elsewhere.* The Scotch have, as a nation, enjoyed, until the last few years, a reputation for the habitual exercise of a careful and wise economy, so much so, that it has been charged against them as penuriousness; but recent disclosures seem to indicate that a considerable change for the worse is in active operation in this respect, owing to a combination of causes, the nature of which is indicated in the works which we propose to examine.

Those moral epidemics which periodically appear in the history of nations, and take the form of a sudden and violent taste for speculation, whether the fever be for digging for gold, or for gambling on the stock exchange, for dock shares or railway shares, for over-building or over-trading, are obviously agents which tend to produce an unsettled and unthrifty state of mind. There is a general haste to be rich, and a perilous disregard of the means by which riches are attained. This passion spreads, by a natural and easy process, from the educated and wealthy classes to those below them in worldly circumstances, until all alike become tainted by the disease, and excessive and grasping speculation is checked by its natural consequences—commercial panic, pecuniary distress, and that great but unequal pressure which brings the capitalist to the door of the insolvency court, and reduces the improvident workman to become the inmate of the public-house and the *habitue* of the pawnshop.

Strikes, now so lamentably frequent among the labouring classes, have no small share in producing this evil state of matters; and men, once careful and economical, who behold their savings withdrawn, as of necessity they must be, to maintain themselves in an enforced idleness, become reckless, and cease to cultivate the habit of forethought, the more especially as the recurrence of these times of scarcity are decided, not by the operation of natural laws, which can be understood and provided for, but by the arbitrary mandate of the chiefs of the trades' unions.

How far these and other causes have affected the character of

* The amount of money remitted by Post-office orders and registered letters, by Irish emigrants in America and the colonies, and also by the labourers and harvesters who annually visit England to their relatives at home, affords ample proof of this statement.

the

the once prudent and thrifty Scotchman may be judged by the fact, that in 1860 in Glasgow there were 108,730 deposits in the savings banks as against 5,000,000 in the pawnshop, showing an average of 2 bank deposits for each family against 78 pawn-tickets. The subject of pawnbroking has now attracted attention in several quarters; the large increase in the number of pawnshops, and the growing prevalence of the vicious habit of raising money at a ruinous interest, with no other exertion than that of a walk to the nearest of these establishments, undoubtedly calls for serious investigation, and, as we think, also for a wise and discriminating legislation.

Sixty years ago pawnbroking was absolutely unknown in Scotland. In 1806 an Englishman started business in an obscure shop in Glasgow, which he was compelled shortly to close for lack of custom. At this moment there are 79 pawnshops in Glasgow alone, doing a flourishing business. The testimony in the pages of their own organ admits that the average of each is about 40,000 transactions annually, thus giving 3,160,000 per annum for the city. But the result of private investigation, according to Mr. Macrae, proves pretty clearly that 5,688,000 is a good deal nearer the true calculation.* From 1833 to 1838 the pawnshops increased in number in Scotland 70 per cent. to 5 per cent. in London, and 10 per cent. in England and Wales. A year ago one Scotch town, of only 13,000 inhabitants, required 48,000 pawn-tickets for a twelvemonths' consumption.†

In 1836 a statement was made on authority to Dr. Cleland, who embodied the results in a paper which was read before the British Association for the Advancement of Science. An insight was thus afforded into the general routine of the pawnbroking trade, and the analysis is sufficiently curious to present to our readers. Out of 6,295 articles pledged, considerably more than two-thirds were wearing apparel.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Men's coats . . . | 539 | Women's gowns . . | 1,980 |
| Vests . . . . | 355 | Petticoats . . . | 540 |
| Pairs of trousers . . | 288 | Wrappers . . . | 132 |
| Hats . . . . | 60 | Pelisses, &c. . . . | 213 |
| Total . . | 1,242 | Total . . . | 2,865 |

Of stockings, handkerchiefs, shirts, and shifts there were 618,

* Keeson, in his work on the Monts de Piété, written in 1853, returns the annual number of pledges for England and Wales at 89,720,000. An accurate return now would probably exhibit a large increase.

† It was lately mentioned to us, as a matter of just pride to [illegible] in the town of Todmorden, in Lancashire, with a [illegible] and manufacturing classes, 12,000 in number, there [illegible] broker's shop.

making a total of 4,725 articles of body clothing. Bed-clothes appears as the next item in the following proportion:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bed-ticks | 84 | Table-cloths | 36 |
| Pillows | 108 | Umbrellas | 48 |
| Pairs of blankets | 262 | Bibles | 102 |
| Ditto sheets | 300 | Watches | 204 |
| Bed-covers | 162 | Rings | 216 |
| | | Waterloo medals | 48 |
| Total | 916 | Total | 654 |

From this it appears that the articles of bed and body clothing pledged are nine times more numerous than any other kind; and the inference is that about 5,600 are usually in each pawnshop in Glasgow: this gives a total, for the 79 establishments, of 442,400, including 20,000 pairs of blankets. No wonder that we hear of deaths from cold and starvation; no wonder that infant mortality is enormous; and when we remember that the money thus raised is in four cases out of five to procure drink rather than food, we need not be surprised at the evidence of the ravages made by intemperance which meet our eyes at every turn.

Here, indeed, is exposed an evil of no ordinary magnitude, though it is one freely recognized and permitted by the law; but behind it there lies another of a more formidable kind, and of infinitely greater difficulty to deal with. We allude to those places generally known as 'wee pawns' in Scotland, and going in England under the various names of marine stores, old clothes, bundle, dolly, and pop shops, metal, rag, old rope, and bone stores, of a low kind, the owners of which, while professing to be purchasers of second-hand goods, contrive to combine with it the business of pawnbroking, and are, in fact, little else than receivers or resetters of stolen goods. These establishments differ in their position and practice from the regular pawnshops in the following particulars:—The dealer requires no licence, and, therefore, needs neither capital nor shadow of respectability with which to commence business; whereas the pawnbroker cannot trade without a licence, which costs 15*l.* in London and 7*l.* 10*s.* elsewhere. The premises are in general fitted up in compartments similar to those in a pawnshop, and the goods are classified and ticketed, but *no written record is kept* of transactions; whereas the licensed pawnbroker is required to keep a register of all business done, which must be open to the inspection of the police. A pretence is made of selling and purchasing in order that the provisions of the Pawnbroking Act of 1857 may be evaded; but a tacit understanding often exists that the article is to be kept in case the nominal vendor wishes to redeem it, the rate of interest for the money thus advanced

advanced being ½*d.* per week for anything less than half a crown, thus varying from 164 to 1,400 per cent. We say this understanding often exists, but very frequently the broker sells the article off at once if he finds it to his profit to do so. And it is a common occurrence for him to be made aware by the seller that from the mode in which the goods were acquired, the sooner they are disposed of the safer for both parties. A smelting-pot is almost always hidden somewhere on the premises, so that a roll of stolen lead, or a few silver spoons, are quickly placed beyond the possibility of recognition.

In certain towns—as in Ayr, for example—brokers are obliged to obtain a licence, and are placed under the surveillance of the police, and consequently their numbers are few, and the damage they do is inconsiderable. How they flourish under more favourable conditions may be gathered by the following table:—

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Small brokers and dealers in second-hand stores in | | | Ayr . . | 6 |
| ,, | ,, | ,, | Glasgow . | 500 |
| ,, | ,, | ,, | Paisley . . | 79 |
| ,, | ,, | ,, | Greenock . | 36 |
| ,, | ,, | ,, | Kilmarnock . | 24 |
| ,, | ,, | ,, | Dumfries . | 18 |
| ,, | ,, | ,, | Aberdeen . | 285 |

Nor do they flourish alone. Sooner or later the inevitable accompaniment of the broker's shop makes its appearance in the shape of a public-house: nor need we feel surprise at this. As the publican is prevented by law from taking goods in exchange for drink, and as the small brokers present the quickest mode by which body-clothes can be turned into money, we may expect as the consequence that where the one is the other can never be far off, acting, in short, the part of jackal to the lion. Thus we find in certain statistics furnished by the Glasgow City Mission, that in one district, swarming with miserable hovels in the Calton, there are 13 wee pawns and 11 public-houses; in another, where the unfortunate creatures who rented the rooms paid about 8*d.* per week rent, there were 2 wee pawns, 4 licensed pawnbrokers, and 53 public-houses. This frightful proportion gives one public-house to every four families, and a pawnshop to every 38 individuals; and it is an attested fact, that publicans have been known to direct wretched women to the neighbouring broker, where the victims betake themselves to sell their clothes, purchase such rags as will serve the purposes of decency, and return to spend the surplus in drink. The evidence on the nature and amount of the evil fostered by the pawnbroking system is ample and instructive, comprehending as it does the urgent testimony of ministers of religion of all denominations, of city missionaries, Bible readers, and [redacted] agents, and also, though not, perhaps, to the same ext[redacted]

trates and superintendents of police: the hostility of the latter is greater with respect to the wee pawns, inasmuch as many licensed pawnbrokers are respectable men, who afford the fullest facilities for the inspection of their registers in order to detect thieves and trace stolen goods, and those who are disposed to defeat the ends of justice are, to a certain degree, unable to do so.

Dr. Guthrie wrote thus in February, 1861—

'You could not possibly have a stronger opinion against pawnbroking than I have. When I had more to do than I have now with the low and lowest classes of the people, I used to consider their ruin accomplished when they turned their steps to the pawnbroker's. All that remained was a work of time, but they were on the rail, and ruin of all that was precious and promising was the *terminus ad quem*.

'James M'Levy says: "It is the resetter that makes the thief."

'Rev. A. K. M'Cullum, governor of Glasgow Reformatory Institution, says: "The whole system of pawnbroking needs revision. Not one in a thousand has any conception of the monster evils it inflicts, as at present conducted, on society."

'Superintendent of police in Dumfries, writes: "Stolen goods are frequently found both in the pawnbrokers' and brokers' shops."

'A mission agent in Glasgow gives two cases. One woman who was an inveterate drinker, confessed that the keeper of a spirit cellar suggested to her to sell her clothes, and told her where she could replace them with rags, so that the money obtained might be given to him for liquor. Her gown, worth 14*s*., was pledged for 6*s*.; a petticoat was pledged for 4*s*.; and she had made away with a plaid which had cost 1*l*. Her husband was a respectable, hard-working man, and complained that he lost nearly 30*l*. a year by her drinking habits. In the other case, a man, earning 25*s*. per week, had pawned every article of clothing, and had neither shirt nor stockings. A sad instance is related of a man once sober, respectable, and a savings-bank depositor to a considerable extent, who so far degenerated that every article, whether of good furniture or clothes, was in pawn. The neighbours out of pity gave his wife a little oatmeal, and lent her a girdle on which to bake it; but before she could accomplish this, her husband took the girdle from her, pawned it, and drank the proceeds at the nearest dram-shop.

'"I wish there was no pawns," said an old woman; "folks could na drink the claes aff their backs, and they wadna." "But are they not convenient when a person is hard up, and has nothing to eat?" she was asked. "Aweel," she said, "but it's drink they buy. I ken a dizen women in this close, and gie ony ane o' them a glass, and there winna be a stick in her house the morn."

'"We would not have one drunken woman in ten," says one superintendent, "but for the facilities offered to drunken women for disposing of their property." A woman in the Vennel died recently of delirium tremens; her child, ill of small-pox, was found lying naked on a handful of shavings; the bed and all the clothing had gone to the pawnshop. One missionary states that women have to his knowledge stripped the bodies of their dead, and pawned the grave-clothes to procure liquor!

'When men and women who are in the habit of attending religious worship begin to absent themselves, and are asked the reason, it is commonly because they have pledged their clothes. "Weel, sir, I'll no hide the truth; I put awa' my things," was the explanation once given. One minister remarks: "I do not know a single case of a mother pawning any article for the purpose of paying school fees or pew rents."'

Assuredly it cannot have escaped the notice of the newspaper reader, that almost invariably when men or women are arrested for theft, murder, or drunkenness, pawn-tickets are found either on their persons on in their possession.

The testimony against the unlicensed brokers and dealers in second-hand

second-hand goods, is of a more serious character. It proves that these establishments encourage the same class of evils, such as intemperance, improvidence, &c., which pawnshops do; and, added to this, they offer special facilities for the reception of stolen goods, and positively call into existence a race of young thieves and pilferers, who would have otherwise in all probability remained honest members of society. The police superintendents, the detectives, the chaplains of gaols, and the magistrates, are all loud in their complaints on this head. Every procurator-fiscal north of the Tweed holds the same language, and draws the same conclusions with reference to this demoralizing trade. Thus the Greenock superintendent of police says—

'"I should not have one juvenile thief where I now have ten, but for the facilities afforded by these dealers."

'Superintendent of Paisley police.—"A great deal of stolen property finds its way into them, often beyond the possibility of detection. . . . The thieves are the best customers of the unlicensed brokers."

'Superintendent of Ayr county police.—"They are generally receptacles of stolen property, and without doubt tend much to encourage juvenile delinquents to petty thieving. Two of them at present are in Ayr gaol for purchasing brass from very young boys."

'Superintendent of the Burgh police, Ayr.—"They keep no books, consequently the thieves deal with them; and much property is lost, for they often refuse to deliver up the articles, or to give us any aid or information."

'Superintendent of Airdrie police.—"They have a direct tendency to foster crime among the juvenile population, who thus dispose of articles stolen from their parents and others. It is from these dens that we recover most of our stolen property."

'Superintendent of Dumbarton county police.—"It is one of the greatest evils the county police have to deal with. The parties keep no books or entries, and if we chance to find out a stolen article, we can seldom or never find the thief, because the trade knows nobody, and cannot identify anybody except a policeman."

As long since as 1856, the Committee of Prison Board of Aberdeen, in a report on the remarkable increase of juvenile crime in that city, made this remark—

'A discovery of great importance in connection with the increase of juvenile crime has lately been made in consequence of the apprehension and subsequent conviction of brokers who, for a considerable time, and to a very large extent, have been receivers of stolen goods.

'Superintendent of Aberdeen police.—"We have 285 brokers; among these are many who—1st, do not hesitate to purchase goods from children of tender years, without making any inquiry as to how they were come by. 2nd. Who purchase at early hours in the morning and late at night on Sundays, from persons intoxicated and from known thieves. 3rd. Goods are not entered in their books after purchase; they are denied to the police; not publicly exposed; are concealed or put away, and if they are supposed to be stolen, they are immediately altered or defaced to prevent identity."

It will be observed that it is with especial reference to the temptation these resorts offer to the young that the complaints are so loud, and the evidence is so weighty; and in the face of this system the ragged, industrial, and reformatory schools are paralyzed in

in their efforts to stem the rising tide of corruption. These assertions are borne out in a remarkable degree by the statistics of theft; and the manifest proportion between the number of these establishments and the number of articles stolen in particular neighbourhoods, plainly point out the connection between the two.

In 119 cases of theft in Lanarkshire, other than that of money and provisions, 106 pawnbrokers and second-hand dealers were in the lists of witnesses.

In 1855, between the 1st and 15th of November, there were stolen within the bounds of the city of Glasgow, 82 gold and silver watches and pieces of plate; 616 articles of clothing and furniture, and of miscellanea, 555: total, 1,253. If we take this as a fair average for the fortnight, it gives a total of 32,666 for the year. Five years afterwards, in 1860, there were 5,559 robberies and thefts committed, the number of articles in each case not being specified, and 3,060 persons were taken into custody charged with theft; ditto, by housebreaking, 163; ditto, attempts at stealing and burglary, 59. Among these there were 299 boys and girls under 15 years of age. One day's list of robberies, viz. for February 4th, 1861, shows 6 watches, 46 articles of bed and body clothing, and 17 miscellanea, all stolen within the city bounds. All these thefts, be it remembered, are articles of plate or clothing only; now provisions may be eaten, and money may be spent, but other stolen goods cannot be utilized until they are turned into cash, and this cannot be effected without the assistance of either the pawnbroker or second-hand dealer, the latter of which is naturally preferred as being the safest party to deal with, and the best able to escape detection. At a place called Paddy's Market, in the centre of Glasgow, a number of low dealers live, who drive a flourishing business, chiefly in old clothes. 'They have no license,' says one witness, 'they keep no register, and they buy up stolen goods with insatiable avidity, asking no questions for conscience' sake.' A very large proportion of stolen goods passes into the old-clothes market, where it is not retained above an hour or two, but is packed up and sent off in bales by the first Irish steamer. By way of corollary to this, we read that a gentleman visiting Belfast was introduced to a respectable shopkeeper, whom he was surprised to find habited in a coat of his own, of rather peculiar cut, which had been stolen from his house a few months before. He mentioned the fact, and the shopkeeper seemed to relish the joke excessively. 'Well, now,' he said, 'it is not so bad as a cousin of mine in Dublin, that bought the most beautiful coat in the market to go to Liverpool in; for he was a bit of a swell in his own way, and bedad he wasn't ten minutes landed when a man came running up with a policeman, and nabbed him for a thief.' This anecdote serves

serves to show the activity and dexterity with which the nefarious system is worked, but such an instance could never have occurred if dealers were compelled to keep a register of their purchases, and produce the articles when desired within a certain number of days after having possession of them. Thieving by domestic servants, according to our police reports, is now becoming a very frequent offence; and in almost every case the pawnbroker or broker is the repository for the stolen goods. In an able article on the subject of servants and tradesmen in the columns of an influential journal,* the following remark occurs: 'Another device of plunder is an instrument of frightful grasp, and has occasionally been employed on a very extensive scale. In two or three instances that have come to our knowledge, servants, who were on the point of leaving, have contrived to plunder their employers of several hundred pounds by ordering expensive articles from their employers' ordinary tradesmen, and pawning them for their own benefit.' An examination into our police reports yields a very formidable list of robberies arising under these circumstances, the pawnshop being almost invariably a principal feature in the history of each case. To poor needlewomen, who are intrusted with work by the slop-sellers, it offers a temptation which is often irresistible, and once yielded to, their character for honesty is destroyed, and there remains little chance for any future employment by which they may gain their bread. Now looking at the question merely from an economical view, surely a system which turns servants and labourers into thieves and criminals, is the cause of a heavy and needless expense to the social community.

Pawnbrokers' shops have been called the poor man's bank. To any one who investigates these matters such a phrase reads like a sarcasm. They should rather be termed the strongholds of usury. The profits of the trade are simply enormous, and the business is one so safe and lucrative, that we may be certain pawnbrokers will never lack in the land. Figures prove that they increase in a much larger ratio than our population does, and at certain periods and in particular districts more than others. From 1833 to 1838 the increase in London was 5 per cent.; in the rest of England and Wales 10 per cent.; in Scotland 70 per cent.! Whether this large per centage in Scotland was owing to the former paucity of pawnshops, so that these being once established, all the floating improvidence, idleness, and drunkenness in the country hastened to take advantage of them, we will not here decide, but would simply suggest, that as it is always better to tax our vices rather than our virtues, an ample field lies before us for additional taxation to be levied on the same principle as that

* 'Saturday Review,' p. 605. 1861.

raised from publicans' spirits and tobacco, that the trade can bear it, and the interests of morality require it. We have said the profits of the trade can bear it, and we proceed to prove it by laying the result of our inquiries before our readers. The sum advanced on any article varies from one-fourth to one-half of the value of it according to the demand for the kind of goods and the chance of its being redeemed. We will take one-third as the average. Any sum under half a crown pays as interest ½*d.* per month or 20 per cent., and so on for every additional half a crown. A very handsome profit for the pawnbroker, and a frightful tax on the borrower if that were all. But any smaller sum than half a crown, 3*d.* or 6*d.* for instance, pays not at the same rate, but the same sum total, and that whether it be borrowed for a day or a week instead of a month; so that 6*d.* advanced on any article, redeemed at the end of the week (as it commonly is if redeemed at all) pays at the rate of 400 per cent. If it is redeemed the same day it pays 2,600 per cent. In any event the pawnbroker cannot lose and must gain by the transaction. If it is not redeemed at all he sells it at the end of a year, and pockets three or four times as much as he advanced. Though there are difficulties in the way of ascertaining how many or how few articles in proportion to those pledged are actually redeemed, arising from an unwillingness in the trade to divulge their secrets, a careful comparison, which we have been enabled to make between the number of pawn tickets issued and the number of articles sold in certain establishments, leads us to the conclusion that four articles out of every ten pledged are never redeemed at all. Let us suppose that two women pledge, one a gown and the other a shawl, worth, respectively, 2*s.* 3*d.* and 3*s.* 9*d.*, for which they receive, one 9*d.* and the other 1*s.* 3*d.*, and a man pawns some of his tools worth 9*s.*, for which he receives 3*s.* The first and last named redeem their goods at the end of a week, one paying ½*d.* the other 1*d.*; the second woman fails to redeem hers at all. The pawnbroker's account stands thus: For the loan of 3*s.* 9*d.* he receives 1½*d.* at the end of a week, which is something like 200 per cent., and against the 1*s.* 3*d.* sunk he has a shawl worth 3*s.* 9*d.* to sell, which leaves him a profit at the end of the year of 2*s.* 4*d.*, on that solitary transaction, allowing 2*d.* margin for interest. Well may the pawnbrokers thrive! well may the borrower be quickly reduced to beggary! Except the gambling tables on the Continent, there is no traffic where the absolute certainty of gain is so entirely on one side.

If the profits of the legitimate pawnbroker are so large, those of the low broker or second-hand dealer, such as we have described in page 242, are even more excessive: they pay for no license, they do not even need a sign-board bearing their name and calling.

calling. A written paper hung in the window only is required, intimating that 'here the best price is given for old metals' (this includes plate, watches, spoons, and rolls of lead), 'hair, wool' (this includes bed-furniture, chair-cushions, &c.), 'and kitchen stuff,' which comprehends all the candles, dripping, groceries, and broken meat which servants can be tempted to purloin from their employers. Many an apprentice lad and servant girl are ruined for life by the easy market thus offered for the disposal of their little pilferings. Owing to the irregular and arbitrary practice of these dealers, so unjust alike to their rival the legitimate pawnbroker and to their customer who receives neither ticket nor guarantee, their profits are of necessity very great, and the business not so hazardous as might be supposed. Unless by some carelessness or accident stolen goods are actually found on the premises, there is nothing to check their prosperity, and even in such an event justice is baulked twice out of three times, for these people never can swear to any one but a policeman; their memories are conveniently short as to the description of party by whom certain articles inquired after were pledged; register of any kind they never pretend to keep; and if by any casualty of this sort, they get into trouble with the magistrates, they have only to pack up their things and betake themselves to a new neighbourhood where they start afresh. A good man's career in life once stopped by misfortune hardly presents such opportunities of beginning again as these scoundrels enjoy.

The above summary bristles with plain figures demonstrating incontrovertible facts. It presents the results of the labours of gentlemen of obvious earnestness and intelligence, and whose position guarantees the extensive nature of their experience; and familiar as those who are engaged in the administration of justice have long been with this state of things, we are persuaded that these disclosures will surprise many whose attention has not been previously attracted to the question.

We fine our statistics to a point wherewith to prick our sins, and too often we commence in a strain of self-depreciation and humility only to end with a shout of exultation; but with writers such as those whose works are under consideration, this practice has never found favour. It is admitted very generally by foreigners that of all nations in the world, none are so bold and candid in confessing their sins of shortcomings and omissions as we are, none so persevering and unflinching in laying bare their moral sores and applying the actual cautery of public discussion, and at first sight one would say that no sign could be more pregnant with good. But a habit of penitence, unless followed by amendment, is not more useful though it may be more becoming than a habit of self-commendation. For the miserable state of things we have described,

scribed, so utterly disgraceful to a Christian country, the remedy seems to be twofold—legislative and social.

It is the fashion now to admit the existence of what are called necessary evils, of which pawnbroking has come to be regarded as one. We have got into the way of thinking so, and once in the groove of this habit of thought, it requires some exertion to quit it, and to ascertain how much of careless indifferentism and moral obtuseness, how much practical and injurious untruth, accumulates in this verbiage. Undoubtedly to remove an evil, be it ever so offensive, in a mode which would create another and a worse, would not be a true social reform. To repress the one and to prevent the other we take to be the actual problem for our statesmen and philanthropists to solve in their respective spheres. To discourage the habit of pawning at all, and to render impracticable the system of pawning, selling, or disposing of stolen goods is what should be aimed at, and what is very possible to effect. The Bill proposed in 1856 by the justices of the eastern district of Renfrewshire having these objects in view appears so far adapted to the purpose that we think it well to give a short analysis of the principal provisions. We ought to remark that ir was proposed to apply it only to Scotland, where the evil is found to be growing intolerable.

Clause 1 provides that no broker or dealer in second-hand wares should trade without a certificate of good character from a householder and justice of the peace, and a license obtained from the magistrates.

Clause 7, that no smelting-pot be kept on the premises.

Clauses 10, 11, 12, that no business be transacted between the hours of 8 P.M. and 8 A.M., nor on a Sunday, nor with any person under fourteen years of age, nor with any person intoxicated, or any married woman known to be such by the broker unless with her husband's consent or in his presence. (The last clause would, we fear, be practically useless.)

Clauses 13, 14, 15, provide for a correct register to be kept of all transactions, that no article shall be altered, sold, or melted, for sixteen days after purchase, and that the register be at all times open to the police. If deception or evasion be practised in the case of stolen goods, the dealer to be proceeded against as receiver or resetter of stolen goods.

Clause 18. No broker to be also a publican, nor is any pawn-ticket to be taken in lieu of goods by a broker without a written transfer and endorsement of name.

Clause 19. In case of reasonable suspicion either broker or pawnbroker may detain the vendor.

Clause 20. License to be suspended on conviction under this Act.

Clause

Clause 21 provides penalty in case of non-payment of fine in imprisonment for periods not exceeding three months.

Clause 25 provides as to the mode of prosecution which is to be at the instance of the procurator fiscal before the magistrates.

The fines for these various offences vary from 5*l.* to 10*l.* Each broker is to pay a fee of 2*s.* 6*d.* on obtaining his annual license. This being an almost nominal sum is evidently intended rather to bring the class effectually under the law than as a repression to the trade or award to the revenue. If these provisions did not prevent dealing in stolen goods, it is clear they would apply a very great check to the system, and it is also obvious that they have no tendency to harass or intimidate the honest dealer, or deprive him of the legitimate profits of his calling.

Another proposition is made by Mr. Macrae, which is so sensible that we recommend it to the consideration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, namely, that the tax on the pawnbroker's license should be considerably raised, and a new one of a proper proportion be imposed upon a broker's license, no broker or second-hand dealer being permitted in future to trade in Great Britain without such license. At present the pawnbroker's annual license pays in London 15*l.*, and elsewhere 7*l.* 10*s.*, while that for bankers is everywhere alike 30*l.* Since the profits of the former are, as we have shown, both larger in proportion and quicker in return than the latter (ranging from 20 to 1300 per cent.), it is difficult to perceive why the inequality should any longer be allowed to exist, neither can there be alleged any good reason why pawnshops in such large and opulent places as Glasgow, population, 333,000; Manchester, population, 320,000; Liverpool, population, 375,955; Birmingham, population over 233,000, should be favoured so much more than London. To raise the tax to 25*l.* or 30*l.* for pawnbrokers' licenses in all places whose population numbered 200,000, and to 12*l.* or 15*l.* elsewhere would make a large addition to the exchequer. A second-hand dealer similarly situated as respects abode, should pay annually 10*l.* or 15*l.* for his license, that license being obtained only on production of a certificate of respectability, and to be forfeited after two convictions for dealing in stolen goods. A stamp on all pawn-tickets and renewals of such tickets commencing at 1*d.* and rising to 6*d.* is also suggested. We think the amount here proposed so high as to defeat its own purpose. A tax of 1*d.* out of 6*d.* to Government is out of all proportion. A better plan would be that pawnbrokers should issue stamped tickets only, which should pay 1½*d.* per dozen for all sums under 1*s.*, and increase in the same proportion for the larger sums. A pawnbroker giving an unstamped or insufficiently stamped ticket should be liable to return the goods in question without payment. By this means the regulation would enforce itself, and we should,

through the Government returns, gain a far more accurate knowledge of the extent of business transacted than is now possible.*

Supposing legislation were attempted in this direction there remains a large margin of work for private individuals. Government does not exist merely to bear the burden of our idleness, nor ought we to lay on the broad back of Cabinet ministers or Members of Parliament that responsibility which we are afraid or unwilling to undertake ourselves. No English Government can legislate in the teeth of the popular desire of the nation; and when it meets with, if not positive hostility, still with lukewarmness or an insincere and inconstant support, its members would be more than men if they commenced a reform for which there was no obvious desire.

Those who aim at social reform ought to urge the introduction of remedial measures, and to accord a firm and distinct expression of support to those who undertake the somewhat difficult task of repressive legislation. Space does not admit of our specifying in detail the various social remedies which are the best adapted to combat the evils of the system of pawnbroking, both in its legal and illegal branches, but we may remark, in conclusion, that the recently-proposed Post-office penny banks appear one eminently well qualified to do so.

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ART. VI.—1. *Statutes at Large.*

2. 24 & 25 *Vict. cap.* 134. *An Act to amend the Law relating to Bankruptcy and Insolvency in England.* 6th August, 1861.

THE regulation of the conflicting interests of debtors and creditors, with justice to both parties, has perplexed the legislators of every age. In the history of Rome we find numerous illustrations of the truth of this observation. The law of Rome in ancient times gave arbitrary powers to creditors over debtors. Bonds, stripes, and imprisonment were the methods employed by creditors to enforce payment of their debts. These measures, as may be supposed, failed in their object. The debtors resented by every possible means the enforcement of the powers given by law to their creditors. Tumults frequently arose from

* In France the pawnshops or Monts de Piété are all under the direct control and care of the Legislature. A government officer is chief of the department, and exercises a decisive authority in all matters pertaining to it. In 1849 a society was formed in Paris, Œuvre du Mont de Piété, for the purpose of aiding the industrious classes by redeeming objects of pressing necessity pledged from want. But, as far as we can ascertain, the amount of good effected by its aid has been small, inasmuch as by this mode of charity, distress is relieved for the moment, but the habit of improvidence is perpetuated.

the

the differences between debtors and creditors. The debtors complained of the harshness of their creditors, and repeatedly demanded that a law should be passed to wholly release them from their obligations. Compliance with this request, however, was never granted. On two occasions debtors were allowed to pay 'brass for silver,' or, in other words, pay only one-fourth of their debts to obtain release from their obligations. At length, by the law of cession, introduced by the Christian emperors, debtors were secured from imprisonment, and bodily punishment, on delivery of all their property to their creditors; and at a later period, debtors were even relieved from this obligation where their inability to pay their creditors was caused by accident.

Leaving, however, the laws of Rome regarding debtors and creditors, we shall now proceed to consider those of our own country. The Anglo-Saxon laws were in many respects similar to those of Rome, though there can be no doubt but that debtors were liable, in certain cases, to be reduced to a state of bondage. A well-known writer on the Anglo-Saxons, Mr. Kemble, on this subject, says: 'I have not found among the Anglo-Saxons any instance of slavery voluntarily incurred by the insolvent debtor, but the whole course of analogy is in favour of its existence, and Marculf supplies us with the formulary by which, among the Franks, the debtor surrendered his freedom to the creditor. It may be presumed that this servitude had a term, and that a certain period of servile labour was considered equivalent to the debt.'

The Normans did not introduce any great alteration in the relations of debtor and creditor. At length, in the reign of Edward I., a considerable change was made on the subject. By the common law no debtor could be arrested until final judgment, but by an Act passed in this reign accountants were made subject to arrest before judgment. The same provision was subsequently extended to debtors generally by a statute of Edward III. When arrested, the debtor was liable to be kept in custody unless he could give security to appear to the action. If the debtor could give no security to appear, he had to remain in custody until he appeared on the day for appearance. On appearance fresh security had to be given by the debtor to abide the judgment of the court, and if unable to do so, he was kept in custody until judgment. If the creditor obtained a verdict the debtor had to pay the amount of the judgment and costs, and if unable to do so was lodged in gaol, where he had to remain until released by the creditor unless the judgment was sooner satisfied. Such is a short outline of the mode of arrest by *mesne* process, which was only abolished when her present Majesty ascended the throne. Although debtors were mostly lodged in gaols, they were in many instances confined in the houses of sheriffs' officers. To these persons the deten[illegible]

debtors was a mine of gold; the charges for board and lodging being most exorbitant. The position of debtors lodged in gaols was still more deplorable.

Words are insufficient to portray the abuses to which that class of debtors was subject. They had to associate in a common room with the criminals in the gaol for several hours of the day, had straw for their bedding, and the floor for a bedstead. To procure food the debtors had to depend on their own resources, those of their friends, or, in more modern times, on an allowance either from the county funds, or the detaining creditor. To the ravages of gaol fever debtors were also exposed, and of those who were attacked by the disease few survived. At length the attention of the Legislature was called to the state of the gaols, and a separation of criminals and debtors took place, the extortion of gaolers was prevented, while peace took the place of discord by gaolers being prohibited from selling strong drink to the prisoners and debtors.

In the reign of Henry VIII. we find the first instance in this country of a bankrupt law. The Act is the 34 & 35 Henry VIII., c. 4, and is entitled, 'An Act against such Persons as do make Bankrupts,' and applies to those who 'craftily obtaining into their hands great substance of other men's goods do suddenly flee to parts unknown, or keep their houses, not minding to pay or restore to any of their creditors their debts and duties, but at their own will and pleasures consume the substance obtained by credit of other men for their own pleasure and delicate living, against all reason, equity, and good conscience.' The chancellor, and two of the members of the privy council, or the chief justices of both benches, upon complaint in writing from the party grieved, were to take order concerning the goods of such offender, and to sell or distribute his effects, so that each creditor had a rateable portion according to his demands. Witnesses might be examined, concealment of property by the bankrupt was to be punished, while outlawry was the result of non-surrender by a bankrupt. The debtor, however, was liable, as before the Act, for all claims of the creditors which might remain unpaid after distribution of his property.

In the reign of Elizabeth traders alone became subject to the bankrupt laws. By an Act passed in the 13th year of that reign, cap. 7, 'Any merchant or other person using or exercising the trade of merchandise by way of bargaining, exchange, barratry, *chévisance*, or otherwise in gross or retail, or seeking his trade by buying and selling, and being a subject born or a denizen who shall depart the realm, begin to keep his house or otherwise absent himself or take sanctuary,* or suffer himself willingly to

* This privilege has long been abolished.

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be arrested for any debt or other thing not due for any just cause or good consideration, or suffer himself to be outlawed, or yield himself to prison, or depart from his dwelling-house, with intent to defraud or hinder any of his creditors being a subject born, of his just debt and duty, shall be taken as a bankrupt.' Commissioners were to be appointed by the Lord Chancellor to carry the Act into execution, with similar powers to those in, and with the same result to the bankrupt as that of, the Act in Henry VIII.'s reign.

This Act of good Queen Bess was, however, found defective, as the 1 James I., c. 15, recites, 'That frauds and deceits, as new diseases daily increase amongst such as live by buying and selling to the hindrance of traffic and mutual confidence to the general hurt of the realm by such as wickedly and fraudulently become bankrupts.' The Act then proceeded to define what should constitute acts of bankruptcy, and empowered the commissioners to arrest the bankrupt wherever he was. In all the Acts to which reference has been made bankrupts are described as 'offenders,' and we need hardly wonder that they were so treated. Accordingly, in the last Act we have cited, we find that, 'If the offender committed perjury to the damage of the creditors he might be indicted, and on conviction was to stand upon the pillory in some public place for two hours, and have one of his ears nailed to the pillory and cut off!' This Act was, however, also found insufficient for its purpose, and a subsequent Act, the 21 James I., c. 19, declares that 'the bankrupt laws were to be construed beneficially for the relief of the creditors of such as become bankrupt,' but we look in vain for any provision insuring to debtors a favourable construction of the statutes. The Act also subjected the wives of bankrupts to examination, and made a fraudulent conveyance of goods by a bankrupt indictable and punishable in the same manner as perjury to the damage of creditors.

In the reign of James I., the first enactment, which afforded any relief to persons not subject to the bankrupt laws, came into operation. By it courts of requests were established and arrests for sums less than 40*s.* prohibited.

The next alteration in the bankrupt laws occurred in the reign of Queen Anne, and was the turning-point in the legislation on the subject. Hitherto, as we have seen, the future property of a bankrupt was liable for all demands of his creditors which remained undischarged by the bankruptcy. By the **4 & 5 Anne,** c. 17, however, a bankrupt, on conforming to the Act, was discharged from all debts due at the time of his bankruptcy. He had also the further advantage of an allowance of 5 per cent. if his effects produced 8*s.* in the pound. This Act, though of temporary duration, was the model for all future legislation on the

At length, in 1825, by 6 Geo. IV., c. 16, all the prior Acts, in number twenty-one, were repealed, and consolidated into one Act. Since the 34 & 35 Hen. VIII., the administration of the bankrupt laws had been intrusted to commissioners, who were generally barristers or solicitors. They were paid 1*l.* each for every sitting. A more objectionable mode of remuneration to officials could scarcely have been devised, as there was no inducement to despatch, and we need hardly wonder that every meeting under this system cost the estate 10*l.* or 2*s.* a minute. The collection of outstanding debts and effects was usually intrusted to one of the creditors; and he, as we may suppose, preferred his own convenience to the interests of the estate. These and other objections to the system caused the 1 & 2 Will. IV., c. 56, to be passed in 1831, by which a court of bankruptcy was established with permanent commissioners, with salaries, in London and other places, and official assignees to administer and collect the effects of the bankrupt. We have now seen that until the reign of Queen Anne the position of bankrupts was no better than that of non-traders, and which we shall now explain.

Except the Court of Requests Act, already mentioned, there is no enactment applicable to non-traders until we come to the 22 & 23 Charles II., c. 20, which directed that prisoners for debt and felons should not be confined together, prohibited extortionate fees, or the supply of victuals by gaolers unless by the debtors' consent, and directed inquiries should be made regarding charities given for the benefit of poor prisoners, and the funds applied for their benefit. The preamble to the Act, however, shows that the fear of pestilence was the chief cause of this notice of non-traders by the Legislature. In 1703, by 2 & 3 Anne, c. 16, insolvent debtors in prison, who did not owe more than 100*l.* to one person, might be released from prison on enlisting in her Majesty's fleet or navy, or procuring a substitute. In 1719, by 6 Geo. I., c. 2, however, insolvents in gaol, at a specified date in that year, were to be discharged by the justices at quarter sessions on taking the oath required by the Act, and delivering a schedule of their property, which was vested in the clerk of the peace for assignment to the creditors. This Act was renewed from time to time. At length, in 1759, the 32 Geo. II., cap. 28 (in some measure a copy of a prior Act), and called the Lords' Act, from having been introduced in the House of Lords, came into operation. The effect of the Act was to release every debtor charged in execution for any sum not exceeding 100*l.* by petitioning the court whence the process issued, and setting forth an account of his estate. The petition was heard at the assizes, if the debtor was confined more than twenty miles from London, when the debtor was examined, and swore to the truth of the schedule.

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The provisions of this Act were subsequently extended to 200*l.*, and ultimately to 300*l.* In 1808, by the Small Debts Act, 48 Geo. III., c. 123, persons having lain in prison for a year in execution on a judgment of any court for any sum not exceeding 20*l.*, could be discharged on application to one of the courts at Westminster in term time. The future estate of the prisoner, with the exception of necessaries, was, however, liable for the deficit. The power of the justices at quarter sessions to discharge insolvent debtors was continued by different Acts, but was in 1812 restricted to cases of prisoners whose debts did not exceed 2,000*l.* or 3,000*l.*, where the prisoner had been in custody for the respective periods specified by the Act; while barristers were appointed to hear all petitions of debtors whose debts exceeded those amounts. In 1813 this system was abolished, and a Court for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors established, and a commissioner appointed, from whom a final appeal lay to one of the judges of the superior courts. Prisoners in custody for three months might petition the court, and annex to the petition a schedule of their debts and effects, and were sworn to the truth of the petition and schedule. The hearing of the petition took place in London or before the justices, and the prisoner was either discharged, or remanded for a lengthened period if proved to have committed the objectionable acts mentioned in the statute. This Act was amended and renewed from time to time. In 1826 additional commissioners were added, and went circuits to hear and discharge prisoners. In 1838 the Lords' Act was virtually repealed by 1 & 2 Vic., c. 110. This statute had also still more important effects. Its objects are declared by the title to be 'to abolish arrest on mesne process, except in certain cases; to extend the remedies of creditors against the property of debtors; and to amend the laws for the relief of insolvent debtors in England.' By this Act the power of arrest previously to final judgment was taken away from a creditor, unless by an order of a judge, and then only when he has a cause of action against the defendant, or has sustained damage to the amount of 20*l.* or upwards, and there is probable cause that the defendant is about to quit England. Thus terminated the disgraceful system of imprisonment before final judgment after an existence of centuries. The Act empowered insolvents to give bail to appear, and to be discharged until the day of hearing. In other respects the proceedings under the Act were similar to those instituted in 1813. The circuits of the commissioners were abolished in September, 1847, and the hearings and adjudication of petitions transferred to the county court judges.

We shall now proceed to give a short account of the law at the present time in regard to debtors and creditors, and then mention the changes which will be made after the 11th October by the new

new Act. We have seen the conditions on which a creditor can arrest a debtor, who is about to abscond, before final judgment. Where a debtor is about to abscond, and the cause of action against the debtor does not amount to 20*l.*, there is much need of protection to the creditor, for unless a county court judge is holding his court when and where the debtor is, in which case an immediate summons may be issued, served, and heard, the debtor may set his creditor at defiance. Where final judgment is not for a debt, the debtor may be arrested, although its amount is not 20*l.*, and after being in prison for one year, may obtain his discharge by the Small Debts Act, already cited. Judgments for debts not exceeding 20*l.* being exceedingly numerous, the operation of the prohibition of imprisonment for those judgments was very extensive, and so numerous were the complaints of tradesmen who were creditors of the injurious effects of the prohibition, that at length a remedy was provided by the 8 & 9 Vic., c. 127. This Act empowered a judgment creditor for a debt not exceeding 20*l.* (exclusive of costs) to summon the debtor before a bankruptcy commissioner, or a judge of an inferior court of record (if possessed of the qualifications mentioned in the Act), and on appearance of the debtor to examine him respecting the manner and time of his contracting the debt, the means or prospect of payment he then had, his ability to pay, and the disposal of his property since the debt was contracted. The commissioner or judge may order the debtor to pay his debt by instalments or otherwise. The debtor may also be sentenced to imprisonment for any period not exceeding forty days in case of non-appearance, unsatisfactory answers, fraud in contracting the debt, no reasonable prospect of payment at the time it was contracted, or concealment or disposition of property to defeat his creditors. Non-traders, who owe less than 300*l.*, may, by petition, obtain protection from the Insolvent Court in London, or in the country from the county court, from process and detention in prison for any debt mentioned in the schedule, which he is required to make, until the case is determined by the court. In the schedule he can only exempt articles of the value of 20*l.* Should the petitioner have contracted his debts by any of the objectionable modes mentioned in the Act, the petition will be dismissed; but if not, a day is named on which a final order of protection is granted.

A non-trader may also obtain protection from arrest on presenting a petition containing the particulars, and the proposition for arrangement required by the Act, to the Court of Bankruptcy, if his petition is signed by one-third in number and value of his creditors. If on a private examination of the debtor the commissioner is satisfied with his answers, two general meetings of the creditors are held. If the requisites with regard to the presence

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of the specified number and value of creditors at the meetings are observed, and an arrangement in writing has been made according to the Act, and performed by the debtor, the commissioner gives the debtor a certificate, and thus a non-trader may protect his future property for unsatisfied demands.

Most insolvent non-traders, however, avail themselves of the 1 & 2 Vic., c. 110, to obtain their discharge. We have already explained the general nature of this Act, but shall now do so with greater detail. The Act is only applicable to prisoners in actual custody within the walls of any prison who present a petition within fourteen days from the date of their imprisonment, or afterwards by leave of the court, praying for their release from such custody according to the Act. The petition must contain the particulars required by the Act, and state the willingness of the prisoner to vest his property in the provisional assignee. If the prisoner does not petition within twenty-one days from the date of the imprisonment, the execution creditor may do so. A vesting order is then made. If the prisoner files a schedule of his property, with the exception of necessaries of the value of 20*l.*, but not otherwise, an order for hearing the petition is made, and to all creditors for at least 5*l.* notice is given of the day of hearing. On the day of hearing any creditor may oppose, who has given notice of opposition, for any of the offences mentioned in the Act. On the hearing, the prisoner is discharged, or remanded to gaol for a time, if the creditor is successful in his opposition. Of the four modes we have described at present available by non-traders for relief from their obligations, only the Private Arrangement Act, will be unrepealed after the 11th October, and will likely be frequently employed where the debtor is honourable, and his creditors are generous. The expense to creditors in carrying into operation the Insolvent Acts has been very moderate, and presents a remarkable contrast to that incurred in the administration of bankrupts' estates.

The great distinctions between bankruptcy and insolvency, as we have seen, hitherto have been that a trader only could avail of the former system, and that a non-trader's future property was liable for debts unsatisfied on his release from gaol. To be made a bankrupt, one of the first requisites is proof of an act of trading. The next essential circumstance is that the proposed bankrupt must owe a debt of the amount specified by the Act; while the third is, the commission of one of the acts of bankruptcy specified in the Act. A petition is next presented, showing the three requisites required by the statute. A specified time is allowed to the bankrupt to dispute the adjudication; and if he does not do so, the adjudication is advertised in the London Gazette. The bankrupt then delivers up his books of account to the official

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assignee, and the bankrupt's effects are seized by the messenger of the court. On adjudication, two public sittings are specified in the advertisement for the bankrupt to surrender and conform. At the first public sitting the bankrupt surrenders (if he have not already done so), debts are proved, and creditors' assignees chosen by the major part in value of the creditors who have proved debts for 10*l.* and upwards. At the second public sitting debts are also proved, the bankrupt may also surrender, and the bankrupt's examination takes place. The property of the bankrupt is also vested in the official assignee jointly with the creditors' assignee. After the bankrupt has passed his last examination he may apply for his certificate, which is granted at a public meeting, of which notice is given. Any creditor may oppose on giving the requisite notice, and the court decides whether the bankrupt is entitled to his certificate. If the decision is in favour of the bankrupt, the certificate may be granted on such terms as the commissioners think fit. There are three kinds of certificates. 1. Where the bankruptcy has arisen from unavoidable losses. 2. Where it has not wholly arisen from unavoidable losses. 3. Where it has not arisen from unavoidable losses. The certificate discharges the bankrupt from all debts existing at the time of the bankruptcy. Private arrangements and composition deeds can also be made and performed under the control of the court.

On comparing the existing systems of bankruptcy and insolvency, the former appears well adapted for the interests of debtors, and the latter for creditors. The principles common to the systems of bankruptcy and insolvency are a summary seizure of the debtor's property, and an equal distribution of it among the creditors. The differences between bankruptcy and insolvency are with regard to imprisonment, and the relief afforded.

With regard to the abolition of imprisonment for debt after judgment, there is much difference of opinion. There is no doubt that many persons will not voluntarily obey the apostolic injunction to 'owe no man anything.' Evidence in support of this opinion was given by witnesses from all points of the compass before the House of Lords.

The reason for confining the relief at present afforded by the bankrupt acts only to traders is thus stated by Sir W. Blackstone in his well-known Commentaries:

'If persons in other situations in life run into debt, without the power of payment, they must take the consequences of their own indiscretion, even though they meet with sudden accidents that may reduce their fortunes. If a gentleman, or one in the liberal professions, at the time of contracting his debts, has a sufficient fund to pay them, the delay of payment is a species of dishonesty, and a temporary injustice to his creditor; and if at such time he has no sufficient fund, the dishonesty and injustice is the greater. He cannot, therefore, murmur if he suffers the punishment he has voluntarily drawn upon himself. But in mercantile transactions, the case is far otherwise. Trade cannot be carried on without mutual

mutual credit on both sides. The contracting of debts is not only justifiable but necessary; and if by accidental calamities, as by the loss of a ship in a tempest, the failure of brother traders, or by the non-payment of persons out of trade, a merchant or trader becomes incapable of discharging his own debts, it is his misfortune and not his fault.'

If no equivalent mishaps to those mentioned by the worthy knight befel traders, the reasoning in the extract would be faultless; but so long as the non-payment of persons *in* trade may cause the failure of those *out* of trade, there is no reason for denying a non-trader the same advantage as a trader in the relief afforded. As an illustration of the operation of the present distinction, and soon to be abolished, let us suppose that a country gentleman has agreed to purchase an adjoining estate, and has deposited the purchase money with his banker. Before the purchase is completed, the banker fails, and possibly with small assets. After the failure the position of the parties is very different. The former must either pay for the estate from other resources, or, if unable to do so, becomes an insolvent debtor, and is at length discharged from gaol in the manner we have described, with his future property liable for the deficit. The banker, on the other hand, hies to the Bankruptcy Court, and in due time appears with his certificate, and entitled to all future property he may acquire. The only way for a non-trader to escape the imputation of dishonesty on failure from those who support the reasoning of Justice Blackstone, would be by giving no credit whatever, and by retaining all his property in his manual possession. Where a non-trader has a fixed income, the reasoning alluded to may be entitled to a slight degree of attention, but even then it is impossible to say what constitutes a sufficient and an insufficient fund to meet engagements. A widow may have a yearly rental of 1,000*l.* from land this year, and next year her tenants may be unable to pay any part of the rent from the failure of the potato crop, a great flood, or other causes. The action and reaction between traders and traders and non-traders and traders have also an immense influence on the pecuniary position of individuals, and can never be correctly foreseen. Political events, too, influence traders and non-traders, and men who believed themselves to have reached the summits of prosperity, have frequently discovered themselves to be in the depths of adversity.

There is also another light in which the question can be viewed. If the risks of traders are greater than those of non-traders, their profits are also greater in proportion. In the case of non-traders, the disadvantage ought to be equivalent to the advantage of traders. If, therefore, the future property of non-traders is liable for unsatisfied debts, so should that of traders; or if traders are entitled to exemption on the ground of risk, so also are non-traders on that of want of profit.

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While these considerations must occur to the mind of non-traders, we need not wonder at their anxiety to avail themselves of the bankrupt acts, and at their ingenuity in proving acts of trading. We have heard of a solicitor who was adjudicated a bankrupt, because being an admirer of the porcine breed, he had on several occasions bought and sold several of those animals. Numerous other curious instances will occur to the mind of the reader, of acts of trading.

The management of the estate of bankrupts and insolvents has also been a fruitful source of discussion. Until 1831 the creditors' assignees had, as we have seen, the exclusive control of a bankrupt's estate. The system was last year described by Lord Overstone as 'that old condition of bankruptcy administration under which the funds were imperfectly realized, kept back, or unjustly distributed; under which improper transactions were concealed, chicanery perpetrated, and some of the creditors paid in full, in order to buy off unpleasant investigation.'

The members of the mercantile world say 'they are the best judges of their own affairs.' But Lord Overstone's remarks are substantiated by undoubted testimony. Under the old system the public would never have heard of the wonderful financial career of the principal house in the leather trade and its branches. Since 1831, the system of official assignees has existed. The duties of an official assignee are thus described by the Royal Commissioners of 1854:

'This officer, chosen for his experience in commercial affairs, and his knowledge of finance and accounts, is employed in the investigation of the bankrupt's books and papers, and of his affairs generally, with a view to secure to the creditors every portion of his estate, and to enable them to resist unfounded claims. In the course of these labours he becomes acquainted with the conduct of the bankrupt, and the character of the bankruptcy, and is often able to furnish the commissioners with trustworthy information. These are duties which cannot be properly and efficiently discharged, except in a fixed office, and they may be advantageously executed in one locality as the centre of an extensive district.'

A great outcry has taken place regarding the expenses of the management of a bankrupt estate, and these have been broadly stated to be 33 per cent. on the proceeds. On investigation, however, the case is very different. According to returns the average charge of official assignees is only 5 per cent., and therefore 28 per cent. of the proceeds are absorbed by the other charges of the court. Under the former system a large portion of the assets of a bankrupt was absorbed by law expenses, for a creditors' assignee would not take any step in the management of a bankrupt's estate without legal advice. To appoint one of the creditors as an assignee besides, is bad policy, as there can be no doubt but that he will attend to his own business first, and then to that of others. As already remarked, the expenses of the system of insolvency are exceedingly moderate, and no creditor can complain on that

that ground of the Insolvent Debtors' Court. He may, however, exercise the Englishman's privilege of grumbling at the infrequency of a dividend from an insolvent's estate. A provisional assignee is appointed, and a creditors' assignee as well, but the latter, in a great measure, collects and distributes an insolvent debtor's property amongst his creditors. There is no want of a motive to exertion on the part of a creditors' assignee, as he is entitled to a liberal commission. The fact that most men, before they allow themselves to be imprisoned for a debt after judgment, have exhausted all their resources, may partly explain the circumstance, but the main cause evidently has its origin from the actual operation of the system of creditors' assignees. It is impossible to state what the average dividend on estates in insolvency may be, as large numbers of debts are scheduled over and over again by different insolvents, whose liability is only contingent, but at a rough estimate it will not exceed 6*d.* in the pound, if as much.

The amount of losses to creditors from debtors of all kinds cannot be far short of seventy millions annually. The legislation affecting such valuable interests cannot be too deliberate, but unfortunately the subject has been treated as the shuttlecock of legislators. At one time the interests of debtors are in the ascendant, at another time those of the creditors. In one age debtors have been treated as criminals, in another they have been considered as entitled to every commiseration. The enactments, too, of the legislature have usually been so imperfectly framed as to 'catch the flies, and let the wasps escape;' or, at other times, have been such as to confound all distinctions between the honest and dishonest debtor. Thus, by the Act of Edward I., accountants, when arrested, were to be put in 'irons,' while the private-arrangement Acts have too often served to hide commercial delinquencies. An Act is passed relating to bankrupts or insolvents, and it is speedily found to be imperfect. A second Act is then passed to amend the shortcomings of the first; and so the course of legislation is continued. From the reign of Henry VIII. to the present time nearly sixty Acts have been passed relating to the subject of bankruptcy or insolvency, but a perfect Act remains to be framed. There were signs in the political horizon of St. Stephen's in 1859 of the change which will shortly take place in the systems of bankruptcy and insolvency. A promise of 'A Bill to assimilate and amend the Law of Bankruptcy and Insolvency,' was made in the Queen's speech at the opening of Parliament in that year. The Bill was accordingly introduced, met with general disapproval, and was accordingly withdrawn. Last year another Bill on the subject was introduced by the present lord chancellor and then attorney-general, with the same object as its predecessor. The Bill contained no less than 538 clauses, met with a strong opposition

opposition on various grounds, but chiefly with regard to the provision for payment of compensations and annuities to former bankruptcy commissioners and officials, and was ultimately withdrawn. The Bill dealt with the whole law of bankruptcy and insolvency—a truly Herculean task. This year the Bill, shorn of a considerable part of its dimensions, was again introduced by the attorney-general. It did not, however, consolidate the law on the subject, but only professed to be an amending measure. The Bill was introduced early in the session, was revised by the House of Lords, and at length received the royal assent. Its principal provision, the appointment of a chief judge, was rejected, while the enactments with regard to creditors' assignees had to be displaced for those for the retention of official assignees as at present, but were finally restored, to prevent the rejection of the measure. The Act will come into general operation after the 11th October.

The Insolvent Debtors' Court will cease to exist on the commencement of the Act, except for the purposes of concluding all matters of insolvency then pending before the court, when the commissioners will retire. All unfinished matters of insolvency before the county courts are also to be completed. The officials, books, and records, as well as the insolvency funds, are to be transferred to the London Court of Bankruptcy. This court will continue to exist, but the commissioners will be reduced to three in number. Provision is made for the transfer to the county courts of the jurisdiction of the district bankruptcy courts upon any vacancy in the office of commissioner, but until then district courts of bankruptcy will exist. The chief feature of the Act is that it is applicable to all debtors, whether traders or not. The principal acts of bankruptcy which may be committed by a non-trader are: going abroad, remaining abroad, and making a fraudulent disposition of property, and in all these cases with intent to defeat his creditors. Provision is made so that no adjudication can take place without the knowledge of the debtor.

With regard to acts of bankruptcy by traders the law will continue much as at present. The amount required for the debt of the petitioning creditor is made applicable to non-traders, so that for the future no single creditor can petition for adjudication, unless his debt is 50*l.* at least. The distinction, however, between traders and non-traders is not entirely abolished, and as the remedies against traders are more summary than those against non-traders the question of trader or non-trader will be the first bone of contention between a debtor and his creditors on entering the portals of the court.

A debtor may petition for adjudication against himself, although without property. On filing the petition he will be adjudged bankrupt and be protected from arrest. The petition will be heard by

by the bankruptcy court of the locality where the bankrupt has resided for six months, or where he petitions against himself and believes that the debts provable under the bankruptcy will not exceed 300*l.*, he will have to petition the county court where he has resided for the preceding period. The London Court of Bankruptcy, however, has power to refer the petition to any district court of bankruptcy or county court without reference to the residence of the debtor. This provision will, it is hoped, prove advantageous to creditors who have hitherto made frequent complaints regarding the inconvenient distance of the district courts.

Creditors will also be glad to learn that the compensations to holders of abolished offices are, for the future, to be paid by a parliamentary vote, and not from the estates of bankrupts. The stamp duties on the petition have also been greatly reduced, and the court fee for every sitting in bankruptcy abolished. On the other hand, deeds of arrangement between a debtor and his creditors are required to be registered in the Court of Bankruptcy, and light registration and bankruptcy stamp fees to be paid.

The classification, for the future, of certificates is abolished. The certificates of the various commissioners of the bankruptcy courts have furnished numerous instances of 'the glorious uncertainty of the law.' A certificate of the first class would be granted in cases where another commissioner would have given one of the second class, or perhaps one of the third class. We need hardly wonder, therefore, at the abolition of the classification of certificates by the legislature. For certificates an order of discharge is to be substituted. This document will, however, be fraught with terror to the dishonest debtor, as the new Act provides that 'in every case where the discharge of a bankrupt shall be suspended, such discharge, when allowed, shall simply state the period for which it was suspended, and the reasons for such suspension; and if the bankrupt shall have been sentenced to imprisonment by any court under the provisions of the Act the discharge shall also set forth the fact of such sentence and the period of such imprisonment.' We have already expressed our misgivings whether the creditors' assignees will perform their duties so efficiently or cheaply as the official assignees. In Scotland, it is true, the system of administration of the bankrupt's estate by a creditors' assignee, who is usually an accountant, has worked remarkably well, but the expense is considerable, and may be estimated at 18 per cent. By the new Act creditors' assignees may be remunerated for their services, but their charges are not likely to be as small as those of official assignees, and which, as we have seen, average 5 per cent. The creditors' assignee may be required to [redacted] and his accounts are to be audited [redacted] assignee. On the other hand, the [redacted]

pointment, is to audit the accounts of the official assignee to the date of appointment—a singular illustration of the saying, 'Diamond cut diamond.' The latter will collect all debts under 10*l.*, circulate the accounts, and act alone after the discharge of the creditors' assginee.

The power of judgment creditors to imprison debtors will also be much restricted. For the future no debtor need remain in gaol for more than a limited period, when he will be compulsorily examined, adjudicated a bankrupt, and released from gaol. The adjudication will then proceed, as in other cases. The period of confinement will vary, whether the debtor is a trader or not. County Court debtors, and debtors committed under 8 & 9 Vict., c. 127 (already explained), are not entitled to the benefits of the Act. Poor prisoners may petition without the payment of fees. Judgment creditors henceforth for 50*l.* will rarely exercise their power of imprisonment, but will prefer to issue a month after signing judgment a judgment summons requiring the debtor to appear and be examined respecting his ability to satisfy the debt. If the debtor do not arrange the matter to the satisfaction of the creditor before appearance he may be adjudged a bankrupt.

The most useful provisions are those which enable the court to grant the order of discharge to a debtor subject to any condition as to his future income and property, and declare that the payment of the expenses incurred in prosecuting misdemeanours under the Act shall be paid out of the county rates.

The power to the court to imprison the bankrupt for one year for carrying on trade by means of fictitious capital, for bringing about his insolvency by rash and hazardous speculation, or unjustifiable extravagance in living, although the bankrupt may have been indicted for misdemeanour under the criminal clauses and acquitted, will tend much to promote sound views among traders and non-traders in an age like the present of luxury and extravagance.

On the whole, the Act is a step in the right direction, but its enactments are imperfectly framed, and will, ere long, require amendment. As has been well observed, however, 'to allow an insolvent debtor to invoke the bankruptcy laws without having any estate to give up to his creditors, and to choose his own time for resorting to the court, must be productive of the most mischievous consequences.' To have passed into law a measure introducing such important changes as those we have mentioned in the law of bankruptcy and insolvency amid the conflicting interests of traders, non-traders, judges, officials, and lawyers, is no slight achievement for a ministry; and we can only express a hope that before another year has passed its mischievous consequences will be obviated, so as to prevent men from vainly attempting to 'stave off the evil day' to the last moment, and so injuring their creditors.

ART.

## ART. VII.—THE SOCIAL SCIENCE CONGRESS.

THE fifth Annual Congress of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science was held this year in Dublin under the distinguished presidency of Lord Brougham. The attendance was numerous, the discussions lively, and the subjects all of great practical moment to social science. Lord Brougham delivered one of those eloquent and comprehensive addresses for which he has long been famous, and sketched, as he has done at each assembly of the Association, the progress of social science during the year. We cannot do full justice to that elaborate and copious production, which touched upon all the departments into which the Association is divided, and the multifarious subjects included in each. We feel bound, however, to present our readers with a few extracts. After a graceful reference to the country in which the Congress had met, his Lordship referred to the slow progress of social reform.

'It now becomes my duty to note the progress which social science has made during the last year, and its present state and prospects. We are met again by the complaint that few of the plans proposed by us have been accomplished, and that, of the measures originating in our labours, many have failed to pass through the Legislature. But the progress of all the sciences and arts is slow, because their improvement is necessarily gradual. Our limited faculties can never reach at once the utmost excellence of which they are capable, and their exercise can never complete suddenly any great work, but must proceed by steps towards its accomplishment. In the whole circle of science you find gradual progress to be the rule. Thus the vast changes which Newton made in the mathematics and in physical science were effected after others had made a near approach to the same point. The Calculus, in itself so great an extension of analytical science, and in its consequences producing such a revolution in all the exacter sciences, had, above a quarter of a century before its invention, been nearly discovered by Cavalleri and Roberval, and still more nearly by Fermat, and some years later most nearly of all by Barrow; while the doctrine of gravitation, and its explanation of the heavenly motions, had been approached, at any rate had the way prepared for it, by Galileo, Kepler, Huyghens, Borelli; and even his optical discoveries had been partially anticipated by Krontaud of Prague, and Antonio, Bishop of Spalatro. The science of chemistry, from the dreams of the alchemists to the erroneous theory of Stahl, made slow progress, and by successive improvements was freed from those errors, and grew into the science which Black, Priestley, Lavoisier, and Davy brought to its present state. The great rule of gradual progress governs the moral sciences as well as the natural. Before the foundations of political economy were laid by Hume and Smith, the French economists had made a great step towards it, and Turgot had himself worked, and as a Minister had patronized the labours of others in the same direction. Again, in constitutional policy, see by what slow degrees the great discovery of representative government has been made from its first rude elements,—the attendance of feudal tenants at their lord's court, and the summons of burghers to grant supplies of money. Far from being impatient at this slow progress, we ought rather to reflect that the sure advance of all the sciences depends in a great measure upon its being gradual. But the common law of our nature, which forbids the sudden and rapid leaping forward, and decrees that each successive step prepared by the last shall facilitate the next, is in an especial manner of importance and of value in the social sciences, which so nearly affect the highest [illegible] mankind. Here our [illegible] must be guided by the [illegible]

ence, and must always be of a tentative kind. We must even be prepared to change our direction and our pace, and to retrace our steps when we find we have gone too far in a wrong direction. The skilful navigator, when steering on an unknown coast, after taking all precautions to obtain information respecting it, having no chart, or none that can be relied on, proceeds with the lead ever in his hand, and the glass at his eye, lies to, when he can, at night or in a fog, and has his sails and his helm always ready to change his course on the least indication of peril. The safety of his ship and crew depends upon such precautions; and the safety of the community depends upon all proposed improvements, which are changes, being first most maturely considered, and, when adopted, being carried into execution by such advances as shall give time for correcting errors, or stopping short, or altering the course pursued, when actual experience proves it to be wrong. . . . He is no friend to the advance of social science in any of its branches, who hastens forward with heedless, unreflecting speed, despising all that is gained, because it is less than all that he desires, and looking down with contempt upon those whom he passes in his impatient course. This spirit, so inimical to real, solid improvement, sometimes is the fruit of zeal without knowledge, but not unfrequently arises from mere selfish desire of distinction, when a man, sacrificing a great cause to his personal ambition, becomes a public enemy—

'Vainglorious, who through infamy seeks fame.'

For this is one of those occasions in which vanity, from being as it commonly is, a harmless folly, only ridiculous, rises into a crime, becoming selfish, unprincipled, pernicious, and disgraceful.'

His lordship then referred to the real progress in each department. In the AMENDMENT OF THE LAW, a gratifying change had taken place, and we are now near the long looked-for consolidation of our Statutes. To Education, the Association had performed some important service. It has aided the repeal of the duty on paper. 'We can no longer be charged with, at one and the same time, paying for schools to teach and raising the price of the books taught — of encouraging the people to read—of patronizing authors and multiplying readers, while we make it unprofitable for the former to write, and hard for the latter to read.

* * * *

'A further and an important advantage has been gained by the last Congress for the interests of education. The progress of popular instruction had been grievously obstructed by the separate and oftentimes conflicting proceedings of its promoters, attached, and conscientiously attached, to different sects of religion, acting in opposition to each other, though, if brought together, and to a clear understanding, they might, from their honest zeal for a common object, have been led to co-operate, or, at least, not to conflict. This great step was made in the Congress at Glasgow. For the first time the leaders of the Established Church party, of the Free Church party, and of the United Presbyterians, met together and maintained their respective views before the members of the Association. The result was the formation of a representative committee (of the chief denominations), whose labours there is every reason to expect will lead to a reduction of the points of difference, and a removal of the main obstacles to progress. Both at that meeting and at Bradford, the important advantage was gained of bringing the ecclesiastical school-teachers in more full communication with the laity, and with the professors of sanitary science.

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'In our Sanitary department considerable progress has been made. The Quarantine Committee have brought their labours to a close, and presented an elaborate report. It has been communicated to the Board of Trade, which had formerly directed to be laid before Parliament the answers to our queries, and it has laid this report before Parliament, which has ordered it to be printed. The information collected, and the suggestions made, are admitted to have essentially improved the sanitary condition of our mercantile marine. The report will be read by the learned secretary of the committee, Dr. Milroy. The diffusion of sanitary knowledge is a most important part of the duties of this department: and as the Association has from the first desired and accepted the co-operation of women, the council have had no doubt in affiliating the Ladies' Sanitary Society, which acts under the highest patronage, and

spreads

spreads among the poor a knowledge of the laws of health; it being now admitted that much of debility, disease, and premature mortality in this country results from ignorance and error, and might be prevented.

'The Criminal and Reformatory Department presents very satisfactory results; and it may be fit at this meeting that we dwell more especially on the Irish branch of the subject. The number of reformatory schools is but small, and it is devoutly to be wished that they were multiplied. But the diminution of crime in this island of late years is most satisfactory; and allowing that the great migration, since the famine years, has had much influence, enough of the improvement remains to reflect the greatest credit upon the instructors of youth and the ministers of religion. The decrease in the number of the people makes any comparison of the commitments for offences inconclusive, unless we regard the proportion of these to population. They were, in 1856, as 1 to 923 of the people; in 1859, as 1 to 1117; and in 1860, as 1 to 1217. The number of juvenile offenders decreased in a still greater proportion. Pre-eminence among the subjects engaging our attention must, in some degree, be determined by local circumstances; and we this year assemble in a capital that affords the opportunity and imposes the duty of inspecting the operation of the Irish convict system, which has received the attentive consideration, not of Great Britain only, but of the Continent of Europe, and of the United States of America. In truth, it well deserves all the praise it receives wherever the public mind is awakened to the paramount duty of making such exertions as may render the punishment of the criminal the instrument of his reformation. Here the problem has been solved how to deal with convicts, and send them forth cured, instead of subject to relapse, infecting others—criminals and the teachers of crime. Of this system, under the board of directors, with Captain Crofton at their head, and his able colleagues, Messrs. Lentaigne and Whitty, the fundamental principle, simple and rational, long ago laid down by that experienced judge, and steady patron of the system, Mr. Hill, is to make the convict the agent of his own reformation by annexing the condition of good conduct to every indulgence beyond the barest sustenance, to removal from cellular to social labour, and to shortening the period of his confinement. His fate is placed in his own hands. But he is not merely superintended and watched; he has constant intercourse with those in authority, as chaplain, teacher, director, whose treatment is considerate and kindly; he is treated as an individual, not as one of a mass; and this 'individualization,' as it is termed, has great advantages over our English mode of dealing with the whole convicts in the bulk—the same advantage that a school of many teachers and few pupils has over one where a large number are under a single master. Another superiority is in the rigour with which the conditions of liberation are enforced on the 'ticket of leave' men; arrest being at once enforced on the least breach of the conditions. A third is the absolute prohibition of all fermented liquors, even to those who for their good conduct have earned a small advance out of the fund set apart from their gains kept till the time of their discharge. Mr. Clay, in the Memoirs of his Father (many years chaplain of the Preston gaol, whom I well knew, and, in common with all who knew him, held in the highest esteem for his virtuous life and most useful services), in comparing the English and Irish returns, has remarked that the former take-all ticket-of-leave men as unconvicted against whom nothing appears, whereas the latter more accurately give the result of the information taken by tracing the party ever since his liberation. This diversity prevents us from making any comparison between the numbers in the two cases; but the different results of the two systems may be gathered from the fact that at Lusk we see numerous convicts set to work, and only retained by moral restraint, without any sentinels, while at Portland we see the convicts quarrying stones for the breakwater under the guard of sentinels with muskets and bayonets, and on the breakwater itself, which is more difficult to guard, free labourers, and not convicts, are employed. Another test of the Irish system may be stated as decisive—the confidence of the public in the reality and the permanence of the reformation effected, in[illegible] discharged convicts at once [illegible] ployers willing to receive [illegible] rience proving that the[illegible]

upon as steady and trustworthy servants. The statement that has been put about, that the Irish plan is only adapted to the local circumstances of the country, has been entirely refuted by a reference to the adoption and support of the system abroad. Baron Holtzendorff, professor in the University of Baden, has published an excellent work upon it, and intends to honour this Congress with his presence. The celebrated jurist, Professor Mittermaier, of Heidelberg, has given his ample and zealous testimony in Captain Crofton's favour; and Count Cavour, in the midst of all his labours and anxieties, during the last two years of his life applied himself to master the principles of the system, which he introduced, under Cavalier Peri, into the Tuscan territory. Truly we may reckon among the best friends of humanity those who effect the great work of making punishment conducive to the only purpose which we can with any certainty reckon upon its accomplishing.

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'In the great department of SOCIAL ECONOMY much attention was at the last Congress given to the important introduction into the manufacturing districts of the co-operative system—the establishment of unions by the working classes, for the purpose of sharing in the profits on the goods consumed or used by them, as well as of preventing adulteration of those goods, and for the other purpose of carrying on branches of manufacture. In both these kinds of union the progress has been very great since last year; and in the latter those doubts which seemed to exist of the scheme's practicability have been almost altogether removed. Above fifty companies for manufacture have been established since last Congress, besides many of mere stores. In these last a capital of 500,000*l.* is invested; but in the former the manufacturing concerns represent a capital of nearly 2,000,000*l.*, exclusive of the Manchester Cotton Company (limited), whose capital is 1,000,000*l.* The returns of Mr. Tidd Pratt show the creation of above 250 co-operative societies within the last twelve months, all enrolled under the Friendly Society Act. It is not wonderful that the members of such unions should be of an educated class, but that they should often exercise themselves in literary labours is remarkable. Besides entering into competition for the prizes offered by the 'Dial' newspaper, and by Mr. John Cassell, whose volume of above twenty working men's essays I have just received, the working men of Manchester carry on a monthly journal of co-operative progress, without the help or interference of any other class.

* * * *

'It is important to observe that, with another subject anxiously dwelt upon, as well as strikes, at all our former meetings, the great cause of TEMPERANCE has been intimately and most naturally connected. Not only are such of the contributors as had before been subject to intemperance weaned from their habits, but it is mainly to temperate habits that the formation of these unions may be traced. Exceptions there may, no doubt, be; but, as a rule, co-operative societies are composed of sober and industrious men. It is equally consolatory to find that the improvement of health, the extirpation or mitigation of disease, everywhere keeps pace with the increased habits of temperance. But in no respect is it more gratifying than to observe the connexion of temperance with the diminution of crime. In France, it appears, from our colleague, Mr. Quetelet's statement, that no less than a-fifth of all the murders during the last four years had their origin in tavern brawls. In six English counties having the fewest public-houses, we find that, where they were as 1 to 109 of the population, the offences are as 1 to 591: but where the public-houses are as only 1 to 235, the offences are as 1 to 762. In Ireland, the connexion of intemperance with crime is even more marked. Between the years 1838 and 1841, the consumption of whisky had fallen off above one-half, and we find, in the latter year, judges congratulating the counties on the small number of prisoners to be tried, and ascribing this happy change to the growth of temperance. So, in 1839, there were in Richmond Bridewell 3202 prisoners, in 1841 only 1604. It is remarkable, though certainly not surprising, that the prudence which leads to economy kept pace with the prudence of sobriety. In the former year the Dublin Savings Bank had 7264 contributors; in the latter 9585. Source of disease, of poverty, of crime! —how long shall the heavy curse be suffered

suffered to afflict us? How long shall we submit to a conqueror more cruel than the armed invader—to a tyrant the most inexorable of all, which has subdued rational men, and avenged the world of unreasoning creatures for the wrongs received at his hands?

Sævior armis
Luxuria incubuit; victumque ulciscitur orbem.

The little we have done to shake his dominion has only been enough to let us know and feel how galling is the yoke, and how much the fault is ours who bear it. The people have but to will it and they at once are free. All honour to Father Mathew in Ireland, and to the Grand Alliance in England, its learned secretary, and his able coadjutors!'

At this portion of his address his Lordship used the following words regarding this Review, which we must regard as at once highly complimentary and encouraging to the conductors of 'Meliora,' and at the same time showing Lord Brougham's view of its claims upon the public:—

'*Nor can I duly perform my office at the head of this association if I do not enjoin it as a duty incumbent on all its members and on every well-wisher to the progress of social science to patronize Mr. Steel's most ably conducted quarterly journal of all its branches.*'

The temperance question in its legislative aspects drew forth the following remarks:—

'But why should I refer to other branches than this great and fundamental one of Temperance? Recollect the memorable words of our learned colleague, that great philanthropist, Mr. Recorder Hill, who, in all his various efforts to serve the people, providing for their comforts and reclaiming them from vice, declares—"Into what path soever I strike, in whatever direction I go, the Drink Demon starts up before my face and stops the way." I have said that the community have but to will it, and their chains fall off. The progress of the Grand Alliance, since our last Congress, has been my encouragement to say so. The Permissive Bill, allowing every district, by a majority in number and value of rated inhabitants, to prevent the opening of new public-houses, or the continued licenses for old, has, on a careful canvas for many great towns—Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Plymouth, Leeds, Sheffield—been accepted by very great majorities of the inhabitants, and by the greater number of the voters. Let us hope that the public opinion generally improved upon the most important question of Social Science which can occupy the country may prepare the way for legislation, which, to be efficacious, must be cautiously introduced, and under appropriate guards.'

The employment of women, early closing, the Saturday half-holiday, were next reviewed, and a reference made to the sixth department on international subjects lately added to the programme of the Association. This naturally led to the American war and the abolition of slavery, on the last of which Lord Brougham's opinions are matter of history. In conclusion, his Lordship said:

'The past lends encouragement to the future. Let us then persevere to the end. But let us not forget that all our efforts to improve the condition of our fellow-creatures, and make them worthy of their destiny, are as nothing compared with the progress in higher things. These are the great aim and end of our being. In all our pursuits, in our whole existence, an instinctive sense attends us that we are unsatisfied. The want of somewhat permanent ever haunts us. Whatever exertions we have made, whatever success had, whatever gratification received, only makes us feel how hollow it all is—how much we desire that which endures. The scenes of early days, which we revisit, now become dim from time, peopled with the forms of those whose memory they sadly recall, make us long for the bright scenes that can never fade, and for rejoining friends to part no more. The present doubt, and the struggle, and the darkness, is for the hour; the prospect is cheering, and it is for ever; and so it is with our National Association, which commands our allegiance, and justifies the hopes it inspires. Undaunted by resistance—undisturbed by faction—undismayed by real coldness or affected contempt, we persevere in our course of social labour; but we lift our views higher, to scenes far above the darkness of ignorance that shrouds one region, the mists of doubt that obscure, the storms of passion that vex another, and behold the lofty summit shining in the faith and adoration of God, glowing with universal benevolence to man. "As some tall cli[redacted]

gladly pronounce these noble lines in the land which gave them birth)—

As some tall cliff, that lifts its awful form,
Swells from the vale, and midway leaves the storm;
Though round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,
Eternal sunshine settles on its head.'

The thanks of the very large meeting, composed of all classes, to Lord Brougham, were moved by His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, seconded by the Duke of Wellington.

On the subsequent days, the Congress broke up into its several departments, into which we shall now follow it.

### I. Jurisprudence and Amendment of the Law.

The Right Honourable Joseph Napier, the president of this department, delivered his inaugural address. The Amendment and Consolidation of Law were his chief topics, and he glanced at some of the gross anomalies in our legislation—the state of the law of marriage in the three kingdoms; and urged that on this subject the same law should rule in all. We quote the following remarks from his address:—

'"In reality" (says our great countryman, Edmund Burke), "there are two, and only two, foundations of law, and they are both of them conditions without which nothing can give it any force—I mean Equity and Utility. With respect to the former, it grows out of the great rule of equality, which is grounded on our common nature, and which Philo with propriety and beauty calls the mother of justice. All human laws are, properly speaking, only declaratory; they may alter the mode of application, but they have no power over the substance of original justice. The other foundation of law, which is utility, must be understood not of partial or limited, but of general and public utility, connected in the same manner with and derived directly from our rational nature." This is not merely speculative; it is the wise exposition of one who has taught us that "nothing is desirable that is not practicable;" it is a general sketch of the law as it ought to be. Let us glance at our law as it actually exists—the incongruous heap of enactments which have been huddled together, during centuries,—some obsolete, some effete, some which have never effected their professed purpose; new laws thrust in to meet some special emergency, without regard to those already in force, still less to general or remote consequences; impolitic in their conception, defective in their structure and expression; text law diffused and uncertain, and too often of mere private interpretation; adjudged cases, accumulated in a confused heap; authority impaired by conflicting and discredited decisions, which help to perpetuate the evils that have been brought into the very bowels of our jurisprudence. Two centuries and a half have elapsed since the amendment of the law engaged the attention of Lord Bacon, and in succeeding times Hale and Prynne, Bentham and Mackintosh, Romilly and Brougham, have kept on foot a standing protest against the complexity, the incoherence, the still graver defects of a system of laws which ought to be a model of jurisprudence for the civilized world. Lord Bacon's elevated and comprehensive mind sketched the outline of a great reform: the statute law to be expurgated, classified, and consolidated; the common law to be digested and methodized; a standing commission to be set up in aid of current legislation. In later times commissions for the occasion have been impulsively appointed, and have been used rather (as I may say) to stop some troublesome leak than for sufficient repair. This palliative policy has but postponed the demand for an adequate remedy. Notwithstanding all that has been done since our noble President entered upon the warfare of law amendment, there remains a wide waste to be reclaimed. The weeds increase and multiply; dust and defilement accumulate; when will the good work of clearance and cultivation be taken up with the spirit and in the way which can insure success?'

Of the business in this department the following brief report may be given:—

Mr. Heron, in the absence of Mr. Arthur Symonds, read a paper on 'The Constitution of Tribunals.' The writer contended that the whole system of the administration of justice in England, Ireland, and Scotland ought to be consolidated. There should be only one profession of advocates and agents for the United Kingdom, and Parliament should have attached to it a Minister and Commissioner of Justice.

Mr. Whiteside, Q.C., M.P. then read a paper on the criminal law in which he

he dwelt upon the cruelty by which it was characterized down to the present generation, and traced the progress of its mitigation by the labours of Bentham, Romilly, Mackintosh, Brougham, and Peel. He gave a history of recent commissions for the consolidation of the criminal law, alluding to his own labours, and those of his colleague, Mr. Napier. In the course of an interesting address he strongly condemned the confiscation of property as a punishment in cases of treason, as it caused the innocent to suffer. Referring to a debate in the Lords, in which Lord Brougham was engaged, Mr. Whiteside said he was present, and was so delighted with a speech of Lord Brougham's that he was very nearly misconducting himself in the gallery, on which Lord Brougham promptly remarked that it reminded him of a case when Mr. Fox was so excited by a debate in the Lords that he spoke, and was in danger of being committed, when Rogers said to him, 'I wish you had spoken a great deal more, even though you were committed.'

The Recorder of Birmingham addressed the meeting on the subject of the improvement of the criminal law. He referred to a case that occurred when Lord Brougham was chancellor. A person found guilty of forgery was sentenced to death. The recorder went to the chancellor's private residence and entreated him to use his influence with the Government to obtain a commutation of the sentence. 'The case is so bad,' said the chancellor, 'that if this criminal escapes death no man can ever again be hanged for forgery in England.' 'For that very reason,' replied Mr. Hill, 'I am the more urgent that he should escape.' Lord Brougham went to a meeting of the cabinet and succeeded; and no man suffered death for the crime of forgery since, the capital punishment having been abolished two years after.

Baron Holtzendorff read a paper, 'On Public Prosecutions in Prussia.' No prosecution could be commenced there unless it was taken up by the public prosecutor, who might refuse to do so, and then the injured party had no remedy. But, on the whole, the system worked well. Lord Brougham said:—

'Though there might be defects in the Prussian system, the institution of public prosecutors was of very great benefit; and the worthy vice-president would, he was sure, agree with him in thinking it very desirable to have a responsible Minister of Justice for this country. The want of such a system was a very great defect in England. He could take no blame to himself in this matter, for one of the last efforts he made before quitting office was to introduce a system of public prosecutors; but it was thought too large a step to take at once to involve the whole country in a system of public prosecutors. He might refer to the case of Scotland as well as of Ireland, and in neither country did the defect alluded to as operating in Prussia exist. In Scotland, the private prosecutor was technically required to obtain the "concurrence" of the Lord Advocate, but that concurrence was never withheld, unless in extraordinary cases, in which there was obvious cause for so doing.'

The Solicitor-General read a paper giving a History of the Landed Estates Court, and pointing out its advantages. The following extracts will give an idea of it:—

'The jurisdiction was, as is well known, originally created in order to sell encumbered estates, they being unsaleable by the ordinary means, in consequence of the state of this country in the year 1848; and in the first stage of the proceedings of the Court, petitions were, for the most part, those of encumbrancers; gradually the proportion of owners' petitions increased, and we find that the entire number of petitions presented from the commencement to August 1858, when the Encumbered Estates Court was changed into the Landed Estates Court, was 4,413. Of these, 800 were supplemental, withdrawn, and dismissed petitions—in all, 3,613; of which the number presented by owners was 1,363; and of the first 100 petitions only six were presented by owners; of the last 100, 47 were presented by owners. The commission was originally only for five years; it was extended from time to time, and in 1855, when the Court had been seven years in operation, a commission was issued by the Crown to inquire whether it was expedient that this should be made permanent. It appeared before that commission that owners actually created encumbrances upon their property in order to be able to sell it with a parliamentary title.

give now a statement of the amount of duty received from the commencement of the Landed Estates Court to the 1st of August, 1861, by which it appears that the total was a sum of 11,270*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* for the two years and nine months ending the 1st of August, 1861. The amount of business transacted in the Encumbered Estates Court, from its commencement to its close, was as follows:—Petitions, 4,413; absolute orders for sale, 3,547; number of conveyances executed, 8,364; number of Irish purchasers, 8,258; number of English, Scotch, and foreign purchasers, 324. Gross proceeds of sales, 23,160,000*l.*; of which was paid by English, Scotch, and foreign, 3,160,000*l.*, leaving 20,000,000*l.* representing Irish capital invested in the land. Number of Chancery suits stopped, 1,298. All these funds were distributed. I now give a statement of the amount of business done from the commencement down to August, 1861, which has been supplied to me by Judge Longfield's examiner, from which it appears, that 1,945 petitions were fiated, 1,213 titles read, 1,121 estates sold for 12,324,977*l.*, 1,045 schedules filed, and 12,103,806*l.* paid out, &c. The next question of interest is, what has been the expense of these operations? From a statement of the costs, furnished from the taxing officer, it appears, that there was an outlay on that account of 813,797*l.*, including the cost of surveying and advertising. The costs vary very much, but the average of the costs are about 3*l.* 10*s.* per cent. on the purchase-money. The result of the entire operations of the Court has been that there is a Parliamentary title established to about 3,200,000 statute acres of Ireland, or about one-sixth of its area; and a sum of 28,000,000*l.* of purchase-money has been distributed.'

Mr. Whiteside, M.P., read a paper on the same subject, and expressed concurrence in the same views.

Mr. B. C. Lloyd read an interesting paper on the Admiralty Court.

The Hon. Judge Lynch read one entitled 'A Short Inquiry into the Principles of the existing Bankrupt Code of this Country, and an Exposition of its Utility in Administering the Trust created between Debtor and Creditor.' Mr. D. C. Heron, Q.C., discussed the question, 'Should the accounts of joint-stock companies be audited by a public officer?' and showed how many frauds had recently been committed in companies by their clerks.

'It is very easy to plunder these companies; and the punishment of the swindler is very little consolation for the persons who lose their money. I propose, therefore, that all joint-stock companies should be subject to the inspection and audit of a public office, which might be made one of the permanent departments of the Board of Trade. The companies themselves recognize the principle of publicity by holding half-yearly meetings and publishing half-yearly balance-sheets. There could be no sound objection that these should be audited and verified by a Government officer, responsible to the Government for the proper discharge of his duties. Unless some such means be adopted, joint-stock frauds will increase with the number of joint-stock companies.'

Papers on several departments of the Bankruptcy Law were also read.

The relations of the Bars of England and Ireland was introduced by Mr. T. M. Meekins, of the English bar, who advocated amalgamation; but the Section did not sympathize with his views.

'Observations on the Proposal of Admitting the Evidence of accused Persons on their Trial,' were read by Mr. P. J. M'Kenna, which elicited a warm discussion, in which distinguished lawyers took part.

Mr. J. C. Smith, a Scotch advocate, read a paper on the Scotch marriage law, and defending the system. Dr. Waddilove discussed the law of marriage and divorce in the three kingdoms; and Mr. O'Connor Morris read a comprehensive and masterly paper on the marriage law of the empire. These elicited a lively discussion.

Lord Brougham said that the principal defect of the Scotch marriage law was the want of deliberation. It permitted marriages to be contracted without the slightest previous deliberation. Want of publicity was another objection. Attempts had been made to amend the law by requiring a certain previous residence in Scotland. In 1837 the Scotch bench and bar consented to a bill which was introduced that year, but so late that it did not pass, and, as he apprehended, that consent was withdrawn before the following session. He was once defending a man

a man in relation to a Scotch marriage, and in the course of his speech stated that the jury ought not to think ill of Scotch irregular marriages, for the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Lord Privy Seal had made runaway marriages in Scotland. The judge said he did not believe it. He subsequently informed the judge that the three distinguished personages were Lord Eldon, Dr. Sutton, and Lord Westmoreland, who had also been Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

## II.—Education.

This department was presided over by the Right. Hon. Sir John Shaw Lefevre, K.C.B., who delivered a lengthy and instructive address on the subject, of which the following is an extract:—

'I think that I may remark, without fear of contradiction, that the present time is peculiarly favourable for the consideration and adoption by the public and the Government of any suggestions which may originate from this Association on the all-important subject of education. There never was a period in which there existed a greater fermentation of public opinion on any subject of social economy. There never has been a subject of social economy involving the immediate and prospective welfare of so large a mass of the population. There never has been a subject upon which there has been greater unanimity as to the object to be attained, and a greater diversity of opinion as to the means of obtaining it. The recent commission on the state of popular education tell us that in England and Wales there are, in round numbers, 59,000 week-day schools, with two millions and a half of scholars on their books, nine-tenths of whom are the children of the poorer classes. The Commissioners of National Education in this portion of the United Kingdom speak of 800,000 children in 1859 on the rolls of the 5,400 schools then within their cognizance. I advert to these enormous numbers, not only as showing the magnitude of the subject, but as indicating the great value even of any single suggestion for facilitating elementary instruction, multiplied as it may be by the numbers of those who may receive benefit from it. Turning from these vast numbers of schools and scholars, let us consider for a moment their multifarious variety. At the lowest step of the ladder we have the infant schools; next to these we may place the ragged schools, the reformatory schools, the workhouse schools; and then, in their successive order, the national and parochial schools in the various parts of the kingdom, the middle-class schools, the public schools, the colleges, and, lastly, the universities. Every one of these institutions has, during the last few years, occupied more or less the attention both of private individuals and of the public. Many have been set on foot and supported by private means, by benevolent and public-spirited associations; others have been assisted from the public resources; almost all have undergone searching inquiry by royal or by parliamentary commissions, and have been reformed and improved by active legislative measures. But this is not all that has been done by education. The like activity has been displayed in reference to the final stage of education —I mean professional education. This, in its many branches, has undergone similar investigations and similar experimental changes. The English Inns of Court have occupied themselves with the consideration of legal education. I may venture to say, in passing, that their progress has been somewhat slow, and their advances most cautious, notwithstanding they have been advised by a royal commission, in which the illustrious jurist, the late Lord Chancellor of Ireland, took a distinguished part, and notwithstanding they have had the advantage and the successful experience of the excellent arrangements both in the King's Inns and in Edinburgh, for the due education of the Bar. Much more activity has been displayed by the medical profession in securing for all its members sound courses of instruction under the regulations of the council established under the new Medical Act. If it were advisable, I might enumerate many other instances. I might notice the preparatory training for military officers, their examinations on admission into the service, the examinations and training for the civil service in this country and India, to which I shall presently and particularly advert, the extensive organization for education in practical science and art as applicable to manufactures, and the enforcement of adequate instruction [redacted] to be intrusted with [redacted]

mercantile marine of this country. All these various schemes of education are at this moment more or less occupying the attention of the classes to which they relate. Old prejudices are being put aside, ancient privileges are abandoned; and although, as I said before, there is much difference of opinion as to the means, there is a common end which all are pursuing—the instructing and elevating each profession and employment, and the better fitting those who follow it to perform their duties to their fellow-men.'

Many interesting papers were read in this department, among which we notice one by Miss Mary Carpenter, of Bristol, 'On the Application of the Principles of Education in Schools for the Lower Classes of Society.' The Rev. Nash Stephenson discussed 'the Education Commissioners' plan for rendering Assistance to the Schools of the Independent Poor.' A very lively discussion arose out of a paper by the Rev. Alexander Pollock, hon. secretary of the Church Education, on 'The Educational Position of the Established Church in Ireland,' which he said was not only 'distressful, but wholly anomalous.' He went at length into the statistics of popular education, and compared the Church system with the National system. This essay was the subject of a lengthened and animated debate, in which the chief parts were borne by Professor Kavanagh, formerly Head Inspector of the National Board, who advocated separate education; the Rev. A. D'Orsey, the Rev. W. M'Ilwaine, Mr. Lefroy, M.P., the Rev. Mr. Frazer, from Scotland, Mr. A. M. Sullivan, Professor Gibson, of Belfast, Mr. Whiteside, M.P., the Rev. Dr. Willock, Mr. P. O'Brien, M.P., Mr. Henry Denitt, the Rev. J. Hall, Commissioner of Education, the Rev. Professor Foley, Trinity College, Dublin, the Rev. Dr. Quinn, Roman Catholic. This discussion is remarkable for the fact so novel in Ireland, that on the most exciting subject that still divides our population, extreme parties meet face to face, and spoke their sentiments freely with the most perfect good feeling, and without an offensive or even a discourteous word on either side, which shows one beneficial effect of the Social Science Association.

Mr. Joseph Bentley read a paper on 'The Strong Claims of the Middle Classes for Justice in the matter of Education.' He observed that educational improvements of late years had been confined to the upper and lower, without having been partaken of by the middle classes, although the latter contributed, in taxes and subscriptions, upwards of a million a year in aid of improved education. Good teachers constituted the key to all improvement of the kind. Teaching required special qualifications independent of intellectual acquirements. It was susceptible of being developed as an art itself. Traditional forms and customs too much prevailed in the universities, which had not cultivated the art of teaching. Colleges for training and certifying teachers for the schools of the poor had already been established, and had produced satisfactory results. He contended for an extension of the principle to all schools. Four years ago a deputation of the Society for Promoting National Education called the attention of the Privy Council Board of Education to the subject. Two years ago, Lord Brougham in the House of Lords presented a largely signed petition in favour of the establishment of a Government test of the qualifications and fitness of middle-class school teachers, as well as those for the humbler classes. The Government promised to give the matter their consideration, but nothing had since been done. The plan announced by Mr. Bentley to overcome the defect indicated was the establishment of colleges for the training of teachers for middle-class schools, which should be under Privy Council regulations, but should be supported by private contributions.

'Intermediate Education' was introduced by a paper of the Rev. John Hall. This is a want of a very grave kind, and closely linked with common schools and Universities. An interesting debate took place on the subject.

Miss Twining read a paper upon 'Workhouse Education.'

Miss Corbett read a paper upon the 'Advisability of Introducing District Pauper Schools into Ireland.'

Mr. Rakhol Das Haldar, native of Bengal, read a paper entitled 'Education in Bengal and its Results.' 'More than half a century has elapsed since the first effort was made for diffusing the European system of education and European knowledge in that portion of India known as Bengal. Some millions of money have been spent towards that object,

object, not only from the Government treasury, but also from the private purses of members of the British nation. Some hundreds of persons have devoted the best part of their lives in securing the same object. It may, therefore, be interesting to residents in Great Britain and Ireland to have some idea of the result of the expenditure of money and of energy and talents for social amelioration in Bengal. . . It is a pleasing fact to British philanthropists that men, natives of Bengal, may now be found by hundreds holding converse with the great ones of the earth, with the mighty spirits that lived to instruct and humanize them, with the philosophers, poets, mathematicians, and orators of Europe—men who, without English education, would probably have been seen worshipping idols, and leading a most indolent, if not vicious life. English education has created a class of men called "Young Bengal," an epithet originally applied as a reproach. This class has been thus described by one belonging to it:—"Young Bengal has not merely imbibed a taste for Western literature and science, but his knowledge of them is creditable both to him and his instructors. He has drunk deep of the Pierian spring. Very often his writings grace the pages of the local periodicals and reviews, and some of the most fastidious of Indian editors have acknowledged his claim to authorship, by mistaking his articles for those of talented and well-educated Englishmen, and praising them as such. Yet, if those very papers bore a native signature it would have been very fortunate if they escaped the most scrutinizing criticism.

Mislike me not for my complexion,

should now, I think, be young Bengal's motto. In the spirit of enterprise, and in energy and determination of character, he may, perhaps, be deficient compared with his Western brother; but in talent he is not very much his inferior, and in integrity he is quite his equal." It has not been denied that "there are a few black sheep among the herd, men who have no principles, and whose liberalism consists in eating, and drinking, and dressing; but these are exceptions to the general rule." The educated natives of Bengal have been appointed by the Government as uncovenanted civil judges and magistrates, and in various executive capacities, and they have not merely been found equal to these appointments, but have been considered by local British officers as capable of higher trust. Formerly "Public Spirit" was neither known nor understood; but it has been so far developed that natives may now be seen establishing schools, libraries, debating clubs, hospitals, and other institutions for the common good. To the diffusion of European knowledge is to be attributed the rise of a class of natives who are considered still to be low in caste—I allude to the social advancement of the artisan and manufacturing classes. Members of these classes can now vie with the Brahmins and others in respectability and intelligence. It may be questioned, Does the extension of English education tend to make the natives dissatisfied with the Government or otherwise? In reply, I say that when you properly educate them you make them more intelligently grateful. A mild and impartial Government is always safe. Besides, the Hindoos, having long lost the tact of governing themselves, generally perceive the contrast between Mahomedan tyranny and British justice; and when you endeavour to liberate them by proper methods from the thraldom of ignorance, they are the more thankful for it. The truth is that the educated natives are more attached to the British nation, from whom they expect the ultimate regeneration of India, than the uneducated can possibly be, engrossed as they are in their peculiar superstitions. But contend they must for equal rights and advantages. It is not always that the right man is put too in the right place; and when a person of narrow principles happens to be at the head of a department, or of a subordinate government, he is likely to give offence to the educated natives. In such cases they have a right to appeal to the Supreme Government for justice, which the Government cannot consistently deny. Though enough has been accomplished to make philanthropists hopeful, yet the greater part of the work remains to be done. The educated are only a few thousands among uneducated millions. The great lesson of self-reliance is yet [illegible] taught. Caste, the chief cause [illegible] of social evils, remains. W[illegible] must be raised to her pr[illegible] Moral and scientific ed[illegible]

be more generally extended. In short, the organization of Hindoo society demands to be radically changed. Much of the social reforms should for obvious reasons be left to the natives themselves, and also to time. But the time has not arrived when the British nation can be mere spectators of native exertions. The natives require British support as much to-day as they did fifty years ago.'

The Rev. Professor Gibson, of Belfast, read a paper 'On the Foundation created by Erasmus Smith for Educational Objects,' with a view to show that it was originally designed for the elevation of the middle classes in Ireland.

Mr. James Heywood, F.R.S., read a paper on the report of 'the Royal Commission on Popular Education' appointed in 1858; and Dean Graves on the question 'Whether the system of Competitive Examination gives an undue advantage to persons of inferior physical development?' The very reverend gentleman urged the importance of cultivating a fine physical development.

The octogenarian Professor Pillans, of Edinburgh, provoked a very learned philological discussion in this department by a paper 'On the origin of the Verb as a part of speech.' The social influence of this debate is not, however, of very great consequence.

III.—Punishment and Reformation.

This department was presided over by the Right Hon. the Attorney-General, who delivered a long and able address, of which we make a few quotations.

'In the wide range of the science we call social—in the varied fields of inquiry which invite the consideration of all who have true regard for the progress and the happiness of the human race—I believe that few things can be found of more importance than the subjects to which the attention of this department has been specially directed. They touch the foundations of order, and the security of peace in the world. They affect the protection of property and the sacredness of life. They have the closest relations with the material well-being of communities, and they have higher relations still—with the purity of public morals, and the redemption of multitudes from sin and suffering. More directly than many other of the topics which worthily claim the care of this association, they address at once the intellect and the feeling, and attract equally the statistician and the philanthropist, the statesman, who deals with the interests of nations, and the Christian, whose thoughts are in eternity. Therefore I may confidently say that our peculiar investigations have been and will be peculiarly pleasant and fruitful, and not the less so because we pursue them on this occasion upon Irish ground. For I may assert, and in no boastful spirit, that Ireland has done very much in aid of the cause which we have all at heart—that efforts have been made, and experiments conducted, and difficulties surmounted, and results achieved, in the management and reformation of criminals amongst us, which have much advanced that cause, and fitly receive the praise and excite the emulation of other countries. . . . . I turn to the scheme and principle of the reformatory movement, which has been one of the most signal illustrations of social progress in our time. It is a time full of material wonders. Almost every year produces something stranger than the last, and imagination halts behind reality; physical science annihilates space and time; thought flashes instantaneously from continent to continent, and distant nations are brought into that closeness of neighbourhood which, by identifying their interests and dispelling their prejudices, must needs continually more and more consolidate, in spite of every obstacle, "the federation of the world." But I venture to doubt whether, amongst all these mighty changes—so astounding in their grandeur and so bewildering in the rapidity with which they have been wrought—there is anything more full of interest and delight to the true lover of his kind than in this great movement, which has its dealings with the outcasts of the earth, and its noiseless triumphs within prison bars. In these countries Bentham, and Romilly, and Peel, and Brougham, had done the work of which I have spoken imperfectly; and in other nations men of a like stamp and purpose had followed a like course, with similar results. Howard had not vainly "cast his bread upon the waters." His great apostleship of charity did not end with himself, and the prison system of this empire and of Europe has been much improved. Classification and order, though

though they are still very imperfect here and elsewhere, had been introduced, largely and beneficially, amongst convicts in most civilized lands. But this was not sufficient—did not seem at all sufficient, and many thought that it was right to look to their ultimate destiny after the time of their imprisonment had passed. Such persons looked abroad upon the prison world, and they marked some things which were very notable. They saw that in general human law made no distinction between the crime of the child and the crime of the adult—that the innocence which had been obscured by a single error, the growth of temptation or necessity acting on an infant's unformed mind and feeble purpose, was dealt with, too often, as the crime of the hoary ruffian stained with many infamies and hardened in his sins. They saw the juvenile offender, passing, perhaps, from an honest home to a felon's gaol, corrupted by contact with its abandoned inmates, graduating in all sorts of immorality, and then sent forth to prey upon his kind. And, seeing these things, they saw that it should be otherwise; that the child's crime was not the man's crime, or to be dealt with as if it were; that their different conditions of intellect and morals called for different treatment, and that the system which made the man's prison also the child's was often responsible for steeping him in iniquity, and robbing him of hope here and happiness hereafter. Further, they saw that the traditional and settled discipline of the gaol, modified though it had been, made no sufficient provision for the moral culture of the criminal—no preparation for his transfer to the world and a condition fitting him to take his place amongst men as a useful and prosperous citizen—no training which might fit him to walk forth, self-relying and self-dependent, without new contamination from his former comrades, and certain return to the evil courses from which the coercive power of the law had withheld him for a time. And, finally, they saw that, equally in the case of the child and the adult, imprisonment involved loss of character and caste; involved, in multitudinous instances, loss of the means of honourable livelihood; deprived the unhappy convict, even if disposed to return to a better state, of the opportunity of redemption, and the aid of friends, or the confidence of employers; and drove him, in utter and despairing helplessness, very often to lead a life of wickedness, and, sometimes, to die a death of shame. Observations such as these, occurring to persons of generous nature and clear intellect, bore fruit in time; and we have seen that fruit developed in institutions of rare excellence—reformatories for the young, intermediate prisons for adults, and patronage associations, refuges, and aid societies for prisoners disposed to amend their lives.'

Many very able papers were read in this section, to a few of which we have only space to refer.

The Rev. J. H. Monaghan read a paper on 'Irish Protestant Reformatory Schools,' and Mr. E. J. Murray one on 'Irish Roman Catholic Reformatory Schools.' 'The Disposal of Boys from Reformatories' was discussed by the Rev. J. Fish, of Castle Howard, York.

'The object,' he said, 'of reformatory training is to restore the criminal to society, in order to which he must be fitted to occupy some place in society, and some place must be found which he will fit. The only element of fitness necessary to be considered in this part of the reformatory process is the industrial. The great majority of boys, inmates of reformatories, are quite capable of being trained to useful industry, and society has always workers of one kind or another; a large experience justifies the assertion. All then that is required is to discover what kind of workers are in demand in the neighbourhood of any school, and then to train boys accordingly. But it is most important that whatever branch of industry is taught, the boys should be thoroughly instructed in it, so as to be really able to perform it. The tendency to diminution among the agricultural population of England offers a favourable opening for the employment of boys as farm labourers. But our reformatory schools, which are farm schools, do not possess all the requisite means for making a good labourer. It is very desirable that boys should be sent out on license to work at farm houses, where they may learn to plough, &c.; at the same time they will acquire habits of self-reliance and familiarity with honest workmen, so that when the time of discharge comes they are not strangers to [illegible] Castle Howard this plan [illegible] adopted, and with the [illegible] success. It may be objected [illegible] usual training is hinder[illegible]

posure necessarily attendant upon the out-labour system. Boys who go out see and hear many things that may do them no good. But it is important that we do not make our boys much better than boys in general. But the license can only be well worked when the reformatory sentence is long. The careful surveillance of the license-holder is always of the greatest consequence. There is a minority of boys which cannot be so provided for. A few who are incorrigible had better be sent adrift for the present. They will run their course, and perhaps be saved by suffering. Now and then their enlistment into the army is a good outlet. A larger number would go to sea; and for a few some special occupation must be found. At Castle Howard not the least difficulty has been found in finding such occupations. Emigration is too expensive to be extensively used. At Castle Howard it has been used as a reward to very deserving boys. Each school may easily solve this difficulty for itself, by the judicious use of the person given by law to give licenses.'

M. D. Hill, Esq., Q.C., Recorder of Birmingham, read a paper by his daughter 'On the Present Condition of Mettray,' which led to a very interesting discussion.

Mr. T. B. L. Baker read a paper "On Sentences with a View to Reformation or Deterrence.'

The Rev. T. R. Shore read a paper 'On the Treatment of Adult Offenders, and the effects of the system in Ireland.'

Baron Holtzendorff then read a paper 'On Police Supervision.' Having made some pointed comments on the striking contrast between the criminal law of modern times and those earlier enactments that prevailed in former ages, with regard to the expectations entertained by society respecting discharged prisoners, Baron Holtzendorff said:—'In recent times it is understood that a successful administration of penal justice mainly depends on three objects, which we must strive to attain. First. A well-organized manner of public prosecution, in connection with a vigilant criminal police, working to the purpose of detecting and prosecuting crime to the utmost degree of certainty, by whose activity and zeal re-convictions must be ascertained in each criminal case, in order to have a just apportionment of punishment for habitual offenders. Second. A regular system of prison discipline, due regard being had for keeping up the deterrent character as well as the reformatory treatment, according to the individual and personal habits of criminals. Prison life must appear deterrent to all living in honest liberty, but it must appear a boon to the criminal on his discharge, when he shall feel and understand that his punishment was as well justice to him as education for his future well-being, not an act of cruelty or wayward revenge. Third. A proper care for discharged prisoners. Experience has evidently shown that the mere prison life by itself exclusively cannot warrant society against a repetition of crime. If crime were a mere accident, proceeding from individual circumstances, or from deficient intellect, a hope might be entertained that prison discipline could eradicate all future propensity to crime.'

Captain Crofton read a paper on the question 'Why the Community should take an Active Interest in the Treatment of Adult Convicts,' and he proved that they should take an interest in the subject on the ground of 'humanity,' and of 'self-preservation,' and of 'economy.' He described fully the Irish convict system, and referred to the eulogies passed upon it by the most eminent foreign jurists. When he had concluded, Lord Brougham, who spoke with much earnestness, said—

'It is hardly necessary to state with what deep interest I heard the able and lucid statement of Captain Crofton. There is but one sentence in it which I can say I not only lament, but disapprove—I mean that in which he talks of his own retirement. With Captain Crofton's retirement retires my confidence in the system; and I look forward with absolute dismay to an experiment tried for the next two or three years, and then, at the end of that time, we shall find that it has failed because Captain Crofton has retired.'

We are glad to learn that Captain Crofton has agreed to continue at the head of the Prison Board for Ireland.

Mr. C. H. Fort, barrister, read a paper on 'Punishment, its Effect by way of Example,' in which he urged that the sentence of the judge should be pronounced immediately after the verdict.

Miss Frances P. Cobbe read a paper on the Preventive Mission at Bristol, in

in which she pointed out the aid and protection given by the mission to young females, and argued that a system which had proved so successful in the safe guardianship of poor girls deserves general attention and trial. Miss Cobbe pointed out the special dangers of the servant class, and a plan for their prevention, by a free registration, a system of writing agents, training schools, and factory homes. In Bristol, where the mission was in full operation, 1,000 poor girls were assisted for two years at an expense of 500*l.* Workhouse girls in service in towns and cities, owing to their defective training, had special claims upon our consideration. Miss Cobbe's paper was loudly applauded.

Mr. Sheriff Watson, founder of the Aberdeen Industrial Schools, read a long and able paper on the treatment of young offenders, founded upon the method pursued in the Aberdeen schools, and the beneficial results attained. The learned sheriff, at the close of his observations, said it was urged on the Government with all the logic and rhetoric possessed by the friends of the industrial school, that it should be placed in the same category as other educational establishments, and receive a fair share of the parliamentary grant; but it appeared to be the principle of Government to give only to those who are able to do something for themselves, and to increase the grants in proportion to the ability of the receivers. If this principle had been acted upon by the patrons of industrial schools, little progress would have been made in the suppression of vagrancy and crime, and the town and county of Aberdeen would still be overrun with juvenile vagrants, and the prisons the sole receptacle of juvenile thieves. When lately examined before the Committee of the House of Commons, he stated his opinion that Government should allow the managers of industrial schools one-third of the aggregate cost of each child, that being about the proportion expended on the education department.

Miss Mary Carpenter read a paper on 'The Connection of Voluntary Effort with Government, applied to the Maintenance of Reformatories and Ragged Schools.' The author pointed out and dwelt upon the great advantages of combined voluntary and government support to such institutions, and argued that their success would be greatest when so sustained. In the case of the reformatory schools, the problem of this combined action was completely solved. The author strongly advocated the claims of ragged schools to government aid.

Mr. J. R. Fowler read a paper on 'Home Influence on the Dangerous Classes,' in regard to the prevention of crime. The question of government aid to ragged schools was discussed.

In the sub-section of this department several papers were read by temperance reformers.

Mr. James Haughton read a paper on 'Intemperance as a Source of Crime.' A paper on the 'Causes, Consequences, and Remedies of Intemperance,' was read by Mr. Arthur Houston, and another on 'Intemperance, and Relief of the Poor in London, during the Long Frost in 1860-61,' by Mr. Benjamin Scott, Chamberlain of the City of London. Mrs. Margaret Fison followed with a paper on 'The Responsibility of the Women of Great Britain with relation to Intemperance;' and lastly, came Dr. F. R. Lees, on 'The Etiology of Drunkenness.' A paper by the Rev. Wm. Caine, on 'The Traffic in Intoxicating Drinks on the Lord's Day,' was read; and then ensued a most interesting debate on the whole question. Messrs. Haughton, Raper, Street, Tucker, Murdoch, Doctors Gilchrist and MacGowan, Revs. Messrs. Steinthal and Dall, were amongst the gentlemen who spoke on the temperance side.

The following is an abstract of Dr. Lees' paper:—

*On the Etiology of Drunkenness, and its Relations to the State*, by Dr. Lees, of Leeds.—The author commenced with observing, that this question, like many others, owing to its interference with long-established prejudices, powerful customs, and pecuniary interests, had but tardily received philosophical consideration. The stern necessities of the times, however, and the gradual accumulation of facts, had at last compelled to its serious investigation. The principle of the temperance societies, which placed alcoholics outside of the category of food, and remitted alcohol to the care of the druggist and doctor, could no longer be denied. [illegible] gathered from benefit and [illegible] societies, from the English [illegible] India and the Crimea, and that [illegible]

German Confederation, demonstrated the fact that the annual percentage of mortality in three classes of individuals was as follows :—Teetotallers, 1½; moderate drinkers, 2½; free drinkers, 4½. The greatest authorities in chemical and medical science, including Liebig, Moleschott, Lehmann, and Levy, admitted that alcohol was incapable of nourishing the body as food, and acted as a stimulant and narcotic; while the recent experiments of Professors Lallemand and Perrin proved that alcohol was eliminated from the body unchanged, so long as thirty-two hours after being consumed in a moderate dose. Dr. Edward Smith had confirmed these experiments, and Dr. T. K. Chambers, who formerly contended for alcohol as extra-diet, or 'medicinal food,' now admitted that 'we must cease to regard alcohol as in any sense an aliment,' for the 'evidence shows the action of alcohol to be consistent and uniform in all its phases, and to be *always exhibited as an arrest of vitality.*' This, then, must be accepted as the starting-point for the social inquiry into the causes of intemperance, ignorance of which accounted for the failure of the empirical methods of treatment hitherto adopted by the State. Drunkenness had accompanied the use of alcoholics amongst all people, ancient and modern, savage and civilized, Pagan and Jewish, or Christian, and irrespective of the facts of climate or race, and of the name or strength of the intoxicating agent, whether wine or whisky, beer or cider, pale ale or palm wine. No laws (save one), and no social conditions, had ever or anywhere prevented intemperance from being the great source of degradation, crime, and misery. Social conditions might aggravate or ameliorate the inebriety of a people; but so far as the two factors of the *use* and *sale* of strong drink obtained, so long and so far did drunkenness prevail. This special vice did not originate from the absence of moral qualities of the highest order, but from the presence of a physical agent and law tending imperiously to a given result. The lives of the great Johnson and the learned Porson, and those of the statesmen Pitt, Fox, and Sheridan, furnished ample illustrations. The law of the operation of alcohol, opium, and tobacco was this :—'*The use tends to generate an appetite for their increased use, in time and measure.*' In the language of the Scottish philosopher, Dr. Thomas Reid, 'The frequent use of things which stimulate the nervous system, produces a languor when their effect is gone off, and a desire to repeat them.' Hence the general causes of drunkenness must be those which originate the general use of which drunkenness is the incidence, which are chiefly three. First, the belief in the excellence of alcoholics. So long as this opinion prevails, so long will strong drinks be consumed, and drunkenness follow. It is, therefore, the business of the educator and the temperance teacher to disabuse the public mind of this superstition. But, second, out of servile obedience to convention, one of the strongest of social influences—from love of the favour and fear of the frown of those by whom they are surrounded—men practically sustain those drinking customs which their reason and conscience both condemn. While admitting that they are 'more honoured in the breach than the observance,' they yet weakly sanction and provide for them. This is the great private temptation to drinking, which, as acquiring its power from an unconscious confederacy of society, can be best combated by the conspiracy of independence and intelligence; for, as Lord Bacon says, 'the great multiplication of virtues upon human nature resteth upon societies well ordained.' The third great cause of drinking is the empirical legislative remedy of the *licence system*, whereby houses of various kinds for the sale of strong drinks are planted throughout the United Kingdom, furnishing facilities for the private use of alcoholics, and irresistible public temptations to drinking amongst the masses of the people. The utter failure of the 450 Acts of Parliament passed for the regulation of these houses, and the prevention of pauperism and crime thence resulting, is admitted by Parliament itself in its latest blue-book. The history of the traffic clearly shows that, other things being the same, the cheaper the drink, whether gin, beer, cider, or wine, and the more numerous the houses in which it is sold, the wider the temptation, the greater the drunkenness, pauperism, misery, and crime. The curse of the Beer Bill was a frightful illustration of the deplorable double fallacy of hoping to substitute a weaker beverage for a stronger, in those who had acquired

quired the taste for the stronger, and of believing that the use of the weaker intoxicant would not inevitably engender amongst the masses a liking for the more potent.

The logical issue of the question must be free-trade or no-trade. If the trade be humanizing, honest, and innocent, then it should be free; but if its prosperity only measured the debasement, disease, and crime of society, then every Christian and rational Government ought to give the people the power to protect themselves from its baneful operation; and drink-houses should be as sternly prohibited by an enlightened nation as colleges for teaching crime, or gambling and betting-houses for the seduction of the weak and foolish.

The licence system is an anomaly in legislation based on no principle, and justified by no success. The Parliament confesses to its failure in the treatment of this social cancer of the traffic. Magisterial control is a nonentity, and, as proved by the police reports, no laws are so systematically and generally evaded and broken as those imposed on the trade in drink. The publicans themselves are dissatisfied; licensed victualler and beerseller are reproaching each other for the abuses of a trade inherent in the nature of the thing, and are both seeking for increased privileges to do public mischief. Magistrates and the community are often at war with each other, and the petty with the quarter sessions. It is confessed on all hands that something must be done; that the entire system must be overhauled. Very good, but what should be done? Ought we not to cast away as worthless the old remedies which have so signally failed? Ought we not to insist upon some thorough guarantees for social security, and to reject all pettifogging and patchwork?

Whatever plans are adopted and enforced by the Government itself, authorized by the Imperial Parliament, one thing seems called for alike by public opinion and public justice. It is conceded that a city or parish has the right to judge on this question of the traffic; and the decision has been committed to the local magistracy in Quarter Sessions assembled, who receive in public court the appeals of the people; but seeing that interest, or ignorance, or social connections, render this body unfit in the present day to deal with the question, it is proposed that a permissive clause shall be introduced into the bill, guarded with appropriate powers for referring the matter finally to the people, who best know the wants and interests of their district. If, say two-thirds or eight-tenths of a population do not desire to be cursed with a wine, beer, or spirit-shop, what moralist, or what libertarian, or what politician, will contend that either government, excise, or magistrates should force such a thing upon them? The proposition has been deliberately put before the people, both in town and country. The Plymouth canvass for the Permissive Bill of the 'Grand Alliance' yielded the following returns:—

For the bill .... ..17,136 adults.
Against, only .... 840 „

which is a fair specimen of the returns in general. The measure is not only just and constitutional, but it is, in short, the old plan made effectual by transferring the veto from an indifferent or incompetent tribunal to the people themselves. Prohibition will, under such a plan, grow surely into power, never preceding the preparation of the district, but correctly registering its virtue, discipline, and intelligence.

In connexion with the temperance section a large and enthusiastic meeting was held in the Mansion House, presided over by Lord Brougham. The meeting was ably addressed by James Haughton, Esq.; the Rev. Dr. Kirkpatrick; Rev. Mr. Neligan, M.A.; Dr. F. R. Lees; Washington Wilks, Esq.; Dr. Waller; Very Rev. Dr. Spratt; Archdeacon Gregg; and T. M. Meekins, Esq.

### IV. Public Health.

Lord Talbot de Malahide presided and gave the address on this great department. Amongst other things he said—'I urge you to discuss the proper mode of regulating the poison trade. You might take into consideration the question—whether it is not time that something should be done to have an educated and responsible class of druggists. The time for palliatives is gone, and the uselessness of our present expedients is shown by the continued recurrence of poisoning in our public prints. This is, I believe, the only country in the world where any individual can retail, without let or hindrance, the most dangerous poisons.

If all English druggists belonged to the Pharmaceutical Chemists' Association, and confined themselves strictly within the limits of their business, there would be comparatively no danger, and I trust that the Irish apothecaries will not attempt to follow their English brethren, deserting their proper functions, and leaving the public at the mercy of any unprincipled and uneducated person who chooses to sell poisonous drugs. However much we may admire free trade, do you think we ought to have a free trade in poison?'

On the Temperance question his Lordship said—

'With reference to teetotalism, I must confess that, highly as I estimate the virtue of temperance, I cannot agree with those who would confine us to the use of Adam's wine. We have it on high authority that wine was given to make glad the heart of man; and, if used in moderation, there can be no question of its being wholesome and beneficial to the human constitution. There is also high archæological evidence in its favour. It appears to have been imported into this country from the earliest periods, and it is recorded that Shane O'Neill had ordinarily 200 tuns of wine in his cellars at Dundrum Castle. It is a curious question to determine when ardent spirits were first manufactured in Ireland. Brandy, or *aqua vitæ*, appears to have existed from the oldest records; and in the "Red Book of Ossory" there is an accurate description of the process of distilling brandy from wine. This was probably confined to ecclesiastics. Brewing from malt is also of the greatest antiquity in Ireland, being mentioned in the Brehon Laws. The earliest mention of the use of *aqua vitæ* in the Irish annals is in the case of Richard Magranell, chieftain of Monteorolas, who died A.D. 1405, at Christmas, of a surfeit of *aqua vitæ*. McGeoghegan, who records the circumstances, adds:—"It was not *aqua vitæ* to him, but *aqua mortis*." We all remember the great movement promoted by the excellent Father Mathew; and, although its effects were not as permanent as we could wish, there is no doubt that it made a great improvement in the habits of our peasantry. It may have deprived some of our countrymen of their native hilarity and ocularity, but we may be consoled for this loss in some degree if the force of public opinion was brought to bear upon the classes most exposed to this vice—if the female population was weaned from the degradation consequent upon it—if better clothing and more provident habits were gradually introduced. The mere substitution of beer or light wine for the more powerful stimulants would be much to be desired; and although we cannot agree with the proposals of those gentlemen who insist upon its being the duty of the classes who seldom indulge in excessive drinking to be total abstainers for the benefit of their example to others, great good will doubtless arise from the discussion of this question. It must, however, be kept clear from all other sanitary measures, so that no difference of opinion can possibly exist. The question of a permissive law for the prohibition of the sale of alcoholic liquors comes more properly under the section of jurisprudence.'

Lord Brougham called attention to this portion of the noble lord's address, and said that the temperate use of fermented liquor was very difficult to understand. 'People do not understand what temperance is, and therefore do not know when to stop.'

Lord Talbot de Malahide made some admirable remarks relative to the sanitary health of the army, and paid a high compliment to the late Lord Herbert of Lea, as a social reformer.

Amongst the numerous papers read in this department we may refer to the following:—

Dr. Moore read a paper 'On the more Prominent Causes of an Excessive Mortality in Early Life.' After prefacing his observations with some remarks on the politico-economical view of an excessive early-death rate and its reaction on national interests, more particularly agricultural and commercial, he went on to show that the early physical well-being of any country is the most delicate test of its progress. He then showed from the last annual return of the Registrar-General of England, that the general mortality for 1860 has been a fraction less than that of the preceding ten years; the mortality from all causes being 422,500, a little over 21 in the 1,000, the preceding years being 22. Still this rate of mortality over England and Wales generally is greatly in excess of the rate experienced in the least unhealthy districts; for had the deaths for

for the last quarter pervaded England and Wales generally at the latter rate, the mortality would have been 79,283, instead of the actual mortality of 102,557. Thus, during the ninety-two days, 23,274 persons may have been said to die unnatural deaths. Again, the densest districts are proved to be the unhealthiest, the towns exceeding the country districts in the proportion of 23 to 18 in the 1,000. On this interesting point, of the relation of the healthy to the unhealthy groups, more particularly with regard to the special scourge of phthisis and chest affections of all kinds, he adduced the statistics of Dr. Greenhow, to show that if the deaths from pulmonary diseases in the country, generally, in each sex, and for each period of life, had been at the same rate during each of the nine years from 1847 to 1855, as in the northern group of districts, the average number of deaths would only have been 54,098, instead of 98,969; therefore, taking the northern group as representing a normal standard for affections of the lungs in the sister kingdom, the mortality from this class of diseases is aggravated to the extent of nearly 45,000 annually. Dr. Moore next alluded to the prevailing infantile mortality under ten years of age, which varies from twenty-five to thirty per cent. of all born among the better classes, to thirty to forty per cent. among the lower classes. Some observers have found a wider ratio between the infantile mortality among the rich and poor, particularly in Preston, where the mortality under five years of age among the children of the former, varied from eighteen per cent. to fifty-five among those of the latter.

Dr. Lankester read a paper by John Beddoes, M.D., on the 'Physical Degeneration of Town Populations.' The paper went to show that degeneration of good air and proper food tended to the degeneration of the human race.

Dr. Lyons read a paper by Miss Florence Nightingale, entitled, 'Hospital Statistics, and Hospital Plans.' It gave an excellent and comprehensive exposition of the requirements of a proper hospital, the necessity for thorough ventilation, and for avoidance of over-crowding. We regret that the great pressure on our space prevents us from giving this admirable paper or the discussion which took place upon it.

Dr. P.W. Mackesy, of Waterford, read the following paper on Dipsomania (uncontrollable drunkenness).

'Dr. Peddie, in a well written paper, called attention at the last meeting of the Association, at Glasgow, to this subject, so very important in a medico-legal point of view. The misery I constantly witness, from the want of that legal restraint that would admit of successful treatment in such cases, induces me to again call the attention of the Association to this serious lapse in the lunacy laws, for the dipsomaniac, when the passion for strong drink comes on, is a monomaniac, and requires control. No moral or religious feeling or obligation is thought of; no parental or other authority has the least influence in preventing the indulgence of this pernicious propensity. All shame and decorum is cast aside, and the most glaring falsehoods will be unblushingly told to procure drink; and yet, although the law empowers the magistrate to fine and to imprison the drunkard when convicted of having been found intoxicated in the street or public road, and although drunkenness cannot be pleaded as a defence or extenuation for any crime, yet the law gives no power of prevention—gives no power to restrain the confirmed drunkard from indulging in that insatiate avidity for strong drinks which he has no power over himself to control. Consequently, at present the hands of the physician are tied up in the treatment of such cases, and he is obliged to look on and see his unfortunate patient pursue his intoxicating course to the disgrace of himself and his family, the destruction of his property and his prospects in life, and the ruin of his health, his body, and his soul. Such cases, in many instances, by gentle restraint and proper treatment could be reclaimed from this destructive propensity; and, as in many instances the subjects of this vice are persons of intellect and talent, they might be reclaimed, and be a credit to their families and their country. The reluctance to deal with this subject arises from the apprehension that in enacting a law for the restraint of the confirmed drunkard a door might be opened to endanger the liberty of the subject. However, as the present Lunacy Act requires amendment, to guard against abuse, and to protect more fully the personal freedom of the subject from being invaded, I am sanguine in my hopes that, in an amended Lunacy

Lunacy Bill, next Session, the law officers of the Crown will make some judicious and efficient provision for the treatment of uncontrollable drunkards. The medical profession is at present unrepresented in the Imperial Parliament, and, consequently, hygienic legislation is very defective, there being no person fully qualified to arrange sanitary enactments or to answer objections and questions on medical matters in the House of Commons. Medical men can only bring forward their views at meetings of associations such as the present. The medical men of Scotland have carried out their views practically by opening reformatories for drunkards. As mentioned by Doctor Christison, in his instructive and valuable lecture on the subject, all required is, that the restraint voluntarily submitted to in those reformatories should be rendered legally imperative when necessary.'

Dr. Henry Kennedy read a paper entitled, 'The Influence of the Food on the Intellect.' The idea was not new, but he was not aware of the subject being discussed by any one, and in keeping with the knowledge of the present day. After disavowing all idea of materialism, he spoke of the close connection of mind and body, and the reciprocal action of each on the other. In health this was not so observable; but if slight indisposition—to say nothing of more serious disease or pain—occurred, then every one was conscious that the natural powers became impaired. Education proved what an immense power we possessed over the mind, and the object of the writer was to show that, by a proper modification of the food, we could not, indeed, create, but we could improve that noblest part of our being. As to the character of special foods, the writer said, from the great extent of the subject, he could not treat of them. One class, however, as affording a good example of the main object of his paper, he might mention, and that was condiments, which had received much less attention than they deserved, but must in future be looked on as foods. Of these, onions, mustard, horseradish, afforded good examples, nor could any doubt be entertained that, with the poorer classes, and those who lived chiefly on potatoes, the addition of these condiments would form a very important improvement in their food, and as such their growth should be encouraged, for their composition was such that they were capable of affording very important elements to the frame, especially the nervous system. In the course of his observations he spoke of 'fluid foods,' amongst which were classed tea, coffee, and strong drinks. He noticed their chemical composition and the very great variety of opinion which obtained amongst individuals regarding their use. In conclusion, the writer observed that it was essential for obtaining the highest powers of mind that the food should ever be used in moderate quantity.

Dr. Lees condemned the use of spirituous liquors, which he maintained poisoned the animal system.

Mr. James Haughton argued that the strongest races were those who eat vegetables, and instanced the athlete of the Himalayas, who he said were the strongest men in India. The Irish also were strong men, and they very seldom eat flesh.

Mrs. Fison read an admirable paper on 'Practical Sanitary Work in Town and Country,' and referred to her own experience. We give a few extracts on a subject which seems to have entered largely into the discussion at Dublin:—

'But I have named intemperance as coming under the head of our needed sanitary reform. I own that, highly as I estimate the labours of sanitarians, I think they have erred in not considering measures for the prevention of our national sin as an intrinsic part of their work. Mr. Neison, the well-known actuary, has said that the loss of life and health from the drinking customs of the people exceeds even that caused by bad sanitary conditions; and in forming an estimate of the lives sacrificed to strong drink, it would be necessary to enumerate all the deaths caused by broken hearts, murders by drunken husbands and fathers, wives and mothers, brutal assaults, starvation of children, men and women hanged for crimes committed when intoxicated. In a religious and moral point of view, how fearful are the influences for evil that hover over a drunkard's home. The neglected children from such nurseries of crime are the raw material from which are manufactured the future felons of their country. Can it be of the homes of a Christian land Miss Procter writes?—

"In

"In dens of guilt the baby played.
Where sin, and sin alone, was made
The law that all around obeyed.
With ready and obedient care
He learned the tasks they taught him there,—
Black sin for lesson, oaths for prayer."

But where rests the responsibility of such a state of things amidst our boasted civilization? Experience has taught me to accept as true the axiom of a German writer:—"Society itself is responsible for the evils it permits; and not only for permitted evil, but, in too many cases, it prepares the crime." First, by unjust and injurious laws, such as the Law of Settlement, the Sale of Beer Act, and others, which have directly tended to pauperize and oppress the working man; on the one hand taking from him the hope of bettering his condition, and, on the other, surrounding him with temptations to improvidence. During the late distress in London, how heavy was the blame lavished on the husbands and fathers who, by their drinking habits, had been prevented making provision for a rainy day! but had not their crime been fostered and prepared by the very laws of their country? Secondly—Society prepares crime by its indifference to existing evils, or to prevention of those that arise from changes in our social condition. Thus, amidst the improvements in the metropolis, no provision has been made for the poor displaced from their homes, by the erection of an equal number of suitable dwellings. Thousands of families have thus been forced into the already crowded streets and alleys around. Thirdly, by wilful ignorance of the extent and nature of such evils, and of their own individual responsibility, all classes of society assist in the preparation of crime.'

Recurring to this subject, she said further—

'My friends, true, practical sanitary work for and with the poor must begin by our grappling with the strength of a great nation with a national sin. True that there are vested interests in the wretched city courts and alleys, and there are vested interests in the continuance of an unrighteous system of temptations to the poor man, but are these to be weighed against the loss of thousands of immortal souls, against the loss of health, life, and happiness of millions? I feel assured that the time is at hand when a Christian Government will refuse to derive any part of its income from the ruin and degradation of its subjects, recognizing also as sound political economy, that if the branch of the revenue derived from strong drink costs, by the paupers and criminals caused by it, four pounds to put one into the National Treasury, it had better be abandoned.'

She made the following appeal to Lord Brougham—

'There is a name that from childhood I have been taught to revere as that of a great philanthropist and a wise statesman. It will be a crowning act to the noble life of Henry Lord Brougham to rescue his country from the thraldom of intemperance, and I rejoice to believe that such will be the case. My lord, the African has learned to bless your name, but more cruel chains than ever fettered his limbs await your bidding to fall from the victims of strong drink. Throughout our country, your vast influence, with God's blessing, cannot but effect a change in the licensing system during the next session; and I know something of the ruined homes and hearths that may yet be restored, of the broken hearts that may yet be bound up, when the machinery of temptation that surrounds the working men is either lessened or removed.'

The paper then referred to Ladies' Sanitary Associations, and their influence for good all over the land.

Dr. D. Phelan read a paper entitled 'Suggestions for the Prevention of Small-pox.' The writer set out by stating that although all persons, rich and poor, had been offered vaccination gratis since 1840, at least 65,000 people had died of small-pox in England within the last twenty years. In addition to that great mortality, there were great numbers who had become blind, or who still suffered from other diseases, excited by the particular disease referred to. That mortality and those diseases might be greatly lessened, and even vaccination made compulsory, as it was in almost every civilized country in Europe, except Ireland. It was compulsory in Great Britain since 1853, and with a consequent great reduction of small-pox, although the Act was defective in some respects, which defects had been remedied in the present session of Parliament. Whilst that [illegible] legislation was being pursued [illegible] England and Scotland [illegible] of simila-

land. There was no registration of births and deaths for Ireland, and consequently small-pox was allowed to pursue its fatal ravages unrestrained. The writer next adverted to the defective arrangements for vaccination in Ireland as contrasted with those existing in England. For the latter country 2000*l.* was annually voted by Parliament to enable the London national vaccine establishment to supply the requisite lymph gratis to all who applied for it, whilst for Ireland, up to 1858, only 200*l.* was annually voted, which sum was now increased to 400*l.* Still every applicant for vaccine lymph in Ireland was obliged to pay for it. Dr. Phelan suggested that similar facilities should be extended to Ireland as those which existed in England.

Mr. Nugent Robinson read an essay entitled 'A Glance at the Dwellings of the Poor in Dublin, including lodging-houses, model, and otherwise,' of which the following is an abstract:—The number of houses let out in tenements within the municipal boundary of Dublin was nearly 8000, or more than one-third of the total number of houses in the entire city. The poverty of the class of people residing in those tenements was so great, that 19,045 room-keepers were relieved by the Sick and Indigent Roomkeepers' Society during the year 1860. After dwelling minutely upon the social condition of the poor, and describing the nature of their dwellings, taking 134 streets and lanes, Mr. Robinson arrived at the following average:—Average number of persons to each street, 300·888; average number of persons to each house, 19·181; average number of persons to each room, 3·955; average number of persons to each bed, 2·715. The rents of those tenants ran from 6*d.* to 2*s.* per week. Mr. Robinson gave a short *résumé* of the scavenging system. The number of cases of sanitary duty performed by the police during the year 1860 amounted to 18,551. The number of registered houses in the city was 101. The state of the lodging-houses was shocking. The general number to each bed was 3. During the years 1853 to 1860, 3541 filthy and over-crowded lodging-houses had been suppressed by the authorities. A list of the sites of the worst classes of those houses, and a detailed account of the model lodging-houses was also given.

In connection with this subject a meeting of ladies was held for the purpose of promoting a Sanitary Association in Dublin. Lord Talbot de Malahide presided, and several ladies addressed the assembly.

### V.—Social Economy.

Judge Longfield presided and delivered the address. He sketched the progress which Ireland has made in material prosperity during the last quarter of a century, largely availing himself of the figures which are found in the valuable repository of national statistics, 'Thom's Almanac.' In 1841 there were 13,464,301 acres of arable land in Ireland, the whole area of the island being 20,800,000, and 6,300,000 being waste. In 1860 we find that the arable land has increased to 15,400,000, being an addition of nearly two million acres, or about 14 per cent. With the aid of money lent by the State the Irish drained 200,000 acres; but during the same period, and without any such assistance, they converted two million acres of waste into arable land, the relation of 1 to 10 representing the proportion between what the State can do for a people, and what they can do for themselves. Again, the total value of live stock in Ireland in 1841 was 21,105,808*l.*; in 1851 it was 27,737,395*l.*; and in 1860 it had increased to 33,839,899*l.*, being an increase of upwards of 50 per cent. in 20 years. In the matter of Government stock a similar advance in national wealth appears. The amount transferred from England to Ireland in excess of that transferred from Ireland to England for the ten years ending March, 1860, amounts in round numbers to 2,380,000*l.*, indicating to that extent an increase in the wealth of the people, while the stock held by Irish fundholders has increased 25 per cent. during the same period. Looking at the progress of the nation in another light, we find that since 1851, 800 miles of railway have been constructed, at an expense of 11,000,000*l.* These were generally branch lines, yet the traffic has increased in a greater proportion than the mileage, being at the rate of 2½ per cent. The total amount vested in Irish railways is 19,000,000*l.*, or nearly half the amount vested in funds by Irish proprietors. The annual gross receipts of all the railways is 1,300,000*l.*, the net return giving 3½ per cent. on the capital expended; and it is a remarkable fact that Irish railways are becoming

becoming almost exclusively the property of Irishmen. Judge Longfield next went into details on the decrease of Irish pauperism, and on the popular education, which may be passed over, as these topics were fully discussed in other sections, and the results have come before the public in various forms. It may be mentioned, however, that the annual cost of educating each pupil in Ireland is 10*s*., whereas it was formerly only 5*s*.,—a fact which indicates an improvement in the quality of the instruction; and seven-ninths of the population are educated by the State in the National Schools, leaving two-ninths for the Church Education Society, the Christian Brothers, and private parties. Passing from the subject of education, Judge Longfield remarked that on every side the statistical returns show the results of increased prosperity. The revenue of Ireland has increased more than 50 per cent. in the last 10 years, the Customs and Excise producing from 3,200,000*l*. to 5,400,000*l*.

The Secretary of the section read a paper by Mr. Henry G. Reid on 'The Building Strike of the present year at Edinburgh,' and a paper by Mr. Frederick Harrison, M.A., on 'The Building Strike of the present year in London.' These papers detailed the origin and progress of these movements.

A discussion ensued on both papers.

Miss Bessie Parkes read a paper on 'The Condition of the Working Women of England and France.' She said she coupled the two countries together because they represented all that was employed in modern civilization. Within the last ten years a vast change had taken place in relation to the position of the working women of England and France. There was a general disposition to cast upon women the responsibility of earning their own bread. The paper referred to the condition of the factory women of Lancashire and Birmingham, who worked at light iron work, and to the condition of the women of Staffordshire, who made nails, and who were to be seen grimy, muscular, altogether most undelightful. The paper suggested that the printing and somewhat similar trades should be thrown open to women.

This was followed by a paper on 'Women Compositors,' by Miss Emily Faithfull, the head of a printing establishment in London. 'The Employment of Women' was discussed in several papers.

Miss Parkes read a paper, communicated by Maria S. Rye, on 'The Emigration of Educated Women; its necessity, respectability, and advantages.' The paper stated that the time had passed for emigrants being confined exclusively to the servant classes. The total surplus of men in the colony is 155,636; so that when it was remembered that each of these men, if at home, would be the natural supporter of a wife, it was no wonder that they had a surplus of women at home.

Mr. Mark O'Shaughnessy, secretary of the department, read a very interesting paper, communicated by Mr. Jellicoe, on 'The Condition and Prospects of Girls employed in Manufactories in Dublin.'

Mr. D. Sheriff, of Larne, read a paper, of which the following is a summary, 'On a General Statement of the Advantages derived from Embroidery or Sewed Muslin in the North of Ireland: its benefits especially to the small farmers and the labouring classes, and the necessity of encouraging manufacture in rural districts, in advancing the interests of the country, and in tending to prevent too great an excess of emigration.'

Mr. Lefevre read a paper on 'Labour, in connexion with Trades' Unions,' communicated by Mr. J. Dunning. The paper stated that many employers were averse to trades' unions, but they should exist when labour was considered as a property held by free men; and as trades' unions gave power to the free workman to accede or not to the terms of his employer, such aversion is easily understood.

Mr. Lushington read a report, by the Condition of Labour Committee, 'upon the progress of their inquiry into apprenticeship.'

Mr. Lushington also read a paper by himself, entitled, 'Should Apprenticeship under Indenture be Compulsory?' The paper stated that the system of apprenticeship under indenture was fast giving way before the system of apprenticeship not under indenture, often not in writing. He drew a picture of the beneficial results flowing to the apprentice under the system of indenture, and contrasted it with the system of apprenticeship not under indenture, which had the effect of filling trade with unskilled operatives, whose work is not standard work, and not [illegible] standard wages. He was altogether [illegible] fav[illegible]

favour of legally indenturing apprentices.

Mr. Henry Hennessy, F.R.S., read a paper on 'The Law of Fluctuation of Wages,' of which the following is an abstract:—He said although labour, as well as the products of its application, brought a price depending upon supply and demand, it might be useful to inquire into the relations that should exist between the fluctuations of wages and those of the prices of articles for the production of which wages were paid. It was, no doubt, true, that in general employers endeavoured to obtain work at the lowest rate, and workers strove to obtain the highest wages for their work; yet it was possible to conceive the existence of a law to which the demands of both worker and employer should as much as possible strictly subordinate. The problem which was to solve admitted of a simple exposition and solution by the aid of symbols, and it formed an illustration of his general views as to the application of symbolic notation in social science. He would for the present confine himself to the consideration of wages paid by manufacturers, and for the sake of clearness the problem was supposed to refer to a single establishment. The total increase received by such an establishment must go to provide for four principal classes of expenditure connected with it:—first, the payment of wages to workmen; second, payments to the proprietor for his superintendence, and for his abstinence in employing his capital in such a pursuit, as well as for the risk of loss he might encounter. The first was the portion of increase due to labour; the second, the portion due to capital; the third, due to capital; and the fourth an independent portion. This last was liable to little fluctuation, was nearly fixed, and its average amount could usually be very approximately estimated. From a calculation into which he entered, he stated that it followed that the fluctuations in sums due to labour and capital respectively, owing to fluctuations in the total income, should be a little greater than the latter class of fluctuations. If, as remarked by Mr. Potter, a worker claimed a share of the profits when these are rising, he must be ready to bear his share of the losses resulting from a falling market.

### VI.—Trade and International Law.

This department, lately added to the programme of the Association, was presided over by a distinguished Frenchman, M. Michel Chevalier. His address was delivered in French.

It is quite impossible, even in our extended space, to notice the subjects which were discussed in this department, most of which referred to trade.

Mr. Hastings, the Secretary, read on the part of the General Council, a report, or a review of the proceedings of the Congress about to close. From this statement it appeared that the members' tickets issued in Dublin were 353; associates', 1,347; total, 1,700. The Council expressed to the Lord-Lieutenant, the Lord Mayor, the President of the Royal Irish Academy, the Local Offices and Committees, the Royal Dublin Society, &c., 'their deep sense of the warm and generous reception given to an association hitherto little known in Ireland. To the University, also, the Council would tender their best thanks.' To the Presidents and Vice-Presidents the Council also tendered their thanks, and they acknowledged the important aid rendered by the press for the fulness and accuracy of the reports of the proceedings. Some idea may be formed of the extent of these from the fact, that in the first department 25 papers were read; in the second, 20; in the third, 24; in the fourth, 25; in the fifth, Social Economy, 44, of which 16 were by ladies; in the sixth, 18. In compliance with a memorial influentially signed, the Council have agreed to hold the next meeting in London.

On one evening there was an immense meeting in the Round-room of the Mansion House, consisting of the members of Young Men's Christian Societies, Protestant and Roman Catholic. Lord Brougham took the chair, and was received with enthusiasm. After a brief and animated address from his lordship, the Solicitor-General addressed the meeting, and explained the objects of the Jurisprudence Department. Mr. Hastings, the General Secretary, spoke on Education; the Rev. Mr. Lynch, of Glencree, on Reformatories; Dr. Lankester, on Public Health; Dr. Hancock, on Social Economy; and M. Desmaret, of the French bar, on the Department of International Law.

Art.

# ART. VIII.—RECORD OF SOCIAL POLITICS.

OUR record of social events must be brief, our space being limited. The principal topics claiming our attention are the deeply interesting proceedings of the Social Science Congress at Dublin, and the Meetings of the British Association for the Advancement of Science at Manchester. For a review of the former, we refer the reader to Article VII. It cannot but encourage the faithful workers for social amelioration to witness the rapid and successful strides that are being made by that great movement, the object of which is to promote a knowledge of the laws of social well-being and their practical application through all their departments. It is specially cheering to the conductors of 'Meliora' to have their labours recognized and eulogized by the venerable and noble President of the National Social Science Association, in his famous inaugural address at Dublin.

The proceedings of the thirty-first Annual Meeting of the BRITISH ASSOCIATION have been of a most interesting and important character, and may be pronounced a great success.

It is now thirty years since this Association held its first meeting in the city of York. Like many other great and laudable enterprises, it had a comparatively humble commencement; but it was originated and conducted by earnest and brave-hearted men, who adhered to and prosecuted their noble scheme, which was designed 'to give a stronger impulse and more systematic direction to scientific inquiry, to promote the intercourse of those who cultivate science in different parts of the British empire with one another, and with foreign philosophers; and to obtain a more general attention to the objects of science, and a removal of any disadvantages of a public kind which impede its progress.'

This useful mission has been steadily prosecuted, and up to the present time its history is a record of progressive success in the objects contemplated.

Taking the average of the thirty years, the number of members at each annual gathering is about sixteen hundred, and the receipts something under 2,000*l*. The meeting at Manchester has, therefore, been a marked success, upwards of 3,150 members having been enrolled, and 3,920*l*. received.

The President for the past year was Lord Wrottesley, who, at the opening meeting held in the Free Trade Hall, in the presence of two thousand members, Associates and ladies, paid a high tribute to his successor, William Fairbairn, Esq.. LL.D., F.R.S., of Manchester, as 'one who, by perseverance, combined with talent, has risen from small beginnings to the summit of his profession; and forms one of that noble class of men — the Stephensons, the Brunels, the Whitworths, and the Armstrongs—who have conferred such important services on their country; some of whom, unfortunately for that country, have perished, alas! too soon, exhausted by their arduous toils.'

The President elect, on taking the chair, was received with prolonged applause, and proceeded to deliver a most able and comprehensive address on the achievements of science in promoting the improvement of society and the well-being of man. We have not space for even a summary of this noble address, but must content ourselves with one brief sentence, indicating its tone and spirit. 'At no former period did science contribute so much to the uses of life and the wants of society. And in so doing this, it has only been fulfilling that mission which Bacon, the great father of modern science, appointed for it, when he wrote that "the legitimate goal of the sciences is the endowment of human life with new inventions and riches;" and when he sought for a natural philosophy which, not spending its energy on barren disquisition, "should be operative for the benefit and endowment of mankind."'

On the motion of Lord Stanley, M.P., seconded by J. A. Turner, M.P., the thanks of the Association were voted to the President for his excellent address, and that he be requested to allow its circulation among the members. The Mayor of Manchester (M. Curtis, Esq.) put the motion to the meeting, and it was carried amidst hearty applause.

Professor Phillips announced the programme of each day's proceedings, and said that he was proud to see that as many persons had come to do honour to William Fairbairn as to the Prince Consort, at Aberdeen [illegible]

The pres[illegible]
of the [illegible]
[illegible]

presided over by the following distinguished members:—Section A., Mathematical and Physical Sciences, in the Gallery of Antique Sculpture, Royal Institution; Professor Airy, Astronomer Royal. Section B., Chemical Science, at Owens College; Professor W. A. Miller, M.D., F.R.S., of King's College, London. Section C., Geology, in the Lecture Room of the Royal Institution; Sir R. I. Murchison. Section D., Zoology and Botany, in the large room of the Royal Institution; Prof. Babington, M.A., F.R.S. Subsection D., Physiology, in one of the exhibition rooms of the Royal Institution; Dr. Davy, F.R.S. Section E., Geography and Ethnology, in the Lecture Hall of the Mechanics' Institution; John Crauford, Esq. Section F., Economic Science and Statistics, in the Assembly Room of the Free Trade Hall; Mr. William Newmarch, F.R.S. Section G., Mechanical Science, in the Swedenborgian School-rooms; Mr. J. F. Bateman, C.E., F.R.S.

Many most interesting and some very important papers were read in each of the various sections; but Section F., Economic Science and Statistics, naturally embraced those topics of inquiry and discussion that relate most closely to the subjects usually treated by 'Meliora.' This section, also, was exceedingly well attended. The following is a list of some of the more important papers read before the section: 'A Glance at the Cotton Trade,' by Thos. Bazley, Esq., M.P. 'On Strikes,' by Dr. John Watts. 'On Co-operation and its Tendencies,' by Mr. E. Potter. 'Facts and Statistics about Workhouses,' by Miss Louisa Twining. 'The Trade of England with China since 1833,' by Colonel Sykes, M.P. 'The relative Pauperism of England, Scotland, and Ireland,' by Mr. Frederick Purdy. 'The Health of the English Army,' by Dr. Farr. 'Principles of Taxation,' by Mr. Newmarch, F.R.S. 'True Principles of Taxation,' by Mr. J. R. Jeffery, for Mr. M'Queen, Liverpool. 'On the Income Tax,' by Rev. Canon Richson. 'On Sanitary Improvements,' by Mrs. Fison. 'On some Exceptional Articles of Commerce and Undesirable Sources of Revenue,' by Councillor Charles Thompson. 'Educational Endowed Institutions,' by Mr. James Heywood, B.A., F.R.S. 'On Capital Punishments and their Influence on Crime,' by Mr. Henry Ashworth. 'On the recent Census,' by Dr. Strang. 'The General Results of the Census in 1861,' by Mr. J. T. Hammach, F.S.S. 'On the Economic Effect of the recent Gold Discoveries,' by Mr. Henry Fawcett. 'On the Patent Laws,' by Professor Rogers.

Our space is now so far exhausted that we can but give special notice to one of the foregoing papers, and we by an instinct of 'natural selection,' fix upon that which was read by Mr. Charles Thompson, one of the Executive and most active representatives of the United Kingdom Alliance, an organization whose interests were most ably and watchfully looked after in various sections, but more especially in Section F.

Mr. Thompson's paper did not get its most appropriate position among the papers on Taxation, but was put in the category of social and sanitary movements, where its bearings were not so specially applicable. The argument of the paper, as will be suggested by the title, goes to show that there are some articles which do not come under the legitimate rules of commerce, and are not desirable sources of revenue. The articles referred to are intoxicating liquors, and the chief ground upon which they are impeached by the paper, is the fact that their manufacture involves a frightful and criminal waste of the people's food. We can only give the following brief summary of the argument as reported in the 'Manchester Guardian,' and refer our readers to the entire report in the 'Alliance Weekly News' of September 14th.

'Mr. Thompson quoted from the budget speech of Mr. Gladstone in April last, which, he said, indicated suffering from a serious scarcity of food. Even in ordinary years, when our own harvest fields produced their usual crops, we were dependent upon foreign supplies for a very large proportion of corn food for man and beast. But when a year of great scarcity, or a series of bad harvests befel us, we found our monetary arrangements upset, and our commerce fearfully depressed. Mr. Gladstone's statements also indicated that an increased revenue from corn occasioned by an enormous increase of importation, to meet great domestic scarcity, was an evil element, inasmuch as it crippled and limited the power of the people to adequately sustain

tain the fiscal burdens of the country. In other words, Mr. Gladstone intimated that he had been a sufferer in regard to his fiscal arrangements, by the increased revenue of 366,000*l.* he last year received from duty on corn, over and above the sum of 500,000*l.* which he took to represent the average revenue from that source. This arose partly from the fact that there were other articles more highly taxed than corn, which was imported at the nominal duty of 1*s.* per quarter. A Chancellor of the Exchequer could not have overlooked the fact that nearly eight million quarters of grain are annually consumed in brewing and distilling in the United Kingdom. This calculation took no cognizance of what is appropriated by illicit manufacture either of malt or spirits, or in the legal production of methylated spirits used in the arts. They might safely conclude that upwards of sixty million bushels of grain were last year consumed in the manufacture of beer and spirits for purposes of beverage, being equal to two bushels for every man, woman, and child in the kingdom. In other words, an amount amply sufficient for the annual sustenance of upwards of six millions of people. Intoxicating liquors were not food in any sense; that was the latest verdict of science, and corresponded with all the conclusions of common sense, and unmistakeable experience. No one had a natural instinct or healthy craving for alcohol. It was not sustenance, but a seductive poison. The liquor traffic and the drinking usages it promoted were therefore "barriers interposed between our wants and and an abundant supply" of food. No wise Government, and no high-minded statesman, would deliberately choose to derive the executive resources of the nation from a system that directly tended to promote scarcity of food, and to multiply the means and facilities for vicious indulgences. The liquor traffic, as now existing, and as it had always existed, where suffered to exist at all, was, and ever had been, a fountain of social pollution and national impoverishment. It took the food of the people to convert it into that which is not bread, and which satisfied not, but which worked in a thousand ways to promote scarcity, sorrow, and desolation in the land. What, then, was the remedy for the evil which was so palpably prevalent and so deplorable? There was but one remedy,—simple, potent, effectual. Make it illegal and criminal to convert food into poison, and to tempt the ignorant and reckless to the purchase and use of intoxicants. There had been periods in the history of our nation when distillation had been prohibited, and when the happiest results had been realized. The tables of imports into Ireland (which, with other statistics, were quoted) showed, by comparison of the years of stoppage of the distilleries with the years when they were in full activity, that a year of scarcity, with prohibition, was better than a year of plenty without it. In addition to the decrease of disorder, crime, pauperism, and disease, and all their cost and consequences, it was seen that the revenue itself was greatly benefited by the increased consumption of other articles. There must be some powerful and all-prevalent reason why strong liquors were treated in an exceptional manner. Why should every other manufacture in the kingdom be emancipated from the heavy and embarrassing hand of the Excise officer? How to bridge over the transition chasm was the real difficulty. In conclusion, the suggestion of the United Kingdom Alliance, that Parliament should pass a permissive measure, was adduced as a mode of suppressing the evil.'

The thanks of the section were voted to Mr. Thompson for the paper read by him, and several remarks were made in support of its conclusions by members present.

At the close of the sections on Wednesday, September 11th, a select soirée and conversazione of members of the British Association, and other leading friends of temperance, specially invited by the Executive of the Alliance, was held in the Friends' Meeting-house, kindly lent for the occasion. Nearly 200 ladies and gentlemen accepted the invitation and were present. Dr. John Lee, of Hartwell Park, Aylesbury, was called to the chair; and the proceedings, which were of a highly interesting character, were protracted till nearly eleven o'clock. Ample refreshments were served during the evening. The discussion of the principles and policy of the United Kingdom Alliance, and its proposed Permissive Bill, was of a very spirited and intelligent character. Several gentlemen stated their objections or difficulties, which were courteously and ably replied to.

Hennessy and others avowed themselves not only inquirers but sympathizers with the object and principle of the Alliance.

A vacancy having occurred in the representation of PLYMOUTH, the question of the Permissive Bill has been prominently raised in that constituency, as that on which, at the present moment, the most earnest and popular feeling is manifest. Mr. Pope, the hon. secretary of the Alliance, having been influentially invited to address the electors on the question, the result has been that such an expression of public support has been evoked, that all parties now are convinced that any candidate that would command popular support, must declare himself in favour of the principle of that measure. This declaration has been publicly and explicitly made by Mr. Morrison, the candidate in the Liberal interest.

The question of the LIQUOR TRAFFIC, and the necessity of amending in some essential manner the present licensing system, have occupied the attention of the magistrates in various parts of the country. At Preston, the Annual General Sessions adopted a strong memorial to the Legislature, pointing out the enormous evils of the system, and praying for a remedy. At Liverpool, the magistrates are nearly equally balanced—the one party being desirous of an open system of granting licenses, and the other party praying for increased restrictions. But *all* are praying for some remedy for the present most intolerable evils. At Sunderland, an inspection of a large number of public-houses under magisterial control, has developed the glaring fact that they are the resort of prostitutes, and used for purposes of demoralization of the most frightful character.

In the House of Commons, the Chancellor, carrying out *his* mode of dealing with the universally acknowledged evil, made a very strenuous effort to obtain the repeal of the Tippling Act, so as to enable spirit dealers to recover debts contracted for small quantities of spirits supplied on credit. But owing to the promptitude and energy of the Parliamentary agent of the Alliance, and the courageous manner in which Mr. A. S. Ayrtoun, the Member for the Tower Hamlets, opposed this motion of Mr. Gladstone, the evil threatened to the cause of sobriety and good order has for the present been averted. The Bill had to be discharged towards the end of the Session. The Scottish Public House Amendment Act Bill went into a select committee, and passed through several stages, but was ultimately discharged, after various efforts to get it adopted. The Alliance and the Scottish Permissive Bill Association laboured hard to obtain the introduction of a veto power for the ratepayers of the municipal or parochial districts, by a vote of two-thirds majority.

Numerous other movements and events of a social and progressive character claim our attention, both in and out of the sphere of legislation. A new educational code has been announced. Frightful fires, dreadful railway collisions, and other mournful disasters have filled the columns of the daily newspaper press. All around the horizon we have had streaks of lurid light, and clouds of portentous hue. America heaves, writhes, and wrestles under a mighty conflict, in the issues of which we, as a people and a nation, and the whole world of humanity, have vast interests. We can only look on, and pray that God may defend the right; and that the cause of freedom, commerce, peace, and brotherhood may eventually be advanced. The Italian troubles are not ended. Down-stricken Poland and menaced Hungary still claim all our generous solicitude; and the unfortunate war in New Zealand has not come to an end. But amid all these conflicts, disasters, and cruel wrongs, the cause of social progress, the cause of justice, truth, and humanity is still advancing. We do not despair, but work on and hope on.

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ART.

# ART. IX.—REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

*Slavery and Secession in America; Historical and Economical.* By Thomas Ellison, F.S.S., author of 'A Handbook of the Cotton Trade.' London: Low, Son, and Co. 1861.

'THE object of the author' in this work, as he informs us in the preface, 'has been to trace the origin and development of that antagonism between the Northern and Southern sections of the American Republic which has brought about the present deplorable internal strife, and which, it seems probable, will result in the dissolution of the Union.' This is done with fulness and thorough accuracy of information. Mr. Ellison sees in slavery the *fons et origo malorum*, and he shows how that question has tinged all the public politics of the Union throughout its history. His views on this matter are sound results from historical facts. The work is divided into four parts: the first, descriptive of the rise and progress of slavery in the United States; the second, the history of the secession movement; the third, 'a comparative view of the influence of free and slave institutions in promoting or retarding the general progress of the two sections of the country, as exemplified in the present condition of the Northern and Southern States;' and the fourth discusses emancipation. There is added an appendix of documents, political and statistical. A more complete, clear, or satisfactory exposition of the American crisis could scarcely be desired; and a careful perusal of this volume would tend much to correct the views of many in this country relative to the war in the United States.

*'The Sons of Light.' A Paper prepared for Reading at the Visitation of the Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells at Dunster, on the 25th of April, 1861, on 'Teetotalism and the Liquor Traffic.'* By the Rev. Henry Gale, B.C.L., Rector of Treborough, author of 'Apostolic Temperance.' London: Caudwell.

THIS is a spirited attempt of the author to place the question of teetotalism and the liquor traffic before the minds of the clergy. Mr. Gale introduces both Biblical criticism and the opinions of eminent authors into his paper—a mode of reasoning commonly weighty with divines. It will not be easy to reply to the arguments of the Rector of Treborough; and we sincerely hope that clergymen generally may give this important matter the careful examination which Mr. Gale's pamphlet and the cause it advocates, demand.

*The Temperance Advocate.* The Organ of the British Temperance League. Published at Bolton.

THIS is a weekly paper, commenced in July last, and entirely devoted to the temperance cause. It is ably edited, contains an admirable digest of general news, gives considerable space to the record of teetotal advocacy and progress, and presents portions of higher literature. We rejoice in the appearance of this newspaper, and recommend it to all who wish to be informed of the temperance movement. Its extensive circulation would be a national boon.

*Address of the Very Rev. the Dean of Carlisle in the City Hall, Glasgow.* Scottish Temperance League, 1861.

THE words of the Dean of Carlisle are always smart and earnest, and in this address are made to touch a vital matter of our social life. The Dean is an uncompromising teetotaler, and argues with much zeal that all others should join the abstinence cause.

*The Christian serving his Generation: a Sermon preached on the Anniversary of the Scottish Temperance League.* By the Rev. W. M. Taylor, M.A., Liverpool.

THIS sermon is able and eloquent, and admirably adapted to the theme. It is worthy of circulation, and will serve to commend the principles it advocates to Christian minds.

*The Social Reformer.* Grahamstown.

THIS is a monthly devoted to temperance and social reform in the Cape Colony. It is conducted in a good spirit, and contains very readable matter.

*The Sailors of New England; or, Prohibitions on Land and Sea.* Illustrated by some Yarns by Old Salts. By Peter Sinclair.

A REPRINT of several pape[illegible] written, and calculated to a[illegible] temperance cause.

*The British Herald.* Edited by the Rev. W. Reid, M.A. London: James Nisbet and Co.

THIS monthly paper is conducted by one whose name is extensively known by his successful editorship of the 'British Messenger,' from its commencement until its circulation was the largest of any religious paper in Europe. The 'Herald' is even more able than the 'Messenger.' Its contributions, theological, biographical, and hortatory, both in narrative, essay, sketch, and poetry, are all well written and intensely practical. It deserves, and we trust will receive, as extensive a circulation as its gifted editor formerly obtained.

*A Few Words about Cotton.* For the Cotton Spinners and Millowners. London: Wertheim and Co.

THE necessity for cotton from other fields than the United States has turned the attention of practical men to the West as well as the East Indies. The *brochure* before us advocates Jamaica as a suitable soil for the cultivation of the cotton plant.

*The Life-boat, a Journal of the National Life-boat Institution.*

AN excellent serial, devoted to a noble cause. As a means of promoting a philanthropic object, the publication of a monthly magazine is of great value. Information and appeal, clothed in such language as is used in this paper, is likely to perpetuate and extend the benevolent operations of the Life-boat Institution.

*The Present State of Education. The Census of* 1861. *Parliamentary Reform.* Lectures by Handel Cossham, Esq., Bristol.

MR. COSSHAM is a true friend of the people, and an active exponent of social science in theory and practice. Whatever he has to say on any of its branches demands respectful attention. We are glad to learn that he has been delivering popular lectures on the above subjects. We quite disagree with him on the subject of education both as regards its promotion by the State and the compulsory system, to which Mr. Cossham is opposed. But his lecture contains, nevertheless, much sound and useful statement, and evidences Mr. Cossham's earnest desire to advance the education of the people. The Census of 1861 is well discussed, though the printed lecture is brief. The lecture on Parliamentary Reform is very able.

*This World or the Next?* By the Rev. W. Clarkson. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

AN earnest appeal to young men. Mr. Clarkson does not think it possible to make the best of both worlds, and goes against Mr. Binney's celebrated work on the affirmative side of that question. The best of this world he declares 'is not a legitimate object of Christian pursuit.' But it is surely Christian to pursue business earnestly on right principles. 'And do not right principles, with persevering industry, generally succeed?

*Honesty.* London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

AN excellent work for men in business.

*The Test of Truth.* An argument and a narrative. By Mary Jane Graham. Eighth Edition. Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

A REPRINT of a work brief in words but singularly forcible in argument.

*The Scientific Basis of the Temperance Movement.* An Address to Medical Students of Glasgow University. By J. M. M'Culloch, Esq., M.D. London: Alliance Depôt.

LET our readers put a copy of this pamphlet into the hands of medical men in their neighbourhood.

*Temperance Policy Reviewed.* Reprinted from the 'Christian News.'

THIS is evidently by a writer fully informed upon the subject he has taken up.

# Meliora.

ART. I.—1. *Ragged London in* 1861. By John Hollingshead. London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1861.

2. *London Labour and the London Poor.* A Cyclopædia of the Condition and Earnings of those that *will* work, those that *cannot* work, and those that *will not* work. By Henry Mayhew. 3 Vols. London: Griffin, Bohn, and Co.

OUR great cities are at once a history and a criticism of our progress, philosophy, and philanthropy. They tell their own unvarnished tale. We cannot blink our eyes to their meanness, cover their despair, or forget their shame. Day by day they chronicle themselves, trampling out in joy or woe, on hard and stony pavements, their wail or pæan, lyric or epic, euthanasia or epithalamium. Their greatness confronts us everywhere: their littleness and misery only at home. Our Londons and Liverpools, Manchesters and Birminghams, are known in their vastness and speciality wherever the English name has been murmured and the English nation has been represented. Even wandering Arabs and barbaric Bechuana give forth, like sea-shells, some lingering murmur of their might and mystery. But the guilt, the misery, and raggedness that hurtles in the alleys and courts of either of these four centres of civilization, wealth, and commerce, they know not, yea, too many of us, know not. Who shall reveal it? Local inspectors, and those hard-working, chivalric clergymen with whose names and labours, as far as London is concerned, we have now become acquainted for the first time, together with such men as Mr. Henry Mayhew, Mr. Hollingshead, and others, are alone fully able to estimate the drawbacks, gauge the depravity, and tabulate the weak shamelessnesses of the city life of this nineteenth century. Here even they must stop. Its influence upon this, as well as upon the next generation, it is impossible they should have the prophetic discernment to calculate, and so they leave it there, a blot, in all its hideousness and spectral leer, as a lesson for all men, and an especial problem for acute but erroneous philosophers. There, too, we must also leave it.

A city life is significant alike of the weakness and strength of human nature. It opens problems that cannot be discussed

these pages, it furnishes men with arguments and hypotheses, leading to every possible and erratic philosophy, and it breathes upon most of us a witchery of sadness, a spirit of restlessness, and a fitful fever of scepticism. We leave others to descant as they may, and with justice, upon the triumphs and grandeurs effected in education, morals, and manners by such assemblages of people, such perpetual centralization. As critics and teachers, yea, prophets and apostles, it is our duty to point to the darker shades of the picture, to bring out the dance of death from beneath the shadows of the elm, and divert attention for a time from cathedral and church, museum and institute, free library and reading-room, to the great sea of raggedness and wretchedness that breaks and booms around them, settling in scum and filth almost within the domain of the priest, the mansion of the rich, and the sweeping robe of the Pharisee. We would do so hopefully yet sadly, soberly but not despondingly, believing in neither an old-clothes nor Malthusian philosophy. The evil and wretchedness about him it is a man's duty to point out, that it may be mended and not mourned over, that its subjects may get out of it and not be immolated therein. Whatever there may be around us that is wrong, impious, miserable, fretting its way into our cities and towns, trailing along our fields, and tinging our lives with mourning and mockery, is significant only as so much work to be done, as every death and every birth the register records is eloquent of what has been, might have been, and is to be achieved. The world is full of work, work too of no nice kid-gloved order, but stern, stalwart, Herculean toil. All cant about the nicety and prudery of Wisdom can be no longer tolerated. If of old she dwelt personified only with mystic and ascetic, she has long since left their company as a more homely, Socratian goddess, affecting neither dress, deception, nor niceties of speech, but passing from palace to prison, from home to hospital, library to garret, Mayfair to Field Lane, as one who possesses an universal password, an unfailing talisman, an eternal invisibility. One day she discourses with Kant, Humboldt, Herschel, and the next with Howard, Wilberforce, Buxton, and whosoever will have her for a companion, and discourse with her upon anything between nightly refuges and theories of the universe. She has none of that aversion to evil that some wise and good men have imputed to her and then adopted for themselves. If men had never meddled with disease, we should have had less health; never intermixed with the insane, less sanity; never studied crime, less honesty; never familiarized themselves with sin, less moral renovation.

The two works we have placed at the head of this paper deal with different aspects of the same question, and are mutually reflective. Mr. Mayhew's work comprises an amount of information

mation upon the London poor, their histories and habits, that entitles it to a foremost rank in that peculiar literature which is now becoming so common, the literature not of common life only, but the commonest, oddest, and most out of the way. A private commission of inquiry, conducted on purely public grounds, and spreading itself now over a period of ten years, it is rich in materials for the divine, the novelist, the statistician, and, if the biographies which are gathered into its pages be reliable—and we see no reason to doubt them—it reveals the secret springs and inner germs of much that were otherwise unaccountable and almost mythical. He brings up before us specimens of almost every class he describes, and as we know them more familiarly, there is much that is less harrowing and less repulsive than many might have imagined. Poverty is by no means deficient in the development of some of the noblest, if rudest, virtues in the human character; and there are recorded for us instances of self-denial, heroic struggle, and sublime endeavour that touch up the picture into almost poetic grace, and send memory, slipping through old time, to revel in the works of the ancient masters.

Mr. Hollingshead's book is more modern and more modest. He does not attempt to dramatize, so to speak, the ragged life of our metropolitan byeways, or enter into lengthy details about the lives and habits of the people he has visited. Familiar with London life in all its lower phases from his earliest boyhood, and invested with nothing more pretentious and exhaustive than the character of a special correspondent of a daily newspaper, he has merely endeavoured, as he says, to beat the bounds of metropolitan dirt and misery, and show us how a million of people are living, and for the greater part are content to live, in this same year of grace. He has done his work honestly, if not thoroughly. His book is opportune and useful in many ways. It supplies us with new facts for old arguments, and is not only a survey of the question 'from the time we are at,' but is an indirect expositor of the peculiarities of human amelioration. As we read we cannot escape the recognition of the fact, that what he terms tinkering philanthropy, like all movements that are human, is subject to fluctuations and moves by peculiar saltations that almost defy, when they seem most to favour, the formulation of the positivist. A fierce crusade, national and local, now and then breaks out, and enthusiasts imagine that everything will fall before their committees, vestries, boards, and byelaws. They work hard and fast, tooth and nail, head and heel. But the citadel of dirt is still unstormed, and its environs flout their impurities upon every hand. Then there is parleying and diplomacy, hesitation and [illegible], but still the foe spreads and increases. When the Select [illegible] of the House of Commons sat, in 1840, to inquire into [illegible]

Large Towns and Populous Districts, as the result of the reports on the condition of the metropolitan poor made to the Poor Law Commissioners the previous year, the physical and moral condition of the poor seemed never in a fairer prospect of betterment. There was scarcely a point untouched, or skill neglected, or science that was not questioned, or experience that was not contributory. Much lasting good was done, we admit, many agencies set in motion whose results may not be apparent for many years to come, and public attention so completely aroused that it can never thoroughly be exhausted any more. But how feeble and pulseless has this enthusiasm now become! Facts may have daunted it, rates have crushed it, and years modified it; but what a poor, decrepit, ghostly thing sanatory reform threatens to become, and how ratepayers resent every movement in advance as an attack upon their purses! It may not, perhaps, press so forcibly just now as at some future time, although the certainty of a crisis wherein our efforts will be severely tried is not doubted. How we shall then fare it remains to be seen.

There is nothing in Mr. Hollingshead's book either very novel or very startling. Its worst, as well as its truest feature, is that it is so old. The homely antiquity its revelations carry with them ought to make us sad, thoughtful, and retrospective. The lapse of twenty-one years has wrought many changes elsewhere, but few in the special province with which he deals. If we will compare the results he has obtained in the several districts he has visited, and arranges somewhat in the postal district manner, with those embodied in the Health of Towns Commission, as it touches upon London, we shall be surprised to find how much there is still to be done in each place, how a certain character will cling to it when once it has obtained a bad name, and what a vitality and steadiness of movement there is in dirt and squalor, driven from one neighbourhood only to settle in another, and running in various irregular tracts, or following a special class, with a stolidity and pertinacity that is as marvellous as it is momentous. Whether it is possible to thoroughly annihilate such evils we do not here inquire; we merely wish to call attention to this localicity of poverty and its concomitant evils, and suggest a steadier inroad and more patient opposition.

Various causes operate in perpetuating as well as propagating this localicity of pauperization. Overcrowding is unquestionably one of them. Whilst, for instance, at Lewisham and Plumstead, with a population of 34,835, the number of persons to an acre, according to the Census of 1851 (the recent one, unfortunately, is not yet to hand), was only 2, St. Olave's, Southwark, with a population of 19,375, showed 115 persons to the acre, St. Saviour's 143 to the acre, out of a population of 35,731, the number increasing

increasing as we reach more central districts, until in Holborn it is 238 out of 46,621, in St. Luke's 246 out of 54,055, and in the Strand 316 out of 45,000. Even this does not show the frightful overcrowding in courts and rows. According to a private census, taken by the Rev. Mr. M'Gill, December 19th, 1860, in the district of St. George's-in-the-East, in 235 small rooms there was crammed a growing, breeding population of 344 adults and 357 children, making a total of 701. The number of persons who live on an acre in James' Square division is about 134, in the Golden Square division 262; but in the Berwick Street division, near Regent Street, it reaches the enormous total of 432 to the acre. The inequality of rentals helps to huddle the population together. They will resort to cheap rooms, and consent to pay even so much as four shillings per week for one room, but the rush in the end raises instead of lessening the rents. The labourers, too, under the foolish but excusable idea that they ought to be near their work, will submit to any privation, crowding, or rentage, to avoid a walk to and from their labour that might give their lungs and limbs freer play, and even supply their minds with some little interest and instruction. In one of the houses in Pulteney Court, within a few hundred yards of Regent Street, Mr. Hollingshead found a most pertinent instance of the home-clinging spirit that even poverty fails to extinguish. The stench, within and without the house, was sickening. In one apartment, rented at three shillings per week, with its roof broken in in several places by the snow, he found a shoemaker, his wife, and three children. When questioned as to why he did not leave such a place, he replied that he had lived in the parish so long, and was so familiar with every one about him, that for him to remove would be like going into a foreign country. In another court in Clerkenwell was one even more romantic. In an old smithy, with its dismantled grindstone, rusty iron rings and keys, cobwebbed rafters, and generally dilapidated appearance, he discovered two grisly men, in spectacles, that might have sat to Quentin Matsys for his picture of the 'Misers.' One of them had been in the parish seventy years, and was loud in complaints of the decay of trade, whilst the other did not fail to catch up the old cry about the competition of 'furriners.' It is sad to be told that this very court, with all its stifling air and filth, was owned by a landlord who kept a missionary, as well as a medical man, seemingly to so small a purpose.

Unfortunately, as matters at present are, we find no help from the poor themselves in removing the evils that surround and almost entomb them. They resist changes in their habits with as much conservatism as they elsewhere display radicalism. Sometimes, we fear, they do it because they love their dirt and delight in

in their loose freedom; and when they do not impute to private individuals and public bodies motives of personal interest and aggrandisement, they imagine the license of their special vocations infringed upon and unnecessarily restricted by meddlesome officials and fussy visitors. Dirt is their inheritance, privilege, and glory. Occasionally they are honest enough not to dispute their right, and passively allow other people to do for them what they ought to do for themselves; but at times they will not clear away the refuse at their very doors, if you pay them to do it, and nothing but physical or legal force will rouse them into the energy of cleanliness. This love of dirt is nothing less than a species of social and moral insanity that we must not expect to easily master. The cleanliness of persons who are insane is always regarded as the result of an improved mental habit, and filthiness *vice versâ*.

The two districts in which this accumulation of ordure and refuse matter exists on the largest scale, are the so-called Potteries at Kensington, and the district of Marylebone. The Kensington Potteries, as the marshy district lying in the dip between the villas at Bayswater and Notting Hill is denominated, are nearly in the same condition as they were ten years ago, and especially distinguished for filth, bad roads, low pot-houses, dilapidated huts, and a loose, rough, vagabond, semi-sporting kind of population. The chief nuisance is that caused by the pig-trainers of the district, who collect the refuse matter from club-houses and hotels to feed their pigs, and boil down its fat for sale, and who seem to have a strong social bond and vested interests in the nastinesses about them. They have a village Hampden, who did duty as chief spokesman against the 'Bayswater Chronicle' and the authoress of the little work entitled 'Ragged Homes, and How to Mend Them,' having especial reference to the Potteries, for what he called ignorant misrepresentation and unchristian abuse. He boasted that, as pig-trainers, they always paid twenty shillings in the pound, and neither lived in the mud, like swine, nor neglected to properly bring up their children; and when any one had something to say against the place, he said, 'Let 'em meet me at the Temp'rance Hall, and I'll not shrink from 'em.' Perhaps the plucky man had some good cause for his defensive eloquence, for he continued, 'Look at that brick-field, which we calls the "hocean;" there's nothing much the matter with that. A brick-field ain't a drawing-room. Well, a gent comes down here, and takes a pictur' of that brick-field, and makes it look a hawful place. He puts in such huts as I never see, and makes out that all the roofs of our cottages is covered with cow-dung. Now, that ain't the way to go and talk about people, and show people up.' In the better parts of Marylebone a similar nuisance is rampant, only that the wretched poor who dwell in the midst of such degrading circumstances

stances are only partially independent, and manage to hang on when they can to the large mansions behind which they cluster in such closeness and squalor. All kinds of labourers and honest poor are gathered here, and some of the latter, to their praise be it written, are so determined in their resistance to parish relief that in January last, according to the testimony of the Rev. Mr. Keeling who watches over the district, nearly the entire poor, some five thousand in number, had most of their garments in pawn to provide themselves with necessaries, rather than lose a certain self-respect. Low-built houses, with high rentals, and crowded to excess with families, are common enough. A few thieves and prostitutes, and a sprinkling of Irish, who invariably carry their national peculiarity with them wherever they go, lowering the character of the neighbourhood even when they do not increase its crimes, make up the sum of its villanies. But its common mews and choked drainage are its blackest features. Often some old livery stables will be let out to cabmen, manure-heaps will be collected in the yards, and the men, with their wives and families, will crowd the room over the stables, winter and summer alike, subject to all the noxious effluvia arising from stables never thoroughly cleansed, and sewers never doing more than half their work. Fever is common enough in this district, and an outbreak occurred in Burne Street, so recently as June last, attributable to a ventilating shaft in the common sewer which opened in front of the house, but will ere this be removed. But the main nuisance is still untouched. Dr. Thompson, the medical officer for the district, writes in the report for June: 'I beg to direct the attention of the vestry to the nuisance of accumulated manure. I estimate the number of dung-heaps in the parish at nearly two thousand, and I consider that, in the summer especially, manure ought to be removed daily. But owners and occupiers of stables state it to be impossible to comply with such suggestion under present arrangements. If the vestry had the power of contracting for its removal, as in the case of dust, much annoyance to the inhabitants, and even injury to health, might be avoided.'

Houses and neighbourhoods sink by degrees into this low and prostrate condition. They have their histories, like our criminals, and gloomy and sickening are their pages. When clean and new they may have sheltered a hard-working, thrifty class of labourers, artisans, and costermongers, or have been occupied as family mansions by city clerks and reputable people; but when once they sink into dirt and untidiness, with damp, mouldy walls, broken floors, and dilapidated exteriors, their descent is certain. Lower and lower their occupiers become; they are let out into tenements to different families; bad characters hive in their recesses; they get well known to policemen, and the influence of a bad name will hang

hang about them like a pall, and cover even their more honest inhabitants with shame and suspicion. For the landlord is often careless. This degraded condition pays him well, and hence he is reluctant to make improvements. The rent for one room, occasionally inclusive of some broken furniture, averages some two shillings a week, and may rise to as much as four, according to the district and the character of the landlord. Very often such miserable hovels as those immediately round Westminster Abbey stand upon crown or church property, and their rental goes to pay the salaries of officials whose duty it is to create a better state of things. Even the poor gain something by this living in tenements. It is true, many young men bring home their wives to live with their parents in this sheepfold fashion, and prostitution is not uncommon; but, as Mr. Hollingshead observes, at a certain depth of degradation the worst places are purified from vice, not because either thieves or their women are converted in times of scarcity, but because they invariably shift their quarters. A family feeling generated by this living in tenements provides help one to the other in many ways. If the inhabitants of one room are out of work, the others may not be; and if one is unable to pay his rent when the landlord's official comes his punctual round, the others are always willing to help. There may be a small fire upstairs, if not below, when father, son, or mother returns home, cold and starved; and little bright ministrations of this kind touch up these dark habitations, until it almost seems as if the inherent worth of our human nature never could be crushed or annihilated. Yet this style of living is more than any other characteristic of a low morbid moral condition, whether we find it in town or country. Model lodging-houses are by no means exempt from it. It is, indeed, recorded of a nobleman, the Duke of Bedford, that he built several superior three-roomed cottages on his estate for the benefit of the crowded poor, but no sooner were they installed, each family in one house, than they let off the remaining two rooms to other families, as if it were impossible to resist their former habits.

This localicity of ragged Londons—for each district is almost entitled to be considered an independent community, or at any rate a distinct parasitic growth—seems to be the great problem in the question. It is easy enough for each one to grow worse and wider, deeper and blacker, for there is no reparative process within itself; but how are they to be checked, walled in, or ploughed up by the roots? The evil perpetuates itself, when once a certain amount or plusage of degradation is reached. It is this we want to stop or effectually conquer. How shall we do it? Where may we not be carried by it, if we do not answer the question speedily, practically? Mr. Carlyle has grown eloquent, in his own fierce way, over the dark trade-shops where the poor cross

tobacco-pipes

tobacco-pipes and red-herrings 'to keep the devil out.' It seems to us that we have almost as fierce a monster to deal with here. Grow it will, if we hinder it not, and that terrifically. We cannot expect Government to stand still, and do it broadly and thoroughly, nor special commissioners, nor poor-law boards, nor visiting societies, nor soup-kitchens, nor yet the self-immolation of noble, hard-working clergymen by the hundred or the thousand. As long as these institutions and these men work hard to remedy the defects of other people's neglect, money-worship, and brutal indifference, so long must we expect things to remain much as they are at present. It is necessary to be emphatic on this point, as it would be uncharitable and untruthful to be otherwise. They have done good, and none will dispute it; they have saved erring men and women, brightened dark hearts, and restored valuable lives, resurrected the weak to strength, and the feeble to manfulness; and carried peace and mercy where hate and envy, villany and crime, scowled and scuffled, raged and despaired. We can scarcely expect them to do more. Ceilings may have been whitewashed, roofs repaired, and drains tinkered into a gulping kind of activity; but it is too much to expect that narrow courts, choked-up lanes, badly-built houses, and disgusting habits should have been altogether eradicated. There is an end even to charity, as there is also to mercy, and what belongs to landowner and house-proprietor can never become the express duty of any body of men, civil or legal, local or national.

Men have looked much to one source for hope, and not without much show of reason. Building improvements, widened streets, and the parcelling out of these low, huddled localities for public purposes of one kind or other, it was hoped might clear away the evil, and in some magic Merlin manner result in untold tidiness and unimagined ideals. It was the first mistake all ragged philanthropists made, and continues to be the last. Here is evidence how completely practical men opposed the idea, under this very form, twenty years ago. In answer to a question on the point, Henry Austin, esq., architect, told the Commissioners—

'It is a favourite argument in favour of opening thoroughfares through densely crowded poor districts, the great blessing it will prove to the neighbourhood in distributing the inhabitants. In my opinion there cannot be a greater mistake. This crowded population may be displaced, but cannot be removed to a distance; for the nature or situation of the labourer's employment will invariably determine the locality of his habitation; and until, in carrying out such improvements, suitable accommodation is provided for the disturbed inhabitants, the evils of overcrowding in the immediate neighbourhood must be fearfully aggravated. In the disturbance of the population to make way for the Blackwall railway, I could not fail to observe that the same poor people continued to live in the immediate neighbourhood, which before was greatly overcrowded. Although this [illegible] away some of the vilest property in London, I do not hesitate to [illegible] an injury to the neighbourhood. I observe that the medical [illegible]

this increased overcrowding as a cause of ill-health. It always must be so unless a provision be made for the disturbed inhabitants.'*

Mr. Hollingshead, with quite as much pertinency, if less authority, takes the same self-demonstrating view, regarding such improvements as nothing better than 'quieting doses for grumbling rate-payers, and schemes for benefiting one part of London at the expense of another.'

The remedy, then, is difficult to select. Where force shall end and spontaneity begin, and the influence of one body merge in that of another, is by no means easy to demonstrate. Surely something better than the present civilized black-holes are within the scope of human ingenuity, human power, and human aspiration. A certain amount of force must be generated somewhere for a momentum. It should begin outside, and be focalized inside, Parliament. We have said that certain parties and officials could not be expected to do it; we meant singly, and in virtue of their limitation as so construed. Acting in unison, without and within the law, they may do wonders, short of Cyclopæan walls and Merlin fortresses, bearing upon the real parties who can, who ought, who must do something to remedy this overcrowding and consequent social, moral, and national degeneracy. One scarcely knows how to frame a proposition, the matter is so difficult and so many-sided, and so many clashing interests rise up the moment we unite strong words in favour of movements so stern and uncompromising as these must be. Anyway, some great force must be brought to bear upon property-holders, house-builders, and even house-occupiers. If a house, say, were declared by a local inspector to be unfit to live in, and the landlord were duly served with a printed notice to the effect that if in a certain number of days it were not extensively refitted, or altogether pulled down, if the case demanded it, the board or vestry, by virtue of powers invested in it, should proceed to do the work, charge for the same, as also for what extra rent might be paid for premises to which the tenants were removed in the mean time, the case of the worst houses would seem to be met at once. Of course this appears a necessary and severe interference in the liberty of the house-holder, as well as the house-owner; but under these circumstances both seem justifiable. So long as a man is able to take care of himself, the State does not interfere; but when once he has demonstrated the contrary to be the case, then his freedom as an individual is sacrificed. So with house property. A less severe measure than this, as affixing the names of parties thus warned to the doors of the parish church, might suffice in some instances, but the stringency of the former leaves

* Health of Towns Commission. First Report. Vol. ii., p. 355.

less

less room for deception and delay. Of course things should not stop here. When public bodies—the Blackwall Railway Company, for instance—have, as they had, adjoining waste land that is suitable for building cottages and labourers' tenements upon, they should be required to make some attempts to shelter more perfectly and house more humanly the population they have displaced. With districts we do not see how matters can be altered at present. Reforms must be slow, continuous, from within outward. But when once we have rid such neighbourhoods of dens fit only for Spenserian dragons and fabled monsters with slimy feet, there is fair room for our benevolence and charity. We cannot make men clean by act of parliament, but at least we can make landowners just, house-proprietors regardful of others than themselves, and local vestries alive and stirring for more liberal purposes than mean rivalries and petty squabbles. We can go to work in a thousand ways, assured that however bad the courts and rows are getting that we frequent in our ministrations, the compulsory house amendment act will step in to assist us in our extremities. For several years it were vain to expect that Angel Yards, Rose Gardens, and Paradise Rows should reach more than the faintest resemblance to the character they imply; but it is only fair to calculate that we should be rid of those tumble-down, hook-and-eye, kind of buildings so familiar to every inspector and hard-working clergyman.

We know that the failure of many alms-house and model lodging-house schemes stands directly across the path of this sound-house better-tenant theory. But not so much so as seems at first sight. The comfortable houses built in different localities in the metropolis, at different times, and by different societies and private individuals, may have been appropriated by a class for whom they were never intended, and the alms-houses erected by charitable individuals for the old and indigent poor may be so much money badly laid out, where, amidst awful silence and endless gloom, men and women wear away their lives in an Indian gymnosophist contemplation of the nose-point of pauperism; but still these results cannot be fairly chargeable to anything but the mismanagement of such property, which is common enough in the hands of those who are neither business-like in their habits nor experienced in their calculations. The tendency of most charities is to misuse. But private landowners, backed by their own interests and the moral as well as pecuniary assistance of relieving societies afforded to their tenantry, should surely be enabled to secure for themselves what, on a smaller scale, and with manifest disadvantages, more irresponsible persons have failed in doing—good houses and good occupiers.

Next to rooting up poor [illegible] another and

and nobler duty, which perhaps should oftenest be placed first, or, at any rate, concurrently attempted. All the vile habits, the loose improvident living, and the clustering around poverty and crime as a necessary vital centre, have to be dealt with firmly, seriously, even sadly. A rise in the rate of wages may improve the physical condition of the poor, but it rarely does more; nay, it has been observed in Paris, as elsewhere, that high wages, without a proportionate mental training, invariably lead to increased immorality, imprudence, and even casual want, a feast one day and a fast the next. Some excellent tracts are now to be had for the purpose; and as soon as men and women will read them, an immense concession for good is made. Such tracts as Mrs. Bayly's and others ought to be literally sown broadcast over ragged London. With those hardened by habit and age we cannot hope to effect much; with the middle-aged, perhaps, our hopes are less as their passions are stronger, but we must prevent the extension of the influence of both, curb their propensities, and hedge about even their liberty, how dear soever it may seem to philosophic men like Mr. John Stuart Mill, since they are led by them to physical, mental, and moral death. The curtailment of their liberty, or rather license, is a significant matter. Yet it is to their good to submit and ours to be severe. All men like license, and those who cannot have it honestly will contrive to have it other ways. Mr. Grote, in his splendid History of Greece, when writing of the growing greatness of the Athenian people, remarks, that it is always an indication of a high rate of civilization when men, communities, or governments are content to forego present for future advantages; and Mr. Ruskin has eloquently maintained as a kind of parallel principle, that the higher the creature and the thing, the more honourable is its obedience and restraint—'the sun has no liberty, a dead leaf has much.' Here are the two grand political and civil lessons the hives of ragged London have to be taught. They will not forego any seeming advantage. They have acquired the notion—and it comes of their hand-to-mouth habits—that to live for to-day is better than caring for a hundred morrows, as in a certain sense, if the care and not the thought for good be meant, it is, and the loose lawlessness of a vagabond, floating, peddling life is the highest earthly as well as, for them, the only possible good. They do not so much want energy as direction, capacity, as concentration, consistency, as combination. Their children are allowed a reckless freedom that they may not bother their parents, are turned out to take their luck in the streets, and grow up with most of the vices of their parents, with many great and original additions. A sewer-hunter, an active, intelligent man, from whom Mr. Mayhew derived much interesting information about his class, and who

who originally came from Birmingham, puts the idea of a love of licence which we have indicated in an unmistakeable manner. He first remembered himself as a child fast sinking in the mud at Cuckold's Point. He was soon after apprenticed to a blacksmith in Bermondsey, whence he ran away, as he could not idle by the river when he liked. He concludes his narrative thus: 'The reason I likes this sort of life is 'cause I can sit down when I likes, and nobody can't order me about. When I'm hard up, I knows as how I must work, and then I goes at it like sticks a-breaking.'

This is by no means an exceptional, although rather an exaggerated instance of that peculiar desire which generates so much of the peddling of the metropolis, together with a variety of other employments known only in the slang terms of their followers. It will be difficult enough to control this perverted barbarism or nomadic habit, and can never be thoroughly accomplished except in the young, so that all endeavours to settle the more intelligent adults in lucrative and industrial pursuits will be fruitless. There is, in fact, an inward as well as an outward civilization to be accomplished. Our city Arabs exhibit the same defects and virtues as their prototypes of the desert, only that the condition of the former is made worse by its being a retrogression from civilization. They have their social life, such as it is, their fellow-feeling, their rough graces, somewhat even of their hospitality, but there is so much else that is repulsive, mean, and corrupt, that one almost prefers an uncivilized Arab, a fierce Hottentot, or a naked Bechuana to the filthy ragged specimens of nineteenth-century nomads that may be seen in any hour's walk in the midst of the highest and purest civilization of the world.

Our task, then, is plain, as it is homely and common. There is no new way. When the Parliamentary Committee of 1816 sat to inquire into the subject of pauperism and crime, all facts and opinions went to show that the amount of poverty and crime depended almost wholly on the character and habits acquired by the young. All the evidence accumulated from public and private sources since that date has confirmed it. All speculations into the origin of crime, the sources of physical degeneracy, of mental as well as moral aberration, have failed in the same direction; and all ripe, honest, genuinely successful efforts in the way of amelioration have commenced there. The young have recently acquired an importance they have never had since the world began. They have formed the staple themes of philosophers and divines, orators, poets, and novelists. Never before was so large an amount of genius and talent devoted to their service, or engaged in speculations upon their improvement and destinies. The Cossack of the Don, and the peasant of the Tyrol, expend their ingenuity to brighten

brighten their leisure hours; acute Germans and brilliant Frenchmen are content to dissect their own minds and memories, to trot them through sciences, old and new, on almost royal roads; charitable and manly speculators are forming their schools, their gymnasiums, their universities for a knowledge of common things; and wherever we go we are prepared to hail the existence of the young as a sign of material as well as moral prosperity. This is certainly an advance, even upon Plato's time. No matter how old a world or a nation may be, so long as it is alive to the interest and well-being of its youthful population, it is renewing its own youth, defying decay, and rising to the full measure of a brighter civilization and a more intelligent life.

It may not be our only hope in dealing with the moral aspect of the questions in hand, but it is our best. We are long in building, but we build on sunken piers. Severe as it may be for the urchins accustomed to roam at large to be penned in a schoolroom for a few hours, it is best and quickest drill for them if they are to be made men. London is by no means behind in her provisions for those who will learn and work. She has now some one hundred and fifty ragged schools, containing something like twenty thousand children. There is, however, a rather striking deficiency in reformatories for such as have made a false start in life; and there is, consequently, a larger class of evilly-disposed boys than is to be found in our other centres of population. A few more reformatories, and a few years' discipline, would thin this class very much, if it did not at once check it and stifle it. In his recent report on reformatories, we are glad to observe that Mr. Sydney Turner does not fail to remark this, and concludes his suggestions by observing that 'elsewhere such lads are rarely met with, and in the metropolis they would soon disappear before such continuous and consistent action on the part of the magistrates and the police as have been brought to bear in Liverpool, Leeds, and Manchester.' We heartily wish this may be the case. Meanwhile, the existing machinery may do much. So much patience, good-humour, tact, and adroitness in avoiding dangerous topics cannot but issue in a healthier mental and moral stamina. We hear no complaints of a lack of acuteness in either ragged schools or reformatories. When lads are sent forth costermongering, anxious for their over-money or 'bunse,' as it is called, and therefore using all manner of means to get exorbitant prices, their wits may never be supposed to lie dormant. Their wit and precocity, however, is rather of an obstructive than helpful kind. It is, after all, but a low type of intellect, which is often mistaken in men of apparent, but, in reality, no education, for shrewdness and deep penetration, when it is nothing more than cunning—a kind of impure instinct and defaced intelligence. Yet there is ignorance enough to try all the patience and

and good temper of masters and teachers. The old master street-seller might be right when he said, 'All a fellow wants to know to sell potatoes is to tell how many tanners make a bob, and how many yennaps (pence) a tanner;' but to brace up a young mind fresh from so much corruption, and familiar with so much degradation, and teach its possessor to see himself aright, his duty, and his fellow-men, much more is required, as verily there shall be more reward for its well-doing. Some of the boys whose histories Mr. Mayhew has detailed have done well as their chances have improved, and they have reversed their previous habits.

The boys, indeed, are more manageable than girls. This is sad enough to state, but is too plainly true. Most of the confirmed criminals now in our prisons are women; and Mr. Turner admits that girls are more difficult to manage in reformatories than boys. It may arise from their previous habits, and from the comparatively small number who can really follow any employment when living in honesty at home. They can sell articles, but cannot work. Mr. Mayhew says—and we have no reason to doubt his word—'To be a domestic servant, or a barmaid in a beerhouse, or a poor, badly-paid seamstress, is neither very inviting nor very lucrative.' That so many of them should turn aside into evil ways is not marvellous. So much filth, overcrowding, and disregard of commonest decency and cleanliness, issues, almost ere many are aware, in making them what they certainly never placed before themselves as an end, or even whispered to themselves as a secret wish. A temporary refuge for females, started by the Incumbent of St. Jude, in Boar's Head Yard, Petticoat Lane, in May, 1860, is spoken of by Mr. Hollingshead as having afforded temporary shelter to sixty-four young women, of whom sixteen are doing well in situations, seven have been restored to their friends, one is married, one dead, nineteen have been sent to other institutions; and of the remaining twenty-eight, eight are now in the refuge, and the others have left, some as failures, and others as uncertain and unaccountable. It is self-supporting, and managed by a committee of ladies. Mr. Mayhew records a touching incident, bearing upon the virtue of a poor, peddling Irishwoman. Her parents both died soon after she came to London; but on her death-bed the mother said to her in a low, earnest tone, 'Mary, my darlint, if you starruve, be vartuous. Rimimber poor Illen's funeral.' This was a poor relative, who died unmarried, at a lying-in hospital; and as the coffin was carried into the churchyard to be buried, it was met by a brother who had not seen his sister for some time, and wanted to see her. The coffin was opened, and, bad man as he himself was, he cursed her fiercely. 'It made me ill,' said the poor woman, 'to see Illen in her coffin, and hear him curse her, and I've remembered it ever since.'

When once we have fairly instilled into the minds and hearts of the young such counsel as will stimulate them to honest work, it is our duty to find it them. This is easier with the boys than the girls, owing to many causes beyond our present province. Clothing and pecuniary assistance may be given at starting, but they should be led to understand that while an interest will always be felt in them, they cannot look towards charity for supplies to meet the defects of their own industry and thrift. The grand mainspring and motive power of their lives must be an inward, self-reliant, self-assertorial one. Heaven helps those who help themselves, and all the laws and ordinances of the universe so play and interplay in God's beneficence and law, that sooner or later work must end in victory. No good can come of them so long as they look back, look aside, or look down. There must be no lazy love for charitable homes and parish workhouses. All must be open, earnest, and transparent. Work, and work alone, shall be to them a holy worship, whereby they may toil out of murk and misery into thrift and contentment. As a rule, the poor, both young and old, are not and cannot be so lazy as in our ignorance we often imagine. It is pleasing to be told of the flourishing nature of such an institution as the Christ Church Penny Bank, in the district of St. George's-in-the-East, with its last year's receipt of 944*l.*; and also that there is a very large amount of modest, unobtrusive poor, who seldom clamour at police courts, crowd the soup-kitchens, or hurry theatrically to the workhouse, but who are always willing to work when they can get it, and will tramp miles through mire, and wind, and rain, to secure their bit of leather or strip of cloth, hurrying home joyfully as with precious treasure. It makes the future more hopeful when we find examples amongst the older and mature of what we are so anxious to impress upon the young and tender in experience. Such virtue, like its counterpart, may have to be dug out by frequent visits and patient querists; but its very existence is significant and cheering, and fruitful in suggestions that cannot be overlooked even if they are never realized.

There are many other considerations opening out of Mr. Hollingshead's volume, as also Mr. Mayhew's, which we cannot now discuss, and many special topics requiring lengthy and exhaustive treatment. Moderate in our wishes as well as in our hopes, we are neither inclined to be despairing nor joyful over the peculiar features of our great city life these works have unveiled. But we have still many reasons for believing that whosoever will write the history of the ragged London of 1871, will reveal a more brightening condition and a more wholesome atmosphere, moral as well as mental, in the dark places that hide our fellow men and women from the light of day, the light of truth, and the light of God.

ART.

ART. II.—1. *John Angell James: a Review of his History, Character, Eloquence, and Literary Labours.* By John Campbell, D.D., Author of the 'Martyr of Erromanga,' &c. London: Shaw. 1860.

2. *The Life and Letters of the Rev. John Angell James; including an Unfinished Autobiography.* Edited by the Rev. R. W. Dale, M.A., his Colleague and Successor. Third edition. London: Nisbet & Co. 1861.

SIR JOHN STODDART makes the following remarks in his admirable 'Introduction to Universal History:' 'If the attention of mankind is strongly drawn to the contemplation of great actions, it is perhaps still more forcibly attracted to that of remarkable *persons*. There is no object so interesting to man as man. There is no glass in which we can so well dress our moral nature. There is nothing that so fully enables us to obey the famous oracle, "Know thyself." There are no such effectual means to stir up our latent powers; to kindle passions unknown even to ourselves; and to impel us to act by showing us that we possess the means of action. If Cæsar wept before the statue of Alexander; if Burns felt the enthusiasm of a patriot possess his whole soul in perusing the valiant deeds of William Wallace; if the benevolence of the Roman Catholic has been kindled by the example of St. Vincent de Paul; if the British sailor will for ages to come feel his heart beat at the name of Nelson,— all this, and a thousand times more, is owing to that most fascinating species of history which is called biography.' How much ministerial devotedness may be traced to similar influences! The study of the life of a man of God has led many invested with the sacred office to emulate the virtues, and to imitate the labours of the holy and useful ministers of Christ. More perhaps has this been the case from the biographies of the good than of the great, of the earnest evangelist rather than of the profound divine. The means of doing good which such possessed are more within the range of other men than are the lofty powers of thought which belong to the great, and which place them on a pinnacle of eminence too high for ordinary men to attain. John Angell James was one of these earnest and eminently useful men. Without learning or philosophy, with modest pretensions and ordinary powers, he attained an eminence and a ministerial success such as few in the ministry reach. His life, therefore, has a surpassing interest. 'I set out in my ministry, even when a student,' he said, 'with the idea of *usefulness* so deeply imprinted on my heart, and so constantly present to my thoughts, that I could never lose sight of it long together; and I mean usefulness of one kind—that is, the direct

conversion of souls.' It pleased God to fulfil, in a large measure, this idea of his life and labour.

He was born at Blandford Forum, Dorsetshire, on 6th June, 1785, of humble but respectable parents. Like most men who have been eminent and honoured in the Church of Christ, he had a godly mother, who was wont to take her children to her chamber, and, with each separately, to pray for the salvation of their souls. This exercise, while fulfilling her own responsibility, was moulding the character of her children, and most, if not all, of them rose up to call her blessed. When did such means ever fail?

Another circumstance tended to his Christian decision. When apprenticed to a linendraper, at Poole, young James discontinued his daily prayers, from a sense of shame. But a new apprentice, who had lately joined the establishment, and who occupied the same room with him and the other apprentices, knelt down in his presence to seek his father's God. This faithfulness reproved the transgressor, and from that night he recommenced the practice which his mother taught him. He never left it off again. Conscience was henceforth at work, and filial piety passed into personal religion. In this transition the youth was aided by an aged shoemaker in the town, whose soul yearned after the young. John Angell James became a visitor at the old disciple's, and ere long his voice occasionally led the supplications of the little company in that good man's house. The circumstances connected with his first effort Mr. James mentions in his autobiographic sketch: 'In order to take off all fear from my mind, he requested me, the first time I prayed, to go and stand in a place that was boarded off, in which coals and other matters were kept. Here, in this dark corner, I stood to pour out an audible prayer for the first time with a fellow-creature.' His religious impressions were greatly deepened at this time by a sermon preached by the Rev. Mr. Sibree, of Frome, from these words: 'Therefore will the Lord wait that he may be gracious unto you.' (Isa. xxx. 18.) Good books and good company aided the growing piety of the young apprentice, and he was induced to take a part in Sabbath-school teaching—a means of usefulness which has often reacted upon the religious convictions of youthful converts. While engaging in this work, a desire arose in his mind to become a minister of Christ.

When his mother discovered his serious impressions by observing a pocket Bible in his coat, her heart was overjoyed. It was to his sister, however, that he most freely communicated his religious thoughts. His letters home now became Christian. The new individuality pressed itself on paper; and his sister, who corresponded with him, had the joy of recognizing a brother in Christ in her brother by blood. She showed some of his letters to the Rev. Mr. Bennett, then of Romsey, where she was on a visit to

to a friend. Impressed by their evidences of ability and zeal, he suggested that the writer might be useful in the ministry of the gospel. To this the young tradesman responded, and, when the objections of his father were overruled, he became a pupil in the academy of Dr. Bogue, of Gosport, in the end of the year 1802.

Dr. Bogue was chiefly occupied with the preparation of young men for missionary work abroad. He had been the principal originator of the Missionary Society, to which the name 'London' was afterwards prefixed. Mr. Robert Haldane, whose name is inseparably associated with the revival of the work of the Lord in the beginning of this century, gave a hundred pounds a year towards the maintenance of ten young men at Dr. Bogue's academy. This sum was supplemented by two hundred more by the liberality of Christian gentlemen in Hampshire. Mr. James was received as one of the scholars on this foundation. He had several missionary candidates as his fellow-students, among whom we may name Dr. Morrison, afterwards of China. The course of instruction at Gosport was theology. Dr. Bogue was not a scholar, though possessed of more academic learning than many of his contemporaries in the dissenting ministry. He was anxious to make his students preachers, not scholars. Most of them had a scanty stock of preparatory education, and made more progress in theology than in literature or science. Mr. James was one of these; but he ever afterwards lamented the want of elementary scholarship, and did his utmost, as we shall learn, in his subsequent history, to establish and encourage well-equipped colleges for candidates for the ministry.

Mr. James had not been baptized in youth, on account of the scruples of his mother on that point; he was therefore received into the church of Dr. Bogue by this initiatory ordinance. He was young; but he was decided, and took his place among the band of future ministers and missionaries. At that time evangelical preachers were scarce, and students for the ministry were fully employed in preaching—an exercise, within certain limits, and subordinate to studies, of great value in schools of the prophets.

Mr. James early showed aptness to teach, and received invitations to the pastoral charge of several congregations ere his studies were finished. One of them was the scene of his life-long labour. In the year 1804, he went to Birmingham for a month, on the recommendation of his friend Mr. Bennett, who had preached there on his wedding tour. The month's services won the affections of the congregation, and they entreated him earnestly to return as their pastor when his theological course was terminated. He was ordained on the 8th May, 1805. 'It was,' he said afterwards, 'a solemn and delightful day. The Church had gone

much trouble, but now seemed to see happier days approaching. The old men wept for joy; the young men rejoiced in hope.' The congregation was small, not quite two hundred, and the members only forty. For seven years, though he preached thrice every Sabbath, and laboured otherwise, there was a very small increase. His earnest preaching had little fruit, and his prayers seemed unavailing. But he did not remove, though he felt greatly discouraged. He was strengthened by the counsels of his friends, and, above all, by the assiduous appeals of his wife, not to desert his post. He was married to her on December 2nd, 1805, and found in her an helpmeet becoming a minister. She firmly set herself against his leaving Birmingham till he could see his way out as clearly as he had done into it. At length patience had her perfect work, and in the eighth year of his ministry the chapel had to be enlarged. Six years afterwards it had to be rebuilt to hold eighteen hundred people, and from that time to his death it was full.

These seven years had not been lost. Mr. James had cultivated all his powers with great assiduity. Without having a liberal education, he made himself master of the English language, and an accomplished expounder of Scripture. He threw his whole soul into whatever he did, and hence he did all things well. His *preaching* was eminently evangelical. Christ was the alpha and omega of his ministry. The fulness of the gospel overflowed in all his services. The many-sidedness of sacred truth characterized his expositions. But it may be said he never lost sight of the grand object of his office as a preacher—the conversion of souls. As an ambassador of Christ he besought men to be reconciled to God. In one of his books, 'An Earnest Ministry the Want of the Times,' he referred to this in these words: 'If, without any offence of the law of modesty, I may refer to my own history, labour, and success, I would observe that I began my ministry, even as a student, with a strong desire after this object; and long before this, while yet a youth engaged in secular concerns, I had been deeply susceptible of the power of an awakening style of preaching, which was strengthened by the perusal of the rousing sermons of Dr. Davies, of New Jersey. From that time to the present, I have made the conversion of the impenitent *the* great end of my ministry, and I have had my reward.' Baxter's 'Reformed Pastor' was the handbook of his ministry; and according to the high ideal of earnestness and fidelity sketched in that powerful book, did he labour in the Lord.

Mr. James used to the best advantage his abilities to preach. He acquired a habit of good speaking, in addition to the natural eloquence with which he was endowed. He delivered his sermons without *reading*. He spoke with singular intelligence, and unfolded

folded the truth with clearness. He evidenced real emotion, tender sympathy for souls, and intense anxiety to win sinners to the Saviour. His prayers corresponded with his preaching. 'If entreating and beseeching importunity,' he said, 'be proper in dealing with sinners for God, can it be less so in dealing with God for sinners? Our flocks should be witnesses of both these, and hear not only how we speak to them, but how we plead with God for them; should be the auditors of our agonizing intercession on their behalf; and be convinced how true is our declaration that we have them in our hearts.' This was not done in a priestly way for them; for he endeavoured to gather up and express the desires of his people when he led their prayers. Such ought to be the character of public preaching and prayer. When we consider the high design of the ministerial office, the truth with which it deals, the solemn responsibility entailed on it, and the precious opportunity afforded from time to time to reach the hearts of men, it is far too solemn, and the issues are too tremendous, to be done lightly, without thorough preparation, conscientious employment of the best powers, and believing supplication for divine aid. In a very quaint way, Dr. Campbell tells us, Mr. James once took occasion, while addressing the students of Spring Hill College, to express his sense of the essential qualifications which all preachers should have: '1st, *Brains*, to take in all the Latin, Greek, and logic you can receive, or your professors give. 2nd, *Bowels;* for intellectual power without pathos and tenderness in preaching will not succeed; preach with sympathy and feeling, not as reproaching men. And, 3rd, *Bellows*, also, you must have; and without you give full exercise to your breathing apparatus, by frequent platform and pulpit exercises, you will not be efficient ministers. Get out of doors in the summer months, and give free play to your lungs in the open air; and make all your classical attainments bear on the one great object—saving souls.'

His popularity rapidly increased after he had really made his power as a preacher felt in Birmingham. It speedily reached London, and he was induced to appear there as an advocate of the missionary cause. A speech which he delivered in his own town on behalf of the Bible Society made a very great impression, and was extensively circulated as a tract by the London Committee. These things led to an invitation to settle in London as early as 1815, but he remained with his first charge.

In 1817 he passed through much illness, and in 1819 was bereaved of his wife. In the last-mentioned year he was invited to preach the annual sermon on behalf of the London Missionary Society, in one of the chapels of the metropolis. The sermon was then as much the object of public interest at religious anniversaries as the speeches at Exeter Hall are now. [illegible] large congregation

tion assembled to hear him, as his fame had preceded him. His sermon was equal to the occasion, and brought him to the zenith of his popularity. For two hours he held the people in rapt attention, and made a deep impression on their minds while he pleaded for their enlarged liberality and interest in the many millions of Eastern idolaters. He brought forward five petitions, which he pressed upon the hearts of his auditors:—

'The first,' he said, 'is uttered in the groans of six hundred millions of human beings, who, as they pass before you on their way to eternity, repeat that imploring language, "Come over, and help us!" The second is from several hundred missionaries, who, looking around upon the immeasurable scene of their labours, urge the admonitions of their Master, "The harvest is great, but the labourers few; pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he would send more labourers into his harvest." The third is from the directors, "stating that their expenditure this year has exceeded their receipts above five thousand pounds, and entreating that they may not be forced to slacken their exertions for want of funds to support them, which must inevitably be the case unless they are encouraged to go forward by increased liberality on the part of their constituents." The fourth is from heaven, borne to us by the spirits of departed missionaries who hover over our assembly this morning, "beseeching us to carry on with renewed vigour that cause in which they sacrificed their lives, and the magnitude and importance of which, amidst all their zeal for its interests, they never perfectly knew till they were surrounded with the scenes of the eternal world." The fifth is—will you believe it?—from hell. Yes, directed to your hearts in the shriek of despair, comes the solicitation of many a lost soul in prison, "Oh, send a missionary to my father's house, where I have got five brethren, that he may testify to them, that they come not to this place of torment." You cannot reply to this, "They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them."

What Christian mind can withstand these appeals?

In the year 1822 Mr. James married again. He was led to one who possessed many qualifications for being a minister's wife. She brought him an ample fortune; but as in her widowhood, so in her married life, it was her study to be liberal. Her husband seconded her benevolent views with his whole heart, and throughout his life gave ample illustration of his beneficence. By his first wife he had surviving only a son and daughter. The latter was an invalid. The second Mrs. James had no family; but she was a mother to his children. He was bereaved of her in 1841.

Mr. James early devoted himself to authorship; and all his works are full of evangelical truth pressed home to the conscience with much fervour and point. They are his ministry applied to the press, and by which he, 'being dead, yet speaketh.' When many who occupied the pulpits throughout the land looked coldly upon Sabbath-schools, Mr. James gave them his support, and encouraged those earnest labourers who entered upon the work of benevolent teaching. So early as 1815 he prepared a work specially for the use of this class, which is still fitted to be 'The Sunday-school Teacher's Guide.' 'By a most fatal error,' he says in his 'Earnest Ministry,' 'too many of our ministers deem these institutions as either beyond their duties, or below their notice. They are neither. . . . No one who ever threw his mind and heart into

into his Sunday-schools had to complain that he laboured in vain, or spent his strength for nought. No part of ministerial labour yields a quicker or a larger reward.'

This small treatise arose out of an address delivered at the formation of a Sunday-school Union for Birmingham, and is now in its twentieth edition.

'The Anxious Inquirer' alone will carry his name to latest posterity. It was published in 1834, and has already had a circulation of upwards of half a million copies in the English language, and it has been translated into Welsh, German, Italian, and French. Very many souls have found the way to Christ by its blessed pages. His 'Pastoral Addresses,' originally intended for his congregation, have been circulated to the extent of a million copies. His 'Young Man from Home,' a most admirable book to put into the hand of a youth as he leaves for business, has already reached 88,000 persons, each of whom may have given several others a perusal. For young women, too, he prepared an admirable Guide; and parents, teachers, church members, and ministers have each received his counsels in a book. He has comforted the widow by a seasonable work. He has expounded and commended the graces, 'Faith, Hope, and Charity' in separate volumes. Sermons and tracts have frequently issued from his prolific pen, and circulated over a large portion of the Church in this land and in America.

Since his decease, his works have been collected into eleven volumes, edited by his son. The smaller books and tracts published by the Religious Tract Society are not included in the new edition, as they belong to the Society. They have had a marvellous circulation. At his death the following calculation was made, which may interest our readers, and illustrate the influence for good which belongs to the press in the hands of the noble Society which now enriches the world with its publications:—

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|---|---|---|
| Anxious Inquirer | 456,421 | |
| Royal Edition | 20,217 | |
| 32mo. | 101,227 | |
| Welsh | 7,710 | |
| Italian | 160 | |
| German | 429 | |
| French | 279 | |
| | | 586,443 |
| Pastoral Addresses | | 1,049,319 |
| Young Man from Home | | 88,001 |
| Christian Progress | | 37,817 |
| Believe and be Saved, 32mo. | | 30,260 |
| Path to the Bush | | 13,813 |
| Elizabeth Bales | | 8,262 |
| Tracts:—Believe and be Saved | | 450,900 |
| Your Great Concern | | 128,250 |
| The Pious Collier | | 121,575 |
| The Man that killed his Neighbour | | 416,310 |
| | | 2,930,950 |

Is not this an amazing multiplication of a preacher's ability? Nor is it confined to the author's lifetime. Mr. Angell James will go on preaching Christ by means of these works for ages yet to come, until the mystery of God is finished. The English language is being extended over a vast portion of the world. With that language goes the missionary of the cross, the word of God, and a Christian literature. 'The Anxious Inquirer' accompanies the preacher's message, and is read at home; and thus the pastor of Carr's Lane Chapel continues to preach, and many souls will hail him in the kingdom as their spiritual father. America, too, has aided the circulation of his works over the length and breadth of that mighty continent. More copies have been published there than even in England.

Many most interesting testimonies came to Mr. James of the usefulness of his books in the conversion of souls. 'One instance,' he says, 'out of many I may here relate. In one of the back settlements of America, where a stated ministry had not yet been fixed, a single copy of "The Anxious Inquirer" had found its way. It was lent from one person to another, and seven-and-twenty persons were thus hopefully converted to God by the perusal of the solitary copy found among them.' Not a few of those who are now in the Christian ministry in various branches of the Church have confessed that their first serious impressions arose from the perusal of this work. How many more have had their first love rekindled, and their ministry revived by the earnest appeals of the work which Mr. James specially addressed to his brethren in the sacred office—'An Earnest Ministry the Want of the Times!'

To his latest day his pen was employed; and a very interesting sketch of the Rev. Richard Knill was written shortly before his death. Throughout all his works he is the same plain, practical preacher, ever aiming at the conversion of sinners, and urging professors of Christ to adorn the vocation in their daily walk and in the relationships of life.

Under such preaching as we have described, and as may be read in these practical works, many of his hearers were awakened and edified. His congregation was large, and about a thousand communicants belonged to the Church. Throughout the long period of his ministry he had happy relations with his people, and retained their respect.

He developed the liberality, missionary zeal, and general usefulness of his congregation, in every way where there was an opening for Christian effort. His own statement supplies the result of this.

'When I became pastor of my church, more than fifty-three years ago, the only object of congregational benevolence and action was the Sunday-school, which was then conducted in a private house, hired for the purpose. There was nothing else;

else; literally nothing to set our hands to. We had not then taken up even the Missionary Society. We have now an organization for the London Missionary Society, which raises, as its regular contribution, nearly 500*l.* per annum, besides occasional donations to meet special appeals, which, upon an average, may make up another 100*l.* a year. For the Colonial Missionary Society we raise annually 70*l.* For our Sunday and day schools, which comprehend nearly 2000 children, we raise 200*l.* Our ladies conduct a working Society for Orphan Mission Schools in the East Indies, the proceeds of which reach, on an average, 50*l.* a year; they sustain also a Dorcas Society for the poor of our town; a Maternal Society, of many branches, in various localities; and a Female Benevolent Society for Visiting the Sick Poor. We have a Religious Tract Society, which employs ninety distributors, and spends 50*l.* nearly a year in the purchase of tracts. Our Village Preachers' Society, which employs twelve or fourteen lay agents, costs us scarcely anything. We raise 60*l.* annually for the County Association. We have a Young Men's Brotherly Society, for general and religious improvement, with a library of 2000 volumes. We have also night-schools for young men and women, at small cost, and Bible-classes for other young men and women. In addition to all this, we raise 100*l.* per annum for Spring Hill College. We have laid out 23,000*l.* in improving the old chapel and building the new one; in the erection of school-rooms, the college, and in building seven country and town small chapels. We have also formed two separate Independent churches, and have, jointly with another congregation, formed a third, and all but set up a fourth; and are at this time in treaty for two pieces of freehold land, which will cost 700*l.*, to build two more chapels in the suburbs of the town.'

During that period of fifty-three years, how many souls have been brought to God! The great day only will declare the result of an earnest ministry, carried on successfully during half a century.

He took a great interest in the establishment of Spring Hill College, an institution for training young men for the ministry, near Birmingham. He collected for it, preached for it, and watched over it with a parental care.

'Sometimes,' says his biographer, 'though not often, he begged in vain; sometimes he was confounded by his success. On one occasion, he called on a gentleman of great wealth and equal eccentricity, from whom he was very doubtful whether he should obtain a single guinea. Mr. James's friends had told him that it was certain his visit would be a failure; however, he was not quite hopeless. The gentleman received him quietly, listened to his pleading without manifesting much interest, and then rose, and said: "Well, I will give you a cheque for 5000*l.*" "Did I understand you, rightly, sir?" was the reply. "Yes, 5000*l.*" was the rejoinder.'

After the college was established, Mr. James was elected Chairman of the Board of Education. He evinced a lively interest in the students, and was in the habit of inviting some of them to his house on Saturdays to dine with him. On these occasions he conversed freely with them respecting their prospects, and they prayed together before separation. He had a strong conviction of the duty which senior ministers owed to those aspiring to the work of the Gospel, and he carried out his views among the Spring Hill students. In a conference on the subject of ministerial education, held in London in 1845, he expressed his views to his brethren, and urged their adoption of a plan similar to his own. We are persuaded of its paramount importance to the Church of

of the future. 'Verily,' said Mr. James, 'we have no need to wonder, and no right to complain, that our rising ministry fall below some of the older ones, if the older ones do not take pains to make them better than themselves. It was said of Earl St. Vincent, under whom Nelson was a pupil in the art of naval war, that he formed a greater hero than himself, and then admired him without envy. So ought it to be with the senior pastors of our churches.'

That he succeeded in the object he aimed at is undoubted. Almost all the students who shared his hospitality and intercourse felt better for the contact with this holy and earnest man. One who has given expression to his reminiscences declares: 'Our own earliest and best impressions were revived and intensified, and we ourselves were led to express our convictions of the sacredness of the ministry as a testimony and entreaty of reconciliation between an offended God and perishing men. We could not help seeing how right it was to hold fast to the fundamental doctrines of repentance, regeneration, and faith in our Saviour Jesus Christ.'

Another, in stating his experience, says: 'I will enumerate, as I can hastily recall them, the principal elements of Mr. James's influence upon myself. First among these, undoubtedly, was his character. I never knew one in whom I saw so much of the mind that was in Christ; so much of the beauty, and, I will add, the grandeur of the Christ-like character, and saw it so uniformly as in Mr. James. If I have since felt any ardent longings to possess it myself, I cannot forget that his example was one precious means of their becoming what they have been. The individual traits of excellence that I especially observed in him were—the realizing sense which his faith gave him of eternal things, his unrelapsing spiritual-mindedness, his never-halting pursuit of the things which are before, his studied avoidance of everything bordering on the selfish or the mean; his sedulous practice of the things that are true and honest, just and pure, lovely and of good report; his tenderness, that was so ready to weep with them that weep; his magnanimity, that the slimy trail of envy never defiled; his charity, that might have furnished the apostle with his memorable description of that grace; his circumspection, his prudence, his never-tiring industry; his intense zeal for the conversion of the heathen; and his much more than negative, his intensely positive catholicity of spirit towards all, of every name, who hold the head, and who keep the commandments of Jesus.'

Such influences as are here acknowledged could not fail to mould young men, and give a more serious tone to their character and ministry. It is this we want for all; and those who occupy high places in the Church have the opportunity, and theirs is the responsibility of performing such a service. It is seriously to be desired

desired that the lesson which Mr. James's life on this point gives may have its wholesome effect. Generations to come in the Church of Christ would be indebted to the influence.

The missionary spirit of Mr. James was begun at Gosport by the associations he formed with students who were devoted to the work of the Gospel in heathen lands. Never did that spirit flag throughout his whole career. Indeed it was fanned, until it flamed into a consuming passion. In his early ministry he felt strongly the importance of sending missionaries into the populous fields of India and China; and he remonstrated with the directors of the London Missionary Society for their preference of the South Sea Islands, where the population was comparatively thin. He urged this in his celebrated missionary sermon. He kept it before his own mind and the public; and when the Chinese revolution excited such interest in 1852, he took up the suggestion made to him by Thomas Thompson, Esq., of Poundsford Park, to send a million of New Testaments to China. He wrote many letters on the subject, and induced the British and Foreign Bible Society to adopt the scheme. The result of his appeal was a fund capable of affording twice the number of Testaments required! Very many of these have been circulated. Very many more are still waiting the means of distribution. It is easier to provide Testaments in Chinese than to obtain agents to take them to the homes of the people. One of Mr. James's last pamphlets was an earnest appeal to the British and American Churches to send labourers to China. He embraced in the circle of his Christian charity the benighted millions of that distant empire, and laboured hard to imbue others with his views and feelings. The Church is slow to respond. There are not enough of men ready to accept the call. Let the Christian people then pray the Lord of the harvest to send out—literally to press out—labourers to his harvest.

The Evangelical Alliance was one of Mr. James's catholic projects. He anticipated more from such an union of brethren of all evangelical denominations than has been realized; but he enjoyed the fellowship which its meetings afforded. The time was scarcely come for the full and unrestrained communion of saints. It is sad, it is shameful, it is sinful that it should be so.

Nor less attached to his own denomination that he was so catholic in his sympathies; he was one of the original proposers of the Congregational Union, and did much to promote its annual assemblies and real efficiency. Some occasionally thought he was not sufficiently nonconformist; but he had his controversies on that very point, and defended his own principles. He was a thorough puritan, and a hearty dissenter; but was not so political in his dissent as some. He was never [redacted] party; but he rejoiced in opportunities to meet [redacted] of

other branches of the Church. In the early period of his ministry at Birmingham, his most congenial fellow-labourers were in the Established Church, and he always continued on the most cordial terms with them.

For six years before his death, Mr. James had a colleague in his ministry, with whom he continued to labour both in counsel and in preaching, with great happiness and peace. In 1855, he reached his jubilee, when he received the congratulations of his congregation and the Christian people of the country. All denominations had an interest in him, and he was beloved by all. In 1859, he felt his strength failing, and he bade farewell to most of the associations with which he had been connected. In the autumn of the year he was poorly; but rallied so much, that on the Sabbath morning before his death he preached at Edgbaston chapel, and in the evening worshipped at Carr's Lane. He had prepared a sermon for his people for the succeeding Sunday. On the Friday evening, however, after correcting for the press his review of the life and labours of the Rev. Richard Knill, he felt indisposed, and was aided to bed by his medical adviser, Dr. Evans. His night was restless, by reason of his coughing; but his sleepless hours were happy by his holy meditation and repetition of favourite passages of Scripture and of hymns. As the morning of 1st October dawned, his spirit fled, and he was ushered into the immediate presence of the Saviour, whom he loved so much and served so long. When the tidings spread, Birmingham was in tears, and the whole Christian community mourned. All denominations paid him honour as they bore him to the grave, under the pulpit he had occupied for so many years; and in one of the parish churches, the Rev. Dr. Miller preached his funeral sermon. In this discourse there is the remark, which has been echoed all over the world, 'John Angell James belonged, not to Carr's Lane, nor to Birmingham, but to the Church of Christ.'

Mr. James was honoured on more than one occasion by the degree of Doctor of Divinity; but he had conscientious scruples against using such an academic title as a minister. He by no means disapproved of literary titles, but the religious distinction appeared to him invidious and inconsistent with our Lord's counsel to his disciples to decline being called rabbi.

'Apart from conscientious scruple,' he says, 'I never thought myself warranted on the ground of any superior learning or attainment to be thus called rabbi. True it is, I have written books on religion, not a few; but they are all of a practical nature, and contain no profound theology, nor any new elucidations of Holy Scripture. Perhaps I might lay claim to as much of this, and therefore as good a claim to the distinction as very many on whom it is conferred, and who now consent to wear it. This, however, is saying very little. As regards some who are now called rabbi, I wonder they do not blush at this iteration of their own distinction. May I but be considered as a faithful, earnest, and successful minister of the new covenant, and be accounted such by the Great Master, and

and I am quite content that my name shall stand, wherever it is recorded, without any academic affix.'

Mr. James's piety was the spirit of his life. It embraced his whole being and gave him his character. In reference to it his son remarks—

'I have no information to give as to his habits of personal devotion; but I am sure that, in that respect, he performed himself all that he exhorted others to do, and that his life might be drawn from his sermons and writings. I know that he practised social prayer to a very great extent. It was his comfort when any members of his family were leaving him, or taking any important step in life; and he indulged in it with all in whom he felt peculiar interest, such as young men, especially students, his old friends, and his brother ministers. He loved to commend them, and be commended by them, to God, and to pray with them for the advancement of the kingdom of Christ.'

He kept no diary. There are therefore few materials to judge of his private devotion, except the writings in which he embodied his holiest thoughts, and the life which all acknowledged to be a commentary upon his discourses. There are, however, one or two glimpses afforded of his private thoughts in relation to God and his work, in his biography, from which we make a few extracts.

'The following was written in 1840, at a time when he was prevented by illness from fulfilling an engagement in a town in Staffordshire.

'Having been prevented by God, or His permission, from fulfilling a public engagement abroad, and being prohibited from undertaking many foreign services for the future, I have examined in what way I can be more useful at home, in what is more immediately the sphere of my labour. And the following appear to me to be subjects to which more attention should be paid, and in the more devoted regard to which some compensation will be made for the neglect of public objects:—

'1. *My own congregation.*

'In preaching, endeavour to be more evangelical, more of unction combined with my present practical style; more of Romaine combined with Baxter.

'More solemn in manner, and less of rhetorical loudness and vehemence.

'Be shorter. Three quarters of an hour or fifty minutes.

'Take up the whole subject more solemnly, more impressively, more in earnest.

'2. *In the neighbouring congregations*, to preach every fortnight at one or other of the following places:—Walsall, Bilston, Wolverhampton, Stafford, Broomsgrove, Stourbridge, Tipton, Brierly Hill, Dudley, Solihul, Gornall.

'To preach at week-day lecture at the Lozell's Chapel.

'Once a month at Garrison Lane.

'Once in two months at Smethwick.

'Principal defects in preaching—not entering with sufficient frequency, fulness, and in an experimental manner, &c.

'*Pastoral Duties.*

'Visit every member at his own house, except servants, during the present year.

'Meet a class of female servants, and distribute a tract to each. Duties of servants.

'Visit every one of the districts and invigorate them. Visit a family every Monday.

'A Saturday evening prayer meeting.

'A solemn church meeting for prayer and humiliation on Good Friday. Pastor, deacons confess.

'A solemn meeting with the deacons to deliver to them an address.

'Catechizing

'Catechizing the children in some way or other. To labour much to promote the spiritual welfare of the Church.
'Always write a New Year's address, at least begin.
'A mothers' society.
'Principal defect in pastor.

'*For the Students.*

'To lay myself out much for their spiritual welfare—to consider myself solemnly bound to do this. Never a week without one or more at my house. To labour for their good.

'*Public.*

'To write, if possible, six essays on subjects connected with professors and young ministers, in evangelical Congregational magazines; to have a class of Scripture readers.

'*As to my own Personal Habits.*

'Learn to think of death not only with composure, but even something of desire; overcome dread of death and love of life.
'Subdue besetting sins, and become indifferent to the objects of them.
'Rise earlier, more meditation, prayer, devotional reading.
'In family prayer more devout.
'Learning Scripture *memoriter*.
'Consider the propriety of monthly fast.
'All these things I do solemnly promise to review, and to add such others as occur to me with the intention of deliberately adopting as many of them as I can.
'This paper to be reviewed every Monday morning, after breakfast.
'If God will carry me through my present state of mind, all these things will I solemnly weigh, and practise as many of them as I can; and as a thank-offering give 50*l.* to some special object, the best I can think of.'

These private thoughts indicate how thoroughly he devoted himself to the service of God, and how anxious he was to be faithful to his holy calling. In 1848 he drew out a similar paper for his guidance. But perhaps the best view of his spiritual state and character may be obtained from his pastoral letters. There he seems to pant after full conformity to Christ, and to wrestle against all besetting sin. There he breathes out his prayerfulness to God for every needed grace and blessing both to himself and his flock. There he manifests the intense longing that he had after the salvation of his congregation. There he evidences how specially he considered the case of all classes among his people, and how faithful he was to each, the old, the young, the rich, the poor, parents and children, employers and employed. There he appears as a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth.

The social duties of Christianity formed a large portion of Mr. James's public instruction. His biographer states that—

'He thought it necessary to show the application of spiritual principles and moral laws to the minutest circumstances of human life. He was incessantly preaching to particular classes on their peculiar duties and dangers. He did not think it a violation of the dignity of the pulpit to preach to mistresses and servants, masters and workmen, husbands and wives, on their mutual obligations. His ethical sermons were among the ablest that he ever delivered. Whatever truth there may be in the reproach often thrown on the evangelical pulpit of neglecting the inculcation of ordinary moral duties, no one who heard Mr. James frequently would bring the charge against him.'

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This we conceive to be one of the great functions of the Christian pulpit, and one by no means to be set aside. There have been times when moral duties formed the chief topics of pulpit instruction, when the servants of Jesus Christ delivered the morality of Cicero and Seneca to their people; but though a higher standard is now professed, the plain principles of common morality are never to be in abeyance. Mr. James is a model to ministers in this respect. He felt the great importance of this kind of preaching, and said to his son 'not long before his death, that if his time were to come over again, he should preach on moral subjects more often than he had done, though he could not reproach himself with having neglected them.'

He felt a deep interest in social reform. He was a friend of the Temperance movement, and so early as 1834, we find him writing to that veteran abstainer in America, E. C. Delavan, Esq.:

'For the sake of the world, my dear sir, and all future generations of mankind, I beseech you to go on in this splendid course of national virtue. I have patriotism enough to wish this laurel had been plucked by my own country; but since this is not granted to *us*, I rejoice that it is *yours*. It is a precious one. Preserve it from fading by a relaxation of zeal in the cause, and deem not the honour complete till the world shall talk of the United States as a land without a still, and without a drinker of ardent spirits.'

Mr. James also practised total abstinence. His medical advisers thought that he injured his health by not drinking wine; but his son remarks, that 'he felt, however, so strongly on the matter, as an advocate of the Temperance Society, that when compelled to take it temporarily, he always left it off too soon.' Medical views of the virtues of alcoholic liquors have for a long period been very strong; but recent scientific investigations are diminishing the confidence of some eminent physicians in their value in disease, and causing their discountenance in health.

In his work on the Earnest Ministry, he says: 'Would God that those of my brethren who have acquired the habit of smoking, if they cannot leave it off, would abstain from this practice in the houses of their friends, and confine it to their own; would that they did not permit the young inquisitive eyes of the junior members of the families which they visit to see the pipe brought out as a necessary adjunct.' Writing to his future colleague, he says: 'I forgot to ask if you smoked. If you have contracted this habit, I beseech you to break it. To me it appears of so much importance, that it would tend to disturb our intercourse if you were addicted to this habit. You are not so far committed to it, even if you have begun it, as to find it difficult to destroy the pipe. You can have but little idea with what disgust and loathing it is regarded by many of our people, to whom your company would be less pleasing if you carried this habit with you.' [illegible] sels are wise as became the advice of so good and

man as Mr. James. We sincerely wish that every minister gave the weight of his influence and example against the two customs of drinking and smoking. There would be an incalculable amount of good effected by the testimony. Leaders of public morals ought to stand up against vices so pernicious to public virtue as these.

Mr. James was a hearty supporter of the Peace Society, and 'he hated slavery with a perfect hatred.' Coloured men were welcomed to his table and pulpit; he glowed with indignation when denouncing the crimes of America against her coloured people; and in his letters to his American correspondents, earnestly remonstrated with them on their national sin, and urged them to do their utmost for its removal.' He took a warm interest in public affairs, and honestly avowed his politics. 'He could speak at a town's meeting without preaching; but he never spoke in a manner that diminished the influence of his preaching.' It is well when this golden mean is kept. It ill becomes a teacher of religion to ignore public affairs, and it is as unbecoming to see the preacher forgetting his sacred office in the politician.

To the clergy of all branches of the Church, John Angell James is a bright example. His single aim, his untiring zeal, his consistent life, his unswerving faithfulness, and his great success, mark him out as a noble illustration of apostolic devotedness to his high and holy calling.

In private life he was always happy, and capable of promoting the happiness of others. He loved to show hospitality to strangers, to his brethren, and to students; but he was no *bon vivant*. He abstained from dining out as much as possible. 'He often said he was determined that no one should say of him, that he liked to go out to a good dinner, which he knew was the common reproach of the cloth.'

In public business he was very punctual to the hour. 'He was never known to enter the pulpit one minute too late, or to commence the service one moment before the appointed time.' He attended regularly all philanthropic and religious committees of which he was a member, and appeared at public meetings where he was expected.

In church polity he was congregational in opinion; but his son informs us that 'he wished as much presbyterianism introduced into congregationalism as is compatible with its remaining congregationalism.' He thus always managed his church business without difficulty and dissension. He 'was saved from mistakes in his pastorate by his habit of always taking advice;' and this he could do without losing authority.

There were united in his character those elements which fitted him to be useful to his fellow-men; and this was the result of diligent

diligent cultivation, as well as of natural endowment. He seemed early to apprehend his *forte*, and spared no pains to use it to the best advantage. He fully realized his own idea, and left the impression of his character upon the Church when he passed away. 'In some humble degree,' he wrote with his dying hand, 'I have aimed at usefulness both in my preaching and writing; and God has, to an amount which utterly astonishes and overwhelms me, given me what I have sought. It seems a daring and almost presumptuous expression, but with proper qualification a true one—that usefulness is within the reach of us all: the man who intensely desires to be useful, and takes the proper means, will be useful. God will not withhold his grace from such desires and such labours. O my brother! how delightful is it, notwithstanding the humbling and sorrowful consciousness of defects and sins, to look back upon a life spent for Christ! I thank a sovereign God I am not without some degree of this!'

The life of Mr. James by his colleague and successor, Mr. Dale, is in many respects admirably executed. The skill and taste with which autobiography and biography are intermingled invest the book with great interest, and give it fulness. There are just two points to which exception may be taken. The first is, the criticism which Mr. Dale has pronounced on the theology of 'The Anxious Inquirer,' which, while sure to be displeasing to many, seems gratuitous and uncalled for in a first biographer, so soon after the death of the author. This is all the more to be regretted, since it is manifest that the views of Mr. Dale on some points had caused alarm both to his venerable colleague and the congregation. Mr. T. S. James has thought this of sufficient importance to vindicate publicly the orthodoxy of his father. The other point is this—the letters of Mr. James (most of them very interesting and valuable) should be thrown to the end of the volume. Indeed, we would suggest that an edition of the biography, with emendations as hinted, and without the letters, would be a popular book, and one which posterity would not willingly let die. Dr. Campbell complains of the short-lived character of recent ministerial biography among Nonconformists, and expresses great anxiety that the life of Mr. James might be such as would be often reprinted. Mr. Dale, we feel persuaded, is capable of making his work occupy a permanent place in literature. Angell James deserves thus to linger in the memory of men. One so good and so useful has by his example lessons to teach many generations.

Dr. Campbell's work is a hurried performance, but possessing all the characteristics of his vigorous style. It was designed to be ephemeral, and is now superseded by the excellent memoir by Mr. Dale.

ART. III.—24 & 25 *Vic. c.* 14. *An Act to grant additional Facilities for depositing small Savings at Interest, with the Security of Government for due Repayment thereof.* 17*th May*, 1861.

THE advantages to be derived from savings banks are shown by the remarkable patronage they have received from the industrial portion of the community. From a recent official statement, the total amount of savings invested in those institutions may be regarded as thirty-seven millions of pounds sterling, and the number of accounts as a million and a half. As, however, there are many populous districts in the kingdom where no savings banks exist, while, on the other hand, there is hardly a hamlet so insignificant as not to possess its post office, the idea occurred to a benevolent individual, Mr. Sikes, of Huddersfield, that this disadvantage might be obviated were the post offices throughout the country authorized to act as savings banks. Representations on the subject to the authorities were favourably received; and a bill was subsequently introduced into Parliament to give the requisite permission to the Postmaster-General. The bill became law on the 17th of May, and the authorities of the Post Office have for several months been actively engaged in making the necessary arrangements for giving effect to the enactment. These arrangements from their nature must occupy a considerable time before they can be completed. Three hundred of the new institutions, however, commenced business on the 16th of September. Since that date no one can complain of the want of opportunity for investing his savings, as there are the new institutions, the original savings banks, and the penny banks open to receive them; besides the separate institutions for the army and navy. The preamble to the late act will rejoice the heart of every depositor in a savings bank, as it declares 'the expediency of enlarging the facilities now available for the deposit of small savings, by making the General Post Office available for the purpose, and of giving the direct security of the State to every such depositor for repayment of all moneys so deposited by him, together with the interest due thereon;' for who is there at all conversant with the history of savings banks, but can recal to mind numerous instances of the partial or total loss of savings of depositors by the dishonesty of officials? Of course the Government was, and still is, liable for all moneys invested by the managers of savings banks; but during the interval which occurs between the time of deposit and that of actual investment, or between that of realization of the investment by the managers, and that of repayment to the depositors, the Government is subject to no responsibility. During these intervals the depositor has only the vigilance of the managers, and the sureties

sureties of the officials, on which to depend for the investment, and the repayment of his deposit. In one savings bank in Lancashire, the depositors were deprived of 70,000*l.* by the dishonesty of the official appointed to receive and repay the deposits. This, and similar occurrences, though productive of grievous injury to the depositors, have luckily tended to make the managers of savings banks more careful than formerly in attending to their duties; but the erroneous idea is even now unfortunately too prevalent among depositors, that the Government is responsible for the repayment of their deposits. The new institutions, however, will in some respects be much akin to the original savings banks, as 'all the provisions of the acts now in force relating to savings banks as to matters for which no other provision is made by the act are applicable to the act so far as the same are not repugnant thereto.' This provision will, in great measure, tend to dispel all mystery regarding the new institutions, as the nature of the original savings banks is well understood by the public. To carry the act into operation, the first thing done was the appointment of such of the offices as the Postmaster-General thought fit to receive deposits for remittance to the general office, and for repayment to the depositor.

In October, November, and December, additional offices were empowered to act as savings banks, so that at the present time their number is nearly seventeen hundred. Post offices, which are also money-order offices, as well as those which are not, are in the number. The appointments, and the regulations of deposits and withdrawals, are subject to the approval of the Lords of the Treasury. The persons who may become investors, and the amounts they are entitled to deposit, are the same as in the original savings banks.

To become a depositor, a person must first sign a statement expressing his willingness to abide by the rules of the post office savings banks, and that he has no account at any other institution of a similar nature. The deposits must not be less than one shilling, nor than a multiple of a shilling. On the receipt of the deposit, the post office official will enter it at the time in the depositor's book, and the entry of such deposit is attested by the official and by the dated stamp of his office. The amount of such deposit is upon the day of such receipt to be reported by the official to the Postmaster-General. An acknowledgement of the Postmaster-General of the deposit, signified by the officer whom he shall appoint for the purpose, is to be forthwith transmitted to the depositor, and the acknowledgement is to be conclusive evidence of his claim to the repayment of the deposit with the interest thereon, upon demand made by him on the Postmaster-General. To allow a reasonable time for the receipt of the acknowledgement, the entry

in the book is to be conclusive evidence of title for ten days from the lodgement of the deposit; and if the acknowledgement should not be received through the post within ten days, he should then make application for it to the Postmaster-General, when the entry in his book is to be conclusive evidence of title during ten days more. The absence of the acknowledgement does not, however, affect the right of the depositor to repayment. The acknowledgement is a document of no use except to the depositor, but will be of great advantage in insuring the honesty of the post office officials, as the non-arrival of an acknowledgement in due course, will at once induce a communication to that effect to be made by the depositor to the head office.

The most important enactment is, however, the one providing for the payment of interest. In the original savings banks the interest allowed is usually at the yearly rate of three pounds and ten pence per cent.; but in the new institutions the rate will be only two and a half per cent. per annum. The interest, too, is only to be calculated where the amount is not less than a pound, or a multiple of a pound, and not to commence until the first day of the calendar month next following the day of deposit, and is to cease on the first day of the calendar month on which the deposit is withdrawn. The interest on deposits is to be yearly calculated to the 31st of December. In some of the original savings banks the interest is added to the principal every half-year, but in the new institutions the depositor will not have this advantage. In other respects, however, the provisions regarding the calculation of interest are not very different from those of the original savings banks. Once every year, on the anniversary of the first deposit, the depositor will have to forward his book for examination, and the addition of interest, to the Postmaster-General, and in a cover provided for the purpose. On examination and completion of the entries in the book, it will be returned to the depositor. This provision is well adapted as a preventive of dishonesty by the officials of the post office savings banks, a similar practice in many of the original savings banks having worked remarkably well. The deposits will be paid over to the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt, and invested in the same securities as the funds of the original savings banks. A separate account will, however, be kept of the position of the new institutions, and a balance-sheet for the preceding year laid before Parliament not later than the 31st of March.

When a depositor wishes to withdraw money, he will have to make application at the General Post Office in the authorized form, and the requisite warrant of the Postmaster-General will be forthwith transmitted to him, and he will be entitled to be paid within ten days at farthest from his application. In the original savings banks

banks money may be withdrawn usually after seven days' notice, and probably the same period will be adopted by the new institutions. The warrant may be made payable at any other post office savings bank than the one where the depositor's account is kept. This provision will be found exceedingly convenient when a depositor intends to visit any place at a distance from his residence. When the warrant is presented for payment, the depositor will have to bring his book, when the payment will be entered and attested by the signature of the official, and the dated stamp of the office, while a receipt for the amount will be written on the back of the warrant. All sums withdrawn by depositors will be repaid to the Postmaster-General by the Commissioners already named, out of the moneys invested by them; and if at any time the fund comprising the investments shall be insufficient to meet the lawful claims of all depositors, the deficiency is to be provided out of the Consolidated Fund. Provision is made to prevent disclosure of the particulars of the amount deposited or withdrawn, or of the name of any depositor.

Where a depositor wishes to transfer his deposit to one of the original savings banks, he will have to make application to the General Post Office, in an authorized form, accompanied by his book, when a certificate of the amount due to him, with interest, will be forwarded; and when he opens the account at the original savings bank, the certificate will be transmitted to the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt, and the account with the post office savings bank will be closed. On the other hand, an original savings bank depositor wishing to transfer his account to a post office savings bank, must procure a certificate in the authorized form from two of the trustees of the institution, when his account will be closed; and on delivery of the certificate to a post office savings bank, it will be subsequently transferred to their account with the post office savings banks.

The new institutions will nearly all be open during the days and hours when the money order offices are open. In this respect the post office savings banks will possess great advantages over the original savings banks, as many of the latter are only open once or twice a week, and then for an hour or two hours. An account of the post office savings banks for the preceding year will be annually audited and laid before Parliament not later than the 31st of March. Provision is made for paying the expenses of the new institutions out of the receipts.

An idea has now been given of the general nature of the post office savings banks. On the whole, they are likely to be productive of great benefit to the industrial portion of the community; and as there are nearly 2.500 money-order offices in the United Kingdom, the streams of savings which will flow to the chief office

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in London are likely to be exceedingly numerous. There is no probability, however, of the absorption of the original savings banks in the post office savings banks, so long as the rate of interest payable by the former is higher than in the latter. Experience shows that a high rate of interest will attract investors, although there may be bad security. It is strange, too, that the original savings banks should pay a higher rate of interest than the post office savings banks, which must from their nature be conducted at much less expense. Perhaps, however, the advantage of government security, and the convenience of the rate in an arithmetical point of view, may explain the circumstance. To have different benevolent institutions with the same end in view is objectionable, and only lessens the advantages which might otherwise be derived by depositors; but the disadvantage is perhaps more desirable than the complete amalgamation of the penny and original savings banks with the new institutions.

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ART. IV.—*Bell's Life in London.*
2. *The Field.*
3. *The Sporting Life.*
4. *Nimrod on the Turf.*

WHATEVER else the English nation may, or may not be, there can exist no doubt that we are the most sporting people under the sun. Grave as is the character and inclement the climate ascribed to us by our continental critics, we have a greater variety of in-door and out-door amusements than all the rest of the world can boast of; and although we are set down as a nation of shopkeepers and money-grubbers, we spend more time, thought, and treasure upon games than the gayest race that we know. The pastimes we follow are not all of our own invention, it is true; but like the flowers and the fruits that we have raised from foreign seed, we have cultivated them into a state of vigour and luxuriance unknown to the parent stock. Not only do our sports provide healthy recreation for those whose time is their own, and bring about that mixture of classes which is so beneficial in smoothing away the prejudices of high and low, but they are instrumental in procuring a livelihood for thousands. Gamekeepers, huntsmen, and billiard-markers may, indeed, be found abroad in plenty, but—excluding the latter—it is probable that the Surrey Cricket Club supports more persons than get a living by playing games of skill in any capital of Europe. Sports so extensively pursued cannot fail to have their effect upon the age, both in a moral and physical point of view; and an inquiry into the condition and tendencies of the most popular of them may well be permitted

permitted to take its place amongst the subjects to which these pages are devoted.

The sporting interest has a press and a language of its own. The three journals named at the head of this article contain the chronicles of every game of any importance which is played in the United Kingdom from one year's end to the other. The first—long without a rival—is still considered the prime oracle of the sporting world. Its answers to correspondents show that it is the great arbitrator in all sporting questions; and to have his name in 'Bell' is the young sportsman's first ambition. 'The Field' claims a place alike in the smoking-room and the boudoir, and, consequently, discards many subjects which its elder contemporary admits. Its secondary titles, 'The Garden and The Farm,' suggest its mission, which is to open its columns as an exercising ground in which every one of the inmates of a country house may ride his or her hobby. 'The Sporting Life' is a close imitation of 'Bell's Life—so close, indeed, that it would have adopted its name as well as its subjects, if the Court of Chancery had not put its veto upon the assumption. There is a great deal in a name in these days; and as it is a slow process to make one for yourself, the prevailing idea seems to be that the cheapest plan is to steal one ready made.

A glance at these special journals will show that a new generation of sports has arisen, almost with the present generation of sportsmen. Never again shall we read how an Earl of Derby drove from Knowsley in his four-in-hand with outriders clearing the way, to fight his mains with the Cheshire squires at the Salford cockpit; how he was followed by a gallant equipage in which his game cocks were conveyed—each in a crimson velvet bag, upon which the famous arms of Stanley were emblazoned in purple and in gold—to do battle, as beseemed them, against all comers, to the death. We shall learn nothing of 'throwing' at less aristocratic scions of the Chanticleer family on Shrove Tuesday; of bull and of bear baiting as public sports patronized and supported by the county gentry. But do not let us flatter ourselves that we have done away with all such bloodthirsty and savage amusements. In the number of 'Bell's Life' that is current whilst we are writing, we find that there are prizefighters who can be backed to pound each other's heads into a jelly for so small a sum as five pounds aside; and that a host of publicans are anxious to inform the world that they have ratting every Tuesday and Thursday evening, an excellent pit upon the premises, and a large supply of vermin constantly on hand, with which the nobility and gentry are invited to 'try their dogs.' We also learn from the same authority that there is a good deal of dog-fighting about; and hear that the life of that intelligent animal, the badger, in certain

certain 'sporting houses' which could be named, is not an uneventful one. We know of no class so thoroughly vile, so hopelessly worthless as that which patronizes and supports these brutalities. It is no use to say that the roughs and sharpers, and scum of rascaldom which the prospect of a bloody struggle between savage beasts—human or animal—gathers together, are doing no worse *now*, than princes of the blood royal, peers, and members of Parliament did, without blame, fifty years ago. Your 'Corinthian' had little pity for the bulls, and the dogs, and the cocks, and the badgers, and the rats, that he had baited and maimed and killed outright for his sport; but he fought them fairly. .We have heard of a creature who flung his game cock alive into the fire because it had turned tail; but we never heard of an earl or county gentleman who called in the police to stop a main because he was getting the worst of it. The ring was not broken into at convenient moments when Belcher, and Gully, and Gregson fought their famous battles. There was a fair field and no favour in those days, and the best beast won. Not long ago we read an account of a 'great international dog-fight' between 'Rosa,' an English bull-dog of the feminine gender, and the 'Brooklyn Pet,' a similar animal of American breed; and it appeared that one important preliminary to the combat was that the backer of each dog was to 'taste' the other, *i.e. lick it all over* to see if poison had been put upon its skin! We all know how another 'great international' brutality was brought to an untimely end. Is it necessary to apologize for not discussing such things under the present subject? For our own part, we would as readily include burglary and picking oakum amongst British sports as the rascally and savage pursuits from which we now turn as from a foul drain that we had stumbled upon in a pleasant country walk.

Our object is not so much to criticise the number of our national sports and their characteristics, as to notice the effect which the all-prevailing, all-demoralizing betting mania is producing upon them; and when they are divided into two categories—those which are followed for the pure love of sporting, and those which are followed for the love of gain—the number of the former will be found very scanty. It is pleasant, no doubt, to possess some substantial token of a triumph, and therefore the latter class should be subdivided into those sports which are followed for the sake of a cup, medal, or other prize which we may exhibit on our sideboard and hand down to our children after us, or of a stake which will recoup us our expenses; and those which are followed for the mere sake of winning money upon them in bets. Put field sports, with chess, and other sedentary amusements from consideration, and cricket will be found to be the only sport that is sought for its own sake.

sake Yachting, boat and foot racing, wrestling, racket, tennis, and fives playing, &c. &c., are all tolerably free from the betting nuisance, though man is by nature a gambling animal, and will stake his money on any event, from the issue of a trial at law, or the appointment to a vacant bishopric, down to a race between two drops of rain upon a window pane, or the wriggling of two maggots to get back to the caseous home out of which they have been shaken on to a dining-table. Cricket, our model game, has lately been degraded, we are sorry to say, by the match played recently between Carpenter and Hayward against three members of the Stockton Club for 400*l.*; but this is an exceptional case—long may it remain so!—and the rule is that the fine old honest pastime should be played for 'love.' But what are we to say for that great English sport—the only one which is expressly sanctioned by Act of Parliament; the only one which is supported by grants of public money in which emperors, kings, and princes, lords and commons have joined; a sport which is governed by a club amongst whose members the noblest names in the land have been, and are enrolled—in which more persons are employed and more money spent than in all the rest combined—which *ought* to be, considering the character of its patrons and the simplicity of its legitimate aims, the fairest and the most honourable of all—what are we to say of the Turf? If platitudes are to be put aside, and the plain truth told, we must admit that horse-racing has degenerated into a *business;* that a blight of crawling, heaving, loathsome rascality has descended upon it and eaten into its very core; that it is no longer 'a sport' at all, any more than stockbroking, or obtaining goods under false pretences! And why? Simply on account of the betting! Some 2,500*l.* is given annually to be run for in what are called 'Queen's Plates'—the excuse for the grant being that racing tends to improve the breed of horses. It did at one time, when a horse was not put into training till he was three years old, and the great races were over three-mile courses in heats, and ridden by men of weight. Bone, muscle, and endurance were then brought into play, and a really useful animal produced. *Now*, we take a colt before his joints are set, put a child upon his back, send them spinning for three furlongs, and call that racing! If we want to get a nag that is worth the straw on which he stands in the stable, for any other purpose than being a machine to win and lose money upon, we must breed *back* from our high-mettled racer to the point from which we have departed. As it is, he is the most expensive, the most delicate, and the most useless creature under the sun.

It must be confessed that to some minds horse-racing is a most fascinating pursuit. How proud a man must be when he sees the horse which has been bred on his own estate, which he has fed with

with his own hand ever since it was a rough shambling colt, and which knows his voice and the touch of his hand, rush past the shouting thousands that line the Derby course—the hope, the fear of all, and win for him the blue ribbon of the turf! How pleasant to saunter into your stable with your friends on some crisp wholesome winter morning, to throw back the clothes which hide his glossy shoulders, and whilst he is sniffing and nibbling at your pocket for the accustomed lump of sugar, say, 'This fine fellow won me the Chester Cup!' How satisfactory, after all, when his day has passed, to behold him quietly browsing under the great elms in the paddock, an honoured pensioner, one who has well earned his retirement, whilst his sons and daughters are travelling his old road to fame! These, and such-like feelings of triumph and affection for the noble animal who has won honours for you, give what we should take to be the best pleasures of the turf; and some few honest sportsmen enjoy them still. But for the majority —ninety-nine out of every hundred turfites—a race-horse is naught, a race is naught. The former is to them a mere instrument of gaming, like a dice-box or a roulette-board, and the latter the mere machinery by which it is put in motion. They do not even care to see the struggle on which their money is staked, but stand with their backs to it, and shriek for bets till the winner is at the judge's chair. What do they care about winning or losing a race, so that it suits their book? Only the other day a person of respectability—as turf respectability goes—gave his jockey instructions to lose a race, contrary to the laws of the Jockey Club, and the best excuse he could offer for his conduct, when called to account by the stewards, was that he felt piqued at not being able to get enough money 'on' his horse! To win the race, as he could have done easily, was no satisfaction to him. The betting was the charm, and—this not obtainable—the favourite was held back, and those who thought that an English gentleman was sporting for sport's sake were taken in and disappointed.

At one time the necessary expenses of the turf made horse-racing a purely aristocratic amusement. We are not complaining that this time has passed away. There may be no good reason why bill-discounters, publicans, biscuit-bakers, pawnbrokers, quondam coal-miners, carpenters, lodging-house keepers, and others, should not invest their money in race-horse flesh if they feel so inclined. All we contend for here is, that some other term than 'sporting' should be applied to the operations of some of these persons upon our race-courses, and in our betting-rooms. Horse-racing is setting a number of trained animals to try their speed, and letting the swiftest win. But with the fraternity that we have in our mind's eye the race is not to the swift. They bet against their own nominations, by commission and otherwise, and the result

result is obvious. They club together, buy a favourite, if he is to be sold, and 'scratch' him. They send their horses in bad condition to Epsom and Newmarket, and manage that they shall be beaten, time after time, until they gain a reputation which causes them to be lightly weighted for some rich handicap, and then, to use the slang phrase, they 'go in and win.' Is this sporting? If so, the pursuit of our Richmonds, Zetlands, Hawleys, Townleys, and their class, must be something else.

But the machinations of the gentry whose horses win or lose according to the state of their betting-book are not the worst evils with which the turf is at present afflicted. There are the betting men, *pur et simple*, a genus that has increased and multiplied within the last twenty years to an alarming extent. One of the great founders of this school was a man named Davis, a carpenter at Brighton, with a retentive memory and a good head for figures. He did not know the best horse in a race from the worst, as far as appearances went, but laid against everything. And here let us try and reveal to the uninitiated the principle of 'book-making.' It is evident that of all the horses entered for a race only one can win; consequently, if you have betted a larger sum against the unsuccessful ones, than you lose upon the winner, you are in pocket by the difference. Herein lies the entire mystery. Hundreds of horses are entered for races who never appear at the post, and the betting upon great events commences sometimes more than a year before they take place. Thus the 'quotations,' as they are called, for the Derby of 1862 were made as soon as the 'blue ribbon' of 1861 was acquired. So if you begin in good time, and lay against everything, if you have managed well, it may happen that by the time the race comes off you stand so that you *must* win whichever horse is first; though more or less, according to the odds you have laid against him. The 'odds' are the number of chances calculated against each horse. Therefore, if fifty horses are entered and you have bet against them all, and the winner was at two to one when you bet, you lose two pounds, or fifties, or hundreds, as the case may be, and receive forty-eight pounds, or fifties, or hundreds. But if the winner was at fifty to one, you are two pounds out of pocket, unless, indeed, you have bet a great number of times against the others, and only once or twice against him. What complicates the matter is, that a horse may be at a hundred to one to-day, and owing to some success, or the break-down of a rival, be at five to one, or less, to-morrow. If you have bet against him, under such circumstances, more than you desire to risk, you must 'hedge,' *i.e.* bet *on* him, till you have reduced your liabilities. But if you have begun by betting *on* him, you are in clover. You have a chance of winning a hundred pounds and

and can only lose one—nay, by 'hedging' you can manage so that you cannot help winning, always supposing you are paid your debts. You lay five-and-twenty pounds, we will say, in fours to one against him. If he wins, you lose that sum and win a hundred; if he loses, you pay one pound and receive five.

The odds fluctuate according to innumerable rumours, and speculations, and lies; but are, for the most part, based upon the performances of the horse, or even upon those of his stable companions, or blood relations. Thus, if Lord Downey's grey filly Goose was beaten by Mr. Cackler's colt, the Gander, and he afterwards had to succumb to Sir Merrythought Giblets' Gosling—*à fortiori*, what is sauce for the male bird will be sauce for the female; and the Gosling may be backed to beat anything that she may have distanced. But if the course upon which the Gander happened to be victorious was one of a mile and a half, over which Lord Downey's mare had to carry 7st. 5lb., whereas in the race in which she is to compete with the triumphant Gosling is only for half that distance, and she is weighted at 7st., what then? All the conditions are altered, and the success of Sir Merrythought Giblets is no longer mathematically certain. This, however, is a very simple case. Bear in mind that horses are running from February to November, in all sorts of weather, on all varieties of soil, for various distances, under changing weights, and ridden by jockeys good, bad, and indifferent. Add to this that they are not machines to run alike, well or ill, at all times, and that it is not always convenient, as before observed, that they should do their best, and it will be perceived that a man must have a long head to make an honest living on the turf by general betting.

Your genuine book-maker, however, does not trouble himself much about such calculations. He rarely backs a horse except to hedge. Davis—the leviathan, as he was called—began by betting shillings and half-crowns against everything. He won, and fixed his head-quarters at a tavern in Holborn, where he would give the current odds on any race, however distant, to anybody; the better depositing the money he might lose, to receive it back, with addition, if he won. Davis thus had always a stock of ready money in hand to meet immediate losses; and once having lost some eight thousand pounds at Epsom, he went round the ring with his hat full of bank-notes, and paid his losses there and then, without waiting for 'settling day,' thus gaining a reputation for capital and integrity which never left him. He was strictly honest; he won and lost with the noblest in the land; was trusted, and won the respect of all, and never forgot his position. The betting of the wildest gamblers of the Regency shrank into insignificance in comparison with his. He would stand to lose on a single Derby more than

than Mr. Crockford staked on horseflesh in a year. A book of fifty, sixty, eighty thousand was within his grasp. The strain of such speculation on his mind, and the anxiety, proved at last—as might be expected—too much for it. He retired, and died at Brighton very miserably.

Of course a host of imitators sprang up. At every tavern in London there was some one who would 'lay you the odds' from half a crown up to a hundred pounds or more. Betting-offices were established. St. Martin's Lane, and the districts round Leicester Square and Tottenham Court Road, teemed with them. They received all the deposits that they could lay their hands on. If the result of a great race was in their favour, they pocketed their winnings, and went on; if it was against them, they pocketed their losings, and went off! When the 'noble sportsman' who had deposited his five-pound note at ten to one, upon the winner, went for his fifty pounds, he found the shutters up, and the spirited proprietor nowhere! Thousands were ruined, body and soul, in these dens, which in too many instances were ante-rooms to the workhouse and the hulks. At last the strong right hand of the law was laid upon them, and they were shut up by act of parliament. Many a frantic dash has the betting-man made against the bars of his legal cage. He has tried to work upon the miscellaneous public by 'lists' of the odds, hung in the bars of public-houses, by haunting the corners of streets, by setting up booths, and standings upon race-courses—all in vain. The well-drawn enactment cast a very wide net, and into one or other of its meshes he invariably fell. 'The Ring' at the race-course is the only public place where he may bet in safety, and thither we must repair to see him in perfection.

The following extract from a recently published work by, perhaps, the most picturesque writer of the day—Mr. G. A. Sala—will give a good sketch of the scene. It is Epsom Downs on the Derby day; the saddling-bell has been rung; the numbers of the starters are exhibited on the telegraph. We are in the enclosure at the right of the Grand Stand, where there is a ring some six or eight yards in diameter, formed of posts and rails, around which—

'Aï! Aï!—which is an exclamation which I hope will be pardoned to me by the critics—the hullaballoo, the hue and cry, the frenzied exclamations of the bookmakers. They will bet against anything. Who will lay against the field? Who will back everything? They will do everything. Bar one, bar two, bar three. What will anybody do on the event? His Lordship wins; the Captain wins in a canter. Didn't they say so? Green wins; black wins; red wins." The very fiend himself would seem to be bending to listen to the unearthly screeching of these men.

'Such hot, dusty, steaming, common, knavish, or brutal faces, too. Now the wolf type, hungry and savage; now the fox-type, cunning and cynical, and, the day being warm, not of too sweet a savour; now the terrier-type, honest enough, but exceedingly ravenous after rats. Men—old betting-men—with faces like owls, like magpies, like ravens; not many of the eagle-type, I fancy, saving so far as

as aquiline noses reach. Of these, with the accompaniment of greasy ringlets, pulpy lips, and much glittering jewellery, there is sufficient and a little to spare, it may be. And there are weazel faces, ferret faces, grinning otter faces, hawk faces, bull-dog faces, and bull faces; but on every human face amongst the book-making crew there is always and ever the unmistakable stamp and brand of the gambler—the nervous tick of the head from side to side, the teeth busy with the lips, the fingers busy with the chin, the unrest of the eye. In a lesser degree you may see these signs amongst bargainers in corn and coal marts, amongst chafferers upon exchanges, amongst punters at rouge et noir tables, amongst bidders at auctions; but for the gambler's look—*l'allure de celui qui joue gros jeu*—commend me to the book-makers in the ring.

'They are of every variety of build and stature, and of all ages; but they have all gotten their symbol, and have taken Mammon's arles, and are soldiers in his great black and yellow regiment. Whence come they? From Manchester, Preston, Blackpool, Rochdale, Stockport, Blackburn—from the great black striving, working, gaming, spinning, heaving, savage north of England;—many of them, I think, from the dialect in which they yell. The harder, but not harsher Yorkshire makes itself heard too, with a vengeance! The unadulterated cockney, showering its "h's" about, as from a pepper-castor, is not behindhand; every province in England seems to have sent a contingent. It is Babel; but Babel with an universal tongue concurrent with the confusion thereof; for every one of these money-mongers understands the one primeval language taught by professor Mammon.'

The author goes on to say he has heard that the word of many of these men may be taken for tens of thousands of pounds; and that there are some of them strictly honest and scrupulously honourable. For 'many,' read 'two or three,' and for 'some,' read 'a very few,' and it would be nearer the mark. However, they have all the ring to themselves, for no person with the slightest self-respect would be seen in it for a second five minutes. When people of 'respectability' of the gig-driving order, want to bet, they do so 'by commission,' *i. e.*, by employing a regular ring-man to bet for them. There is no difficulty in finding one. Here are specimens of their advertisements, which swarm in every sporting paper. Of course we exclude the names and addresses:

MESSRS. —— and ——, Members of Tattersall's, and all the City and West-end Clubs, beg to state that, on receipt of cash, Commissions will be executed on every event throughout the year. The market price guaranteed, and the money forwarded on the MONDAY after the RACE.

Address, —— Strand. P.O.O. to be made payable at the Strand Office.

—— ——, Box ——, General Post Office, London, executes COMMISSIONS from town and country correspondents on all races throughout the season, from 2s. 6d. upwards. Stamps taken. Market odds guaranteed, and prompt payment may be relied upon.

MR. —— —— executes COMMISSIONS, by letter only, on all races, from 2s. upwards. A stamped envelope must always be enclosed.—Address, —— ——, London.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE—A GOOD THING AT LONG ODDS.

—— 'GUIDE TO THE WINNING POST;' price thirteen stamps; end of the season, 7s. 6d.; is the best publication of the kind in print. This week's number will contain selections for the Cambridgeshire (a good thing), all races at Newmarket, reports from training quarters, &c. —— ——, Manchester. —— will attend Newmarket.

50 TO 1 can be obtained about the Winner of the Liverpool Cup. Your own sense will tell you that this horse cannot lose. Sent for twenty-five stamps and promise after event. —— ——, Farringdon-street, City.

66 TO 1

66 TO 1.—CAMBRIDGE WINNER, tried on Friday morning by one of the best horses in England. Sent for twenty-five stamps, and promises after the event. —— ——.

You can thus make your fortune for twenty-five postage stamps, and if only liberal enough in your promises to the benefactor of his species who advertises from Farringdon Street, you can win 100*l.* without fail. 'Your own sense,' he says, 'will tell you that this horse cannot lose.' Will it not also hint that a sage possessed of such valuable information would be likely to keep it to himself? Sometimes the prophet and speculator combined is correct, and then great is his exultation:

'J—— H—— & Co.'s Glorious Success.—Kettledrum, Kettledrum.—We told you Kettledrum would be first or second. Do not throw your money away on horses that have no chance. We have a certainty for the Ascot Stakes and the Gold Cup. Send early, for the Ascot Stakes winner is at 30 to 1. The St. Leger is as good as over. The Wizard of the North will have a hot one for you. Enclose 12 stamps, and per centage for Kettledrum. Address, —— ——.'

Judicial statistics prove that the crime of embezzlement is sadly on the increase. Have these gentlemen, who execute commissions on all races from two shillings upwards, and thus boast their 'glorious success,' no share in blighting the prospects of silly young clerks, and bringing misery and tears and shame into many a home that but for them would be happy and honoured?

These 'commissions' are executed in the Ring, and cunning, coarse-mouthed, dirty—in every respect—as we find it, it is, nevertheless, a paradise, round the closed gates of which a certain order of betting-men wander—disconsolate—like the Peri in Moore's poem. There is a deeper, and a deeper still! These fallen ones have been expelled for default in paying their losings; and it is not such trifles as a drop of blood, a sigh, or a tear that will appease the janitor. When they have paid up all their debts of honour (?), and given security for future solvency, they may enter; but not until then. These mal-odorous 'Peris' are the fellows who have been setting up light booths, formed of portable frameworks, as betting-offices on the race-courses of Doncaster, Warwick, Manchester, and elsewhere: not near the hawk's eyrie of the Ring, but outside the ropes where the pigeons flutter. Three of these persons, captured by the police at Manchester, were found in possession of 120*l.*, deposited in sums of half a crown and upwards, by the clerks, factory hands, and mechanics who frequent that meeting. If any reader is uncertain as to the effect upon morality of the betting mania, let him attend these same races, and take up his position, so that he can see the Ring, and over the paling which divides it from the open ground. Ah me! the shouting, the struggling, the cursing with joy at success, the cursing with rage at loss; the lamentations, the drunkenness, the dirt! The eager jumping up outside Paradise, to catch the eye of a happy [redacted] of odds within;

within; the thrusting of grimy hands, full of half-crowns, over the palings; the imploring of wives that the bread-winner will come home, before all the money which alone can 'keep the childer fra clemming' for a week, is gone into that seething vortex; the scoffing rejoinders of creatures bearing the outward resemblance of women; the glaring eyes, the reeking breath, the sodden, stunted, reckless look of all! Have they won—there will be riot and debauchery till the money is spent; wives with bleeding faces, children whimpering with fright in corners, furniture smashed, a quarrel, a knife, and the Liverpool assizes in store! Have they lost? There will be sulks, starvation, and brutality; always upon the wife and children. Win or lose it is all the same to them.

And how does this betting mania affect the turf otherwise than has been already stated? When thousands of the reckless and unprincipled are interested in the winning of one horse and the defeat of another, it is not difficult to imagine that the lives and limbs of those animals are in no little peril. In good sooth, a favourite racer must be guarded like the man in the iron mask, to be safe! During last season, two horses were drugged on the eve of a race; one was shot at in his travelling box; one had a narrow escape of being burnt to death; and one actually destroyed by fire (which there is every reason to believe was raised wilfully); and a plot was laid to lame all the inmates of a famous training stable, by concealing sharp-pointed pieces of iron in the tan over which they were accustomed to be galloped for exercise! These are only a few of the most notorious cases; how many others, less well known, there may be, we cannot tell. The precautions taken to protect racers from injury seem to indicate that they are not exceptional. As long as a favourite for the Derby has a bloodhound chained by his stall, his trainer living, day and night, in his stable, and a detective policeman on guard at the door, he is considered secure from violence; but not until his corn and water are tested by chemists, and sealed up, the latter in jars for his use, and the very bit which goes into his mouth washed and sand-papered, the last thing, by a trusty hand, for fear it should have been poisoned, is he safe against the more subtle, but no less certain contrivances, by means of which races are lost and won in this betting age.

It comes to this, therefore, that if the owner of a favourite horse be honest, and intend him to do his best; if all who have access to his stable be honest, and neither drug him nor let him be drugged; and if he be not lamed, or shot, or burnt on his way to the course by, or at the instance of, 'sporting men,' who have bet heavily against him; then, if the jockey who rides him be but honest too, the race is for the swift; if he be the best horse he will win. But the turf has fallen rather low when such contingencies have to be taken into account.

And

And so it will be with every sport as soon as it is chronically afflicted with the betting plague. If it should ever fall on our model game, cricket—may the day be far distant!—we shall hear of the Haywards of that time being accompanied by a body guard wherever they go, lest some ruffian who stands to lose fifty pounds if Cambridgeshire should win, might gash his right hand; and Dr. Letheby or Mr. Grace Calvert will have to attend in the tent to test the bitter beer before the Jacksons, Stevensons, and Caffyns of the day be allowed to drink it. But long before that time gentlemen will have deserted the cricket-field, as they are now deserting the race-course; and a fine, manly sport, invaluable for bringing all classes together to contend in a friendly spirit, will be degraded, like the Turf, into a mere vehicle for gambling.

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ART. V.—1. *Works of Dr. Lees.* Vol. I. London, 1854.
2. *Ale, Wine, Spirits, and Tobacco.* A Lecture, by John Barclay, M.D., Leicester. Second Edition, 1861.

THE confidence we expressed, in reviewing the French discoveries on the action of alcohol, nine months ago, that they would powerfully tend to complete the revolution of opinion already initiated, has been justified by the issue of the controversy. Those discoveries have not only shaken the faith of the most intelligent medical teachers in the dietetic properties of alcohol,—they have given a shock to the fashionable epidemic of freely prescribing strong drinks in a large class of disorders, wherein, as it is now both declared and demonstrated, their use has been followed by 'wholesale slaughter.' So Dr. Murchison has stated in his October address to his students; while the great Medical Quarterly compares the plan with the still extant Spanish and Italian system of Sangrado, boldly asserting that the results of bleeding and of stimulating are merely 'a balance of destruction.' We shall not now examine the 'conclusions' of the faculty as to the medical uses of alcohol, our present aim being to trace the course of the discussion opened in our previous paper, and to record such facts, and expose such fallacies, as the retrospective review may seem to demand.

If the reader who may possess the first work named at the head of this article will turn to it, he will find an elaborate dissection of a lecture read ten years ago before the Literary Society of Leicester, by one Dr. Barclay, who, uninstructed by the past, has again favoured the philosophers of that city with a hash-up of the old material. This second lecture is as nearly a model specimen of platitudinarian philosophy, and of dull and incorrect composition, as any literary critic could well desire for the exercise of his satirical or logical propensities—would, in fact, afford protracted amusement to the reader in dissection. This, however, does not

fall within the scope of 'Meliora,' and we should have noticed the production in no way, save for the accident, that, running in the channel of the prejudices of a clever but unveracious periodical, a notice in its columns has lifted 'the country practitioner' into a little prominence, by getting rid of an edition of his pamphlet. It becomes interesting, therefore, to inquire what are the character and calibre of the arguments to which so many drinkers eagerly rush, at the signal of a 'Saturday Review'? The answer will afford a curious insight into the sort of mental culture that distinguishes so many persons in the nineteenth century, and which sufficiently explains the observation made by Sir Henry Holland in 1852, that 'during the last twenty years he had known the rise and decline of five or six fashions in medical doctrine or treatment, some of them affecting the name of "systems," and all deriving too much support from credulity, even among medical men themselves.' When, from deficient intellectual discipline, the doctors are the victims of verbal imposture and hypothesis, who can wonder that either legalzied or unlicensed quackery should flourish amongst the patients?

In his first lecture, in 1851, Dr. Barclay had said :—

'According to all observations hitherto made, neither the expired air, nor the perspiration, nor the secretions, contain any trace of alcohol after indulgence in spirituous liquors.'

To this Dr. Lees replied: * 'This is simply not true: Dr. Percy's experiments prove that several of the secretions and excretions of the body *do* contain very sensible quantities.' Dr. Barclay, at pages 16, 17 of his second lecture, revives the doctrine of Liebig as to alcohol being decomposed in the system, and, therefore, food; *i.e.* just three months after the French physiologists had exploded the fanciful theory altogether. Worse than this, Dr. Barclay, in his 'Advertisement' to his second edition, says that 'Dr. Lees took much pains to confute a statement I have never made, viz. that alcohol is never eliminated.' The citation above will show who is in error; but the next exhibits Dr. Barclay very disingenuously engaged in obscuring the truth, even after the real facts had been publicly declared in Leicester—

'MM. Lallemand and Perrin find that alcohol is to be discovered unchanged in more organs of the body than had hitherto been supposed.'

By no means, Dr. Barclay; for Dr. Lees had shown you in 1851, and your profession in 1843, that alcohol had been extracted from the urine and the bile, and was sensibly present in the breath and in the odour from the skin. It was a very different work which these physiologists have performed. The next statement would be a fine specimen of audacity, were it not an example of pure blundering—

* 'Works,' vol. i., Appendix, p. clxv.

'The

'The experiments would not in any way affect the evidence as to the uses of alcohol while in the body. . . . They require careful repetition before they . . prove that more than a very small quantity of the alcohol ingested is given off unchanged.'

Dr. Barclay does not appear to comprehend these experiments, for they prove, by the most varied tests and processes, the exact contrary—that none but the very smallest quantity of alcohol can be left behind. Mark, however, the plea put forward for alcohol being food! It is decomposed in the body, says Dr. Barclay, replacing oil or other fuel food; therefore it is food, and not 'poison.' Possibly, however, it might poison the organism before it was decomposed in the circulation, and then it would be poison first and fuel afterwards; but what we want explaining is this: If it have the alleged use in the body of being consumed as fuel, how can it come out of the breath and other excretions as alcohol? When coal is burnt up as fuel in the gas furnaces, does it come out as coal at the end of the gas-pipes? If alcohol be not used up in the body, how can it 'enable us to dispense with starch and sugar in our food,' as Dr. Barclay says it does? Will he still persist in saying that the French experiments do not affect his alleged use of alcohol in the body? It would be charity to suppose that his preface had been written in a fit of somnambulism.

Dr. Barclay echoes the effete and tiresome common-places about 'temperance in all things,' and 'use' not being the same as 'abuse.' The teetotalers, we surmise, know that quite as well as himself; still the question returns—What *is* temperance?—what is *use*? At page 7 he tells us that 'alcohol can no more cure all diseases than any other drug,' and he repudiates 'the indiscriminate abuse of a powerful remedy.' Now, really, is this language properly applicable to our 'daily bread'? If alcohol be a 'powerful remedy' for 'disease,' and a 'dangerous drug,' then it has nothing to do with ordinary health and diet, which, as we understand the matter, is the very essence of teetotal doctrine. Dietetic temperance, as De Quincey long since defined it, is 'adaptation to the organism;' and if there be any normal want in the human system which alcohol can satisfy, then its use, in right measure and time, is certainly temperance. Why cannot Dr. Barclay show this simple fact, if fact it be, without so many words and such obscure and confused arguments? What want of the healthy body will he fix upon? and how will he show that alcohol is adapted to it?

Pages 15 to 18 are occupied with mention of the experiments of Böcker, Lehmann, and others, familiar to the teetotal world through the writings of Dr. Lees, so far back as 1853-4. Unfortunately for Dr. Barclay, his information is not only somewhat stale, but in great part discredited. He somehow contrives to arrive 'a day after the fair,' and he is then found dealing in goods

one quite out of fashion. A concrete example will
taphor. Dr. Barclay revives the foolish theory as to
ol 'arresting the waste of tissue,' quoting that very
ie 'Medico-Chirurgical Review,' in the reply to
54, Dr. Lees anticipated the altered condition of
has already come about, and gave that very explana-
cts which Dr. E. Smith's experiments have more
blished (p. ccii). Long before the lecture of Dr.
elivered, however, Dr. E. Smith had proved that tea
sues; and even about the time that he was publishing
n, in which he speaks of alcohol as 'accessory food,'
notion from the old 'Medical Review' of 1854, the
article was himself not only reconsidering his views,
reparing to recant and publicly repudiate them, which
one!

unsafe to construe the phraseology of our lecturer
rwise we might ask him to reconcile such language
victims, it is not fair to say of the bottle, but of
ous, depraved, and uncontrolled desires,' with that
speaks of 'persons who have delivered themselves
wer of the demon of drink' (p. 6), 'the irresistible
ng drink'? He insinuates, indeed, a natural instinct
rs: but the idea seems quite as absurd as a native

Professors Lehmann, Moleschott, Lallemand, and Perrin unite with Dr. E. Smith and Dr. King Chambers in saying that alcohol is not food; yet, says Dr. Barclay, in italics, the contrary is 'proved'! As to the American statistics, Dr. Barclay is as far wrong as with his own. The only possible source of reliable figures on such a subject will be the books of the Sons of Temperance, or some other similar body. We have the last annual report of the 'Sons' before us, from which it appears that out of 51,020 members reported, only 9,792 violated their pledge, of which number one-half signed again, and 2,685 were reinstated in the order. The proportion of 7,107 to 51,020 is certainly in rather broad contrast to the ratio between 350 and 500, and reduces the 'awfulness' of the outburst exceedingly. We should like to ask Dr. Barclay a few questions as a man of the world, if not as a philosopher. Has he not heard that most men, in one shape or another, or at one time or another, make professions or take vows of honesty, purity, and fidelity? Does he, with his knowledge of society, not to speak of the 'Gazette,' the dock, the bankruptcy and divorce courts, the statistics and revelations of prostitution, truly believe that any but a very small minority of the world fulfil these vows and pledges? Shall we plead for sin, therefore, that it is 'an awful outburst of nature'?—a reaction against ascetic virtue? Shall we be 'justified in calling it an instinct'? Is 'the truth' these millions of vow-breakers testify to, this—that 'sin is proper alimentary matter for the soul'? If not, what does such pernicious sophistry signify or tend to? Why make language so fatally ambiguous as to become an apology and excuse for the great fountain of sensuality and social demoralization?

In our former article we reproduced the language of Dr. Michel Levy and of Dr. Edward Smith, in which it is stated that the action of alcohol from (miscalled) moderation to dead drunkenness is one progressive unbroken series of abnormal effects, differing in degree not in kind. Dr. Barclay, at page 14, quarrels with this old temperance doctrine and modern scientific truth. The difference, he says, between the effect of 'a little' and 'much' is as marked as between agreeably warm water and a scald!—that only 'the excess is poison.' He further compares alcoholic use to 'rust or iron-mould,' but abuse to the 'burning spark' which explodes the mine. How does this accord with the subsequent statement (pp. 21 to 23) as to 'the habit of frequently taking a drop; for even the same amount of spirits taken at a bout of intoxication,* will do a man an infinite deal more harm if divided into repeated doses, and taken at short intervals during the day'?

* He means to say, 'an amount of spirits equal to that which is often taken at a weekly bout of drunkenness.' In the first edition, 'once in a week' follows the word 'intoxication.'

We

We cannot understand how the constant absorption and presence of a little food in the blood can do such infinite mischief; and Dr. Barclay's explanation of what 'philosophy tells us' about 'the moulting of the tissues,' is calculated to excite inextinguishable laughter! His own authority, Dr. Chambers, has truly said, in reference to the comparison of warm water and scalding, 'one distinguishes in a moment the normal and abnormal;' and we cannot help thinking that a juster comparison would be found between the little and large, or the rare and frequent use of alcohol, in the difference between preliminary diarrhœa and developed cholera, or between a slight and a dangerous attack of fever. At any rate, what we understand the teetotalers to maintain is, that any sensible quantity of alcohol injures, just as a drop of hot water scalds, though a larger measure is required to kill. Phrases and figures of speech, definition and dialectic, however, will never settle that point; but only the facts of experience on which the temperance men profess to found their doctrine. They would not, we imagine, demur to the comparison of the effects of alcohol to rust, which is unquestionably a process of decay, not desiderated in any perfect machinery or organism. As the proverb says, 'Better wear out than rust out;' better employ the mortal body in its allotted functions of use, than 'iron-mould' the fibres and faculties by sottishness and sensuality. Further on Dr. Barclay says of the publicans who constantly imbibe their drops of diet, that when one of them dies he is 'actually, as well as metaphorically, rotten.' This is a frightful form of rust, indeed!

Dr. Barclay, like Dr. Lankester, snatches at an absurd comparison between alcoholics and onion, gin and garlic, sherry and shalots. All taint the breath, say they; but shalots and onions are food, therefore alcohol is food! Now is that element of the onion which comes out of the breath really food? On referring to Professor Pereira's books, we find it classed under the head of 'Materia Medica' as 'an acrid, volatile oil, which quickens the circulation, occasions thirst; passing out of the different excreting organs, it communicates its peculiar smell to the secretions: if the oil be dissipated by boiling, onions and garlic no longer possess any acrid qualities, and then form mild and easily digested aliments; whereas, in the raw state, *i. e.* with the oil, they are pungent, acrid, difficultly digestible substances.' Tapioca (a species of arrow-root) is an innocent, well-known food—but the tuberous root from which it comes, the *Janipha Manihot*, is a poisonous plant. So is the potato, but not when boiled. That the distinct qualities of compounds should be ignored under one common name, the poisonous or medical element of a vegetable confounded with its alimentary parts, and that which the body uses, with that which it expels, is an example of mental fogginess very pitiable in public teachers.

teachers. Their own illustration is fatal to their own argument, since alcohol leaves no substance behind, but is eliminated, like the 'volatile oil' of onion, 'in totality and in nature.' That which 'taints the breath' can neither be food which repairs the tissue with substance, nor feeds the furnace with fuel; in both cases it is 'an acrid, volatile poison'—a medical, not an alimentive substance. After all, this theory appears to be a plagiarism from these old-world pagans, who were so fond of assœfetida (or stinking gum) in their cookery, that they gave to it the seductive title of 'Food for the gods!' If assafœtida be food, because taken with food, why not alcohol?

Strange as are the pranks that Dr. Barclay plays while engaged in what he calls 'philosophy' (which seems to signify, in his use of it, the reasoning from phrases as though they were facts), when he comes to statistics and figures, he transcends himself. At p. 31, for example, in order to prove that teetotal statements are extravagant, he adduces statistics from six asylums, showing an average of 14·36 per cent. of insanity dependent on 'intemperance.' Who but Dr. Barclay would ever think of inferring, that because some 850 persons are annually put down in the Registrar-General's Return as dying from 'intemperance,' therefore that number represents the whole mortality actually resulting from drinking? Why, Dr. Barclay's 'rotten publicans' are not included! If there be even 15 per cent. of insanity arising from admitted, impossible-to-be-disguised intemperance, we may be sure that a very much larger proportion will be found, by those who closely inquire, to have its origin in drinking. At all events, Dr. Barclay's dispute is not so much with the temperance people as with the great authorities in his own profession. How the facts behind the figures are hidden from his vision may be shown in a couple of instances:

'If Lord Shaftesbury's statement were true (that 60 per cent. of insane cases are due, directly and indirectly, to drinking), we should have few such cases among Quakers, the great body of whom are total abstainers. But it is well known that mental alienation is quite as prevalent among Quakers as among the population at large.'—(P. 31.)

From what data does Dr. Barclay gather this? We know a good deal about the Society of Friends, and we entirely discredit the statement. There are facts behind the returns on which our lecturer founds his rash assertion, which he has not examined. Take the case of the 'York Retreat.' Out of 119 patients there in the early part of 1861, we ascertained that only 77 were Friends; thus compelling a deduction of 33 per cent. from the bare and total figures, which Dr. Barclay would assume to represent Quaker insanity. But these asylums have peculiar principles in their management, without knowing which, the returns would lead (if blindly manipulated) to altogether delusive inferences. For instance, by way of inducement to send the insane to their keeping early,

early, one year's maintenance gratis is furnished to a patient who is brought within the first three months of the attack. Friends, notwithstanding some peculiarities, have, owing to their comparative temperance, not only a much higher average of life than 'the general population,' but an extraordinary exemption from insanity.

Dr. George Robinson, of the Bensham Asylum,* has shattered the sophisms of Dr. Barclay by his able and exhaustive analysis of the facts. The returns from 98 asylums in England and Wales exhibit the proportion of 18 per cent. of insanity directly dependent on drinking; but he adds, 'A very brief examination will suffice to prove that this estimate is greatly below the truth.' He then adduces the facts of 25 asylums, private and pauper mixed, metropolitan and provincial, showing nearly 25 per cent. arising from intemperance. 'It will be seen,' he adds, 'that these returns refer to intemperance alone one-fourth, and to it in "conjunction with vice" and sensuality, nearly one-third of all the cases of insanity admitted.' In one of the asylums at the east of London, the Lunacy Commissioners' Report states (p. 100), that above 41 per cent. arose from intemperance. These figures take no account of the indirect influence of drinking, or of drinking short of absolute excess, which, in our judgment, issues upon the whole in mental disturbance not less mischievous and real, though less apparent in their development.

In like manner Dr. Barclay strives hard to diminish the estimate of the amount of disease accruing from our drinking habits, and fails as signally as before. He has but one canon of criticism, and that is, not his own experience, but his interpretation of his experience. Now it is not simply needful that a man should have facts of his own, it is equally necessary that he should know what to do with them. The science of statistics is not merely a mass of heterogeneous facts, heaped together higgledy-piggledy; it consists of facts systematically arranged by an intellect competent to interpret and manipulate them. Any one can cook figures, but the genuine philosopher can alone arrange them into a science, representing the truths and order of nature. Of these qualifications our lecturer evinces an utter absence. As to Peter Bell, the potter, a primrose was a primrose, and nothing more, so to Dr. Barclay, figures are figures, and nothing else! All differences of circumstance, of time, and of place, are ignored, and one set of figures are pretty much the same to him as another—if they but answer the purpose of the moment. In Leicester, for example, he fancies he has arrived, by some careful (but possibly confused) method, at the fact that amongst his poor patients there is not more than 5 per cent.

* 'On Mental Disorders.' London, 1859. Chap. iv.

of

of sickness due to drink—at which, says he, 'I confess myself astonished.' Therefore, is his conclusion, Dr. Gordon was utterly wrong when he traced 75 cases out of the 100 in a London hospital to that agent; and another doctor was equally fallacious when he attributed 50 per cent. of the sickness in the Glasgow Infirmary to the use of spirits.

On looking at Dr. Barclay's own tables, however, we find a sufficient refutation of his method and his inference. The per-centage of difference between insanity in one town and another ranges from 6 per cent. in Hull (a drunken seaport), to 24 per cent. in Edinburgh!—so had our figurist himself dwelt in the former place, he would have denounced the statistics of the latter as incredible and exaggerated! He even allows that his own private, middle-class patients have above '13 per cent. of disease dependent on drink'—*i. e.* above 1 in 8—while he puts down only $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. to his poor patients! This statement by no means confirms the notion on which he insists so stoutly, that drinking is gone out of fashion with the richer classes, and is chiefly confined to the poorer; unless the wealthy are suffering vicariously for the sins of the labouring people.* He 'appeals to every one that goes into society,' whether there be not an 'improved state of matters among the upper classes,' having first excellently confuted himself by showing that 100 of his own upper-class patients yielded 11 cases of direct drink disease in 1858, 14 cases in 1859, and 16 cases in 1860. Has Dr. Barclay, we wonder, ever tried to fulfil the 'religious responsibilities' whereof he speaks; and in reference to those 100 persons especially who constitute the seed-plot for 16 drink-diseased patients annually? He hints that he cannot afford to do so, because 'that very same argument which is powerful when used by a missionary to a poor debased drunkard, would, from the lips of a doctor, only lead a rich man to consider his physician a fool.'

No doubt Dr. Barclay is quite right in believing that to rebuke corrupt appetite entails the loss both of professional reputation and pecuniary reward. In other words, he here very naïvely allows the truth to peep out—that medical men are under a strong temptation to pander to the appetites of their rich patients, and to sneer at opinions as 'extreme,' which, acted upon, would limit the area of their professional business so prodigiously. To the poor, degraded class of drinkers, abstinence is necessary, and may be taught by the

* Dr. Barclay will not learn modesty of judgment even from himself. In his old lecture, he states that he had 'the notes of 11,344 cases' showing '*the* evils resulting from the use of stimulants in only 199, or not quite $1\frac{1}{2}$ per 100.' As these cases included many rich, we may separate them, and say that according to Dr. Barclay in 1851, drink-disease amongst the poor was $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., but in 1861, 5 per cent. Amongst the rich in 1851, only 2 per cent.; but in 1861 not less than 16 per cent.! So much for 'improved habits' as tested by Leicester statistics!

missionary,

missionary, if not the medico; but to the sixteen per cent., nay, to the whole hundred, who cannot bear the truth to be spoken, Dr. Barclay gives the rule of 'moderation.' If it be inquired what that is? he replies, 'I cannot tell; but conscience will warn us against the earliest approach to excess.' Will it, indeed! Do the genteel sixteen take the warning; or 'the honest publicans,' who are 'actually, as well as metaphorically, rotting? How do *they* come into the doctor's hands? Do they in sooth believe themselves to be in 'the power of the demon'? Does conscience speak when the physician is silent? or are the victims not still quite unconscious that they are gravitating with an accelerated intensity as they descend earthwards, while the celestial counter-attractions become feebler as the stars grow more dim and distant?

Dr. Barclay has at least performed one stage trick which, with the help of the 'Saturday Review,' has produced a sort of effect which entitles it to the name of 'the great-sensation statistic.'

'It shows that total abstinence actually predisposes to SOME diseases. This influence is dependent on the state of the nervous system; and, if the philosophical explanation of the action of alcohol on that system be correct, we should find total abstainers more subject to attacks of diseases which invade most easily those whose nervous system is below par.'—(Pp. 23, 24.)

This is the hypothesis, but what are the facts? Are the nerves of teetotalers below par? If so, would not the whole system suffer, and manifest the fact of diminished power, endurance, and vitality, by a general and proportional inability to reject and expel disease? Is it true, then, either in India, England, or the Continent, that drinking affords a general immunity from disease? Dr. Barclay himself admits that 'by not using alcohol, except in disease, we are better able to bear up under the ailment, and less of the drug is needed to produce the desired effect.' This is a clear admission that, in health, abstinence from this drug, as from all drugs, allows the vital or reactionary power of the body to accumulate. Why, then, should the teetotalers' nerves be below par in particular? Sir Charles Napier relates his experience thus: 'I was tumbled over by the heat with apoplexy. Forty-three others were struck, all Europeans; and all died within three hours, except myself. I do not drink—that is the secret.' Will Dr. Barclay, or the ingenious Saturday men, explain how that healthy condition of the blood and brain, which saves from sun-stroke, should invite fever? Dr. Barclay quotes the Indian statistics as follows:

ALL DISEASES.

| Class. | Sick, per Cent. | Deaths, per Cent. |
|---|---|---|
| Teetotalers . . . . | 130·88 | 1·11 |
| Temperate . . . . | 141·59 | 2·31 |
| Intemperate . . . . | 214·86 | 4·45 |

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The death per-centage indicates, in the most impressive manner, the milder form of sickness to which the teetotal soldier was subjected. Now, it is utterly impossible to believe that a regimen which so strengthens the body as to exempt from the usual average of disease, and which conquers it more frequently, should specially expose men to the assaults of fever, dysentery, and diarrhœa.* To prove this, is precisely one of those things which statistics cannot do—for the figures would only prove that the statistician had somehow tricked himself. No 'figures' can prove what is contrary to the first principles of nature. Nevertheless, we will take Dr. Barclay's advice, who says: 'Now look at Table, No. IV.'

EUROPEAN REGIMENTS IN INDIA.

| Class. | Fever. | | Dysentery. | | Diarrhœa. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Sick, per 100. | Deaths. | Sick. | Deaths. | Sick. | Deaths. |
| Teetotalers. . | 31·33 | 0·22 | 11·55 | 0·66 | 11·11 | 0·22 |
| Temperate . . | 17·78 | 0·02 | 7·96 | 0·71 | 8·05 | 0·09 |
| Intemperate . | 20·16 | 0·21 | 11·88 | 1·59 | 11·46 | 0·00. |

Here, on the very face of the table, is the most conclusive evidence that it has no comparative value. The items show that the per-centage is obtained from a very small induction; and the last especially proves (if it proves anything) that drunkenness is less fatal than what is called 'temperate' drinking.

Why, we ask, are the statistics of cholera not given? If abstinence from alcoholic stimulants predispose to the other epidemics, by inducing 'nervous depression,' it must assuredly manifest itself in the same direction of increased sickness and mortality with respect to the most formidable of the type? But Dr. Barclay lays down a principle which applies to 'fever, dysentery, diarrhœa, and cholera;' and his statistics not only prove too much in regard to one, contradict each other in respect to three, but so totally negative the wild hypothesis with relation to the fourth, that the facts are conveniently excluded! In other words, we have detected our 'philosopher' in the act of cooking his statistics.

Let us suppose a parallel case, to show the kind of trick that has been played off upon the public by Dr. Barclay and the Saturday Review'—the latter not only ignoring altogether the table which shows that in all other diseases, save the three, tee-

* 'Nationally,' says Dr. Chambers, whose discarded notions our lecturer is retailing, 'muscular and mental energy always run in couples. Indeed, it is a question whether the first is not the cause of the second.' If teetotalism improves the nutrition of the muscles, it cannot deteriorate the nerves and brain; nor, therefore, specially predispose to the three typical diseases of 'fever, dysentery, and cholera.'

totalers

totalers have the advantage of 50 per cent. of exemption on the average, but dishonestly* representing the proportion to hold of sickness generally! The reader will remember the horrible catastrophe of the Black Hole at Calcutta, into which above 140 persons were thrust, of whom only some dozen survived after a few days, the majority dying of asphyxia before the following morning. We may presume they were not teetotalers, but usually moderationists.† Now suppose we were to adduce their experience, and place the results of 96 per cent. mortality to the credit of drinking a little wine—were to say, in fact, that *that* habit 'predisposes to some diseases, as asphyxia'—what would Dr. Barclay reply? Would he not ask whether teetotalers would fare much better in the same circumstances? whether a similar trial had been made with them, and had ended in a different way? The answer would be the exposure of the fallacy, since the value of comparative statistics depends entirely upon the similarity of the circumstances under which the facts are produced, and the frequency and uniformity of the results.

Now Dr. Barclay's little table gives the statistics only of a single year, and the results of circumstances peculiar to the teetotal soldiers, from whose experience the figures are obtained. We will give the details in regard to one disease—dysentery, on the authority of Dr. E. A. Parkes, Professor of Hygiene at the Army Medical School, Chatham, and formerly serving with the 84th Regiment.

The regiments serving in the Madras Presidency in 1849, and included in the return, were the 15th Hussars, her Majesty's 25th, 51st, 84th, and 94th regiments, and the 1st Madras Fusiliers. The 84th was, *par excellence*, the temperance regiment. Owing to the exertions of Lieut.-Col. Willington, Major (now Brigadier-General) Russell, C.B., and the late Major Seymour, this regiment (from 1843 up to the date almost of the mutiny) was so temperate that, from 1844 to 1849, no case of delirium tremens occurred. It included at one time above 500 teetotalers, and the rest of the men were very limited drinkers. The 450 teetotalers, of whom Dr. Barclay says, 'one died of fever,' but 'only one in 4,318 of the temperate soldiers' belonged chiefly to this single regiment. Now in 1849, the year of the statistics, this teetotal regiment was sent to Secunderabad, in the Deccan, which was then, and for years

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* Professor Carpenter's letter of correction was rejected.

† This shocking event happened in 1756, and was the consequence of a catastrophe brought about through drunkenness. Surajah Dowlah, having besieged Fort William, the English troops, before terms of surrender were mediated, obtained access to the liquor, and were so intoxicated that the enemy took possession without resistance. 146 officers and men were thrust into a dungeon only 18 feet square, with two small barred windows. Next morning but 23 men were found breathing, most of them raving or insensible. Not a dozen ultimately survived the horrors of the Black Hole.

after,

after, the very hot-bed of dysentery. Owing to the position and construction of the barracks, and a bad supply of water, no regiment left that station without crowding the churchyard with the dead. Now, to compare the risks of dysentery among the teetotalers serving at Secunderabad with the rest of the force serving in other much healthier stations, is the suppositional fallacy of the Black Hole made actual. Instead of a comparison there is a contrast; instead of an uniformity of continued result there is but one trial under peculiar circumstances.

Dr. Lees (vol. i. Appendix, p. 138) exposed this sophism in 1847, in replying to Dr. Glover; and we may borrow his language, and say that Dr. Barclay is 'guilty of the same fallacy as he would be who, to prove the unhealthiness of an entire town, should go to the narrow lanes, confined courts, and miserable cellars of the very scum and outcasts of the community, and thence draw his inference as to the healthiness of all the rest. The best proof would be a trial of the principle, not among the same class merely, but the same men; and such a trial is detailed in reference to the 84th Regiment in the "Medical Review" for 1847.' In that year it marched to Secunderabad (450 miles); and, 'although the road is proverbial for cholera, and passes through several unhealthy and marshy districts, the men were free from sickness to an extent absolutely unprecedented in our marches in India. They had no cholera and no fever, and lost only two men from dysentery, both old chronic cases. The officers were surprised to find that the men marched infinitely better than they had ever before known, and were unusually cheerful.' Dr. Lees adds the testimony of Dr. Ramsey Sladen, Physician-General of Madras, who says: 'I have always been most temperate, and have enjoyed an uncommon share of health; but I find that I can go through bodily and mental exertion much better when I abstain altogether from alcoholic or fermented liquors.'

Had Dr. Barclay desired to discover the truth, he would carefully have sought for proper conditions of comparison, and at once have suspected the character of those which even seemed to a superficial view to prove that drunkenness was better than abstinence as a prophylactic against epidemics. The losses of the 84th Regiment should have been compared with the losses of other regiments at the same place and under similar circumstances.

Now the annual average mortality at Secunderabad was for many years more than 70 per 1,000. Some slight improvements in the barracks in 1837-1838 were of little use, for subsequently several regiments were literally more than decimated by dysentery. The 84th Regiment served here during part of 1847, and in 1848 and 1849. In the Annual Report up to the 31st March,

9, they had lost, out of a strength of 1,068, only
m all causes; of these 10 only were from dysentery.
mortality was little over 22 per 1,000, instead of 70
which was the average. For 1849 the returns do not
r than the end of September; but in the quarter
September, the period of all the great dysenteric out-
admissions from dysentery were 68 out of a strength
e deaths only 6.

here, then, the clearest evidence that, although the
ent did not escape the terrible influence which for so
assailed the troops at Secunderabad, it yet suffered
influences in an inconsiderable degree; and thus the
support the view that teetotalism protects against the
well as against the severity, of epidemics. We may
Barclay, in conclusion, that there is nothing more fal-
his facts, unless it be his figures. He can not only
on paper, but can stoutly deny them. We have
hand this day a bottle of virgin wine—pure grape-
n as is the juice in the grape itself—which has been
ee years. It would keep three centuries as well as
Dr. Barclay, however, like the French *savan*, boldly
t 'it is so much the worse for our fact'! At p. 42,
nfermented wine, however desirable,' he asserts 'to be

## ART. VI.—MR. BATES, THE ARCHITECT.

IT was a dull, cold October afternoon; twilight was coming on, accompanied by small drizzling rain. In the drawing-room of a tolerably large house in one of the suburbs of the metropolis sat a lady, restless, and apparently uneasy in mind. Her eldest child, a little girl of some ten or eleven years of age, sat on a low stool near the glowing fire, stitching away at a piece of white work.

Mrs. Bates was not still for five minutes together. She would go to the window and look out in the gathering mist, as if expecting some one; then, heaving a sigh, would return to her seat, only to start up again to the window in a minute or two, to look out as before.

Little Mary was not surprised to see her mother so agitated; of late it had been no uncommon thing to see her so, and the child half divined the reason of it. 'Isn't papa very late this evening, mamma?' she said.

'He is, dear, especially for Saturday. I can't imagine what detains him.'

Saturday evening was looked forward to most eagerly by the younger members of the family, for the sole reason that on that evening they were allowed to take tea in the drawing-room with their parents. On other days, Mr. and Mrs. Bates dined alone at the tea hour, in consequence of Mr. Bates being engaged the whole day in business in the City. On Saturdays, his office was closed at midday, and accordingly the home arrangements respecting meal-times were altered, to the great satisfaction of the aforesaid 'younger members.'

The little timepiece on its marble bracket rattled out the hour of six. 'Papa is late,' said Mrs. Bates, for nearly the twentieth time; then, pausing in her march to the window, exclaimed, 'Hark! what can those children be doing? Turning the house upside down, I should think. Mary, just run up and tell Ann I will come and— or, never mind, I will go myself.' And as she ascended the stairs, peals of laughter and the clatter of childish feet scampering madly about made her brow grow dark. Mrs. Bates was not a good woman in the true acceptation of the term, and her temper being already ruffled by her husband's non-appearance at the proper time, she did not feel in a mood to deal leniently with offenders. Moreover, the scene that was presented to her as she opened the nursery door was in no wise calculated to soothe her perturbed feelings. There were four children there, and a young, careless, rosy-faced nursemaid 'fresh from the country.'

Little Jessie, the eldest of the four, was seated on a high stool, poring

a picture-book, and apparently unconscious of the
t reigned around. Two little boys were playing at
ing round and round the room at express rate.
the young gentlemen who were creating such an
was going full speed astride the poker, which made
e, and likewise left jetty tracks crossed and recrossed
eted floor; the other was flourishing an apology for
shape of an old doll, with which he most unmerci-
rered his brother's back, every blow shaking out a
mount of sawdust from the novel 'whip,' which fell in
ble showers upon the curly heads of the two laughing,
nping youngsters.
—a merry little fellow of ten months—sitting on the
d anon manifested his appreciation of the fun by
ud prolonged crow of delight, resting, during its
is attempts to tear to pieces Jessie's spelling-book,
s to the ingenuity of the age, was 'indestructible.'
the midst of it all, was quietly writing a pencil note
the old folks how well she and London agreed

's sudden appearance, and her emphatic ejaculatory
er!' produced a startling effect. The nurse was
confusion, the two little lads stood in grotesque

times for a similar purpose. Did any part of the household machinery get foul and flag in working, she calculated upon winding the whole up to its normal condition of 'going' by the use of that expressive threat.

As for the children, they knew it as well as they did their A B C, and the 'twice-times' of the multiplication table. It fell dull and heavy on their ears as a thrice-told tale, and they had gradually ceased to notice or be moved by it, more especially as of late it had been unaccompanied by those terrible illustrations which had adorned, or rather disfigured, the 'leaves' turned over in times gone by, but still within their recollection.

As Mrs. Bates reached the drawing-room, the hall door was heard to open, shoes were noisily rubbed on the mat, and a heavy step ascended the stairs. It was Mr. Bates. He entered the room with a slow, careless, swaggering gait. He was a tall, fine-looking man, attired in a loose and not ungraceful style of dress, which well became him, and he moved and spoke with that air of nonchalance peculiar to a certain class of well-to-do business men. But his face,—ah! it could not be called a pleasant one, for it was somewhat bloated and disfigured, and the eyes were dull and lustreless; no one could gaze long at him without coming to the conclusion that there was something going on wrong. Yet not so very long ago, that countenance was exceedingly attractive, and his genial smile irresistibly winning. He was changed. The truth was, he drank deeply, deeply. This was the grief that haunted his wife through the day, and disturbed her slumbers at night. Even the children knew a little of it—for intemperance is a sin which cannot be hid—and their young faces would be sometimes clouded, especially little Jessie's. She was a quiet, delicate, thoughtful child, strange and 'old-fashioned' in her manners, and the family seemed to have an instinctive idea that she would be the first to go, and accordingly bestowed on her an extra amount of affectionate care. Most intensely she loved her father, and the happiest moments of her young life were spent when sitting on his knee, with her arms twined lovingly about his neck.

But we are digressing.

Mr. Bates made a slight apology for being late, as he saw his wife waiting tea.

'I could not think where you were, Aleck,' she replied.

'Dare say not,' he said, carelessly; 'the fact is, I ought not to have come home at all, for I had a most pressing invitation to dine with an old friend who arrived in town to-day. As 'tis Saturday, I thought of Jess and the children; however, I must run out directly after tea, so let us have it with all possible speed, my dear.'

Mrs. Bates did not reply, but turned and rang for the urn. In a few minutes a rush was heard on the stairs, and, laughing and chattering, the children came bounding in.

'Behave yourselves!' cried Mrs. Bates to the two boys, who had so recently undergone punishment, but who, by the way, seemed to have as much remembrance of it as though it had been inflicted twelve months before. They took their seats, but their faces were all a-glow with suppressed merriment, and papa's sayings were greeted with an unwarrantable amount of laughter. Certainly he must have been uncommonly jocular that evening. Mrs. Bates's face in the midst of it all relaxed not a muscle; she could see below the surface of things, and knew only too well the cause of her husband's lightsomeness.

'He will pipe a different strain,' she said, mentally, 'when he arrives home to-night.' He said something to her about being 'glum,' and bantered her on her mopishness. She coloured to have him speak so before the children, and retorted. Then followed one of those family jars which had so disturbed the peace of their home of late. We shall decline the task of recording Mr. Bates's unmanly sayings, and the replies elicited from his annoyed wife, which would not prove interesting or edifying in the least degree. Jessie was very quiet, listening with pain to what was passing between her parents, and when at liberty to move, she ran round to her father, and climbing his knee, laid her soft, pale face against his rough, bushy whiskers.

'Well, puss, what have you been doing to-day?' he asked.

'Sewing a bit, pa, and dressing my doll, and reading.'

'Very nice work for a little lady.' Jessie felt pleased to receive his commendation. After leaning there quietly for a while, she drew his head down and whispered—

'I want to speak to you quiet, papa.'

'Well, my dear, go on.' She hesitated. 'What is it, Jessie?'

'Papa, ducky' (this was the fondest term she thought she could possibly use), 'will you turn over a new leaf?' He started; such a request, coming from such a quarter, threw him momentarily off his guard, but recovering himself, he said—'There is no necessity for doing so, my dear. What has papa done wrong?'

'I don't know,' replied Jessie, timidly; 'but I think you might turn over a new leaf, somehow, pa.' He thought so too, but laughingly kissing her, he lifted her down, and rose to go out.

'Will you turn over a new leaf?' Those words rang in his ears as he walked through the wet uncomfortable weather towards the City. They would not cease their importunity even when he was seated round the convivial board, apparently the most jovial of those jovial ones who, like himself, were making shipwreck of health, wealth, character, happiness, and everything. That night his

his wife listened with astonishment to the frequent repetition of the words in his drunken almost unintelligible soliloquies.

At such times he invariably let fall ominous words confirmatory of Mrs. Bates's fears that they were getting into difficulties. No other ground whatever had she for such a supposition. On the contrary, by actions that spoke louder than words, Mr. Bates represented that they were in a prospering state. Costly articles of furniture were unexpectedly sent home by him; pictures, statuettes, &c.—for he was an ardent admirer of the fine arts—and which Mrs. Bates, in her first bursts of astonishment, declared were altogether superfluous, and were purchased in a fit of extravagance. Had she said in a fit of intoxication, she would have been nearer the mark, for that was the fact. However, she finally took a more charitable view of the matter, and was secretly pleased with the costly 'superfluities;' and what housewife would not be?

Mr. Bates never troubled his wife about his commercial affairs nor talked to her about business matters. When sober, he was emphatically 'close' with regard to such topics, though it evidently cost him an effort to keep so. He did not hesitate to tell her, when he had been particularly successful with any of his designs, of the praise and admiration he had gained. Indeed, he could not have disguised his pleasure and satisfaction, for he was naturally a demonstrative man. But nothing further did he deem it expedient to disclose to her; consequently, she had about as much idea of their being in a declining state as the man in the moon, until she learned the import of her husband's drunken mysterious mutterings.

Then fears became her constant companions. She began to think. Yes, her husband was indeed an habitual and a hard drinker. Under such circumstances could business be properly attended to? Such thoughts, such questions, perpetually distressed her. Would he 'turn over a new leaf?' She had herself, with much misgiving, once proposed that question to him; but the next moment had accused herself of foolishness, as he scornfully tossed the proposition aside with words of pleasant banter.

A month or two from the time of the commencement of our story, on one of the mid-week evenings, he brought a friend home to dine with him. As usual, he had been drinking, and Mrs. Bates felt in nowise agreeable to the task of entertaining his guest. Besides, Mr. Jones was not a man calculated to produce a favourable impression on the mind of such a woman as Mrs. Bates, sensible, educated, and generally refined as she was. He was loud and noisy—hilarious would be the best word—and his frequent jokes were coarse and ungentlemanly. Mrs. Bates was not sorry when she could leave the room, and long after her

departure the two gentlemen sat over their wine. Half an hour or so passed in loose, desultory conversation, when Mr. Bates said, as if suddenly recollecting, 'Those are the pictures I was speaking of.'

'Ah!' ejaculated Jones, rising to look at them; and raising his eye-glass, he scanned them attentively for five minutes with the air of a connoisseur. They were beautiful paintings—one of a Spanish girl with fruit, the other an exquisite Italian landscape.

'Humph! you must come down a cool fifty,' said Jones, after a quiet survey, and swinging his eye-glass round and round.

'Not a fraction,' promptly responded Bates.

'You won't get your first sum anywhere.'

'Won't I, though? I tell you, Jones,' said Mr. Bates, bringing his hand down heavily on the man's shoulder with tipsy confidence, 'I would not part with them for anything that could be offered, although I have such a posse, were it not that I am pushed for cash just now. Why, man, they're splendid!'

'Yes, they are fine pictures,' said the other, slowly; 'but, at any rate, you'll knock off twenty; come, that's fair.'

'I won't!' said the uncompromising Bates, very decidedly. So, as Jones saw he was determined, he pressed the subject no longer; and after discussing another bottle of wine, the bargain was arranged satisfactorily to both parties.

Jones met Mrs. Bates on the stairs as he was leaving the house, and wished her 'good evening,' but she comprehended not the meaning of the words to her husband, 'I'll send for them to-morrow, Bates.'

When he had gone, Mr. Bates seemed wofully ill at ease. He took up his hat, put it on, and took it off. Presently taking a seat immediately opposite his wife, and making an imbecile attempt to look uncommonly sober, he began: 'I've been thinking it was very foolish, Marian, to buy those paintings'—waving his hand towards them—'quite unnecessary; a piece of unpardonable extravagance.'

'I thought so at the time of your purchasing them,' said his wife, quietly; 'but as we have them it's no use regretting. They are very beautiful.'

'Humph! The value of them in pounds, shillings, and pence would be infinitely more beautiful to me just now. In fact, I've been talking to Jones about converting them into ditto, and he seems to take up with the idea.'

'Sell them, do you mean?—to him?' said she, in undisguised disgust. 'Never should such a man have a shilling's worth of mine! There is something about him that I hate!' and her eyes flashed.

'Very probably,' replied Mr. Bates; 'I don't admire him myself;

myself; but the fellow abounds in riches, and it is well for one in my position to have such a friend. The truth is, Marian, my affairs just now are in a critical state, and a good round sum would be of incalculable service to me, therefore I think my wisest plan would be to dispose of those two paintings; they will be the least missed of anything we have.'

Mrs. Bates felt alarmed to hear it hinted that it was really necessary to convert any of their possessions into hard, serviceable cash, and then to hear him say, 'They will be the least missed of anything we have,' sounded like the prelude to something terrible. However, there was no help for it; the paintings went, and, ere long, a few other 'superfluous' articles followed them.

One night Mrs. Bates was sitting up alone, waiting for her husband as was her wont. He was unusually late—it was past the midnight hour. The poor woman, weary in mind as well as body, was leaning her head down on her hands, and bitter tears were trickling slowly through her fingers. Her hopes were dying, her cup of happiness seemed dashed aside for ever. It was strange how, at such times, her heart seemed to go out after God; how the burdened spirit seemed to find relief in thinking of Him, and in breathing broken, imperfect prayers, like the first trustful lispings of a little child to its father. Very strange it seemed, for Mrs. Bates had not been a praying woman.

Her husband came in intoxicated, and apparently in a furious passion. She secretly trembled as he paced the room, with rolling, unsteady gait, his eyes glaring, his lips muttering terrible imprecations.

'What is it, Aleck? What's the matter?' she said at length.

'Matter enough,' he growled; 'but why are you up now? You'd better go to bed, and mind your own business.'

She still kept her seat, however, and he went on raving in the same unaccountable style, and uttering horrid oaths. All the intelligible words he let fall from which she could determine the cause of his excitement were—'The wretches! the hypocritical wretches! And so they have been pleased to blaze it abroad that "Alexander Bates, the talented architect, has completely failed with his designs for ——"' He spoke mockingly, and then came another volley of oaths, uttered in a voice of thunder.

Mrs. Bates rose, and with trembling steps approached him. 'Aleck,' she whispered hoarsely, 'it is not so really?'

'Of course not; never succeeded so well in my life. It's their jealousy; but I'll be revenged!' and he clenched his fists savagely.

'But who has said it, Aleck?' asked his wife, in the same anxious, trembling tones.

'No one that I care for. I'll ride over their heads yet!' he raved, throwing his arms about tragically. 'I'll let the world know

knew who Alexander Bates is! How dare they speak with derogation of me? I'll teach them yet!'

The truth was, those last designs had been almost wholly conceived and drawn out by him whilst under the influence of alcoholics, and were, consequently, most extravagantly and absurdly done. Indeed, when, a day or two subsequently to the above-mentioned outburst of passion, he reviewed his work with sober eyes, he felt ashamed, disgusted, and mentally admitted that the censure he had received was deserved.

From that time he drank more deeply in vain efforts to forget himself and his multifarious troubles. His pride had been sorely wounded.

The family suffered much, and, already on the sliding scale to ruin, their speed became fearfully accelerated.

## II.

'Important sale of excellent household furniture and effects at 18 —— Terrace, Kensington.

'Messrs. Hook and Walker will sell by auction, at 18 —— Terrace, on the 10th and 11th of November, 18—, commencing each day at twelve precisely, all the modern household furniture, comprising,' &c., &c., &c. We need not copy the whole of the bill, such may be seen and read elsewhere any day of the week. Thus was Bates's home broken up. Month after month rolled wearily by, and then came this crisis.

The family were about to leave London for Liverpool. Just before their departure Mrs. Bates received a foreign-looking letter: it was from her only brother, and although she had heard from him regularly since he had left England, never had any of his letters been looked for so eagerly as this one. He was in America, transacting business for a Manchester house; and with tears of disappointment she read his words: 'Do not write again until you hear from me; I expect to leave this place (Charleston) for New Orleans in a day or two, and my whereabouts will be uncertain for a time. I will send the address as early as possible.'

'How foolish,' murmured Mrs. Bates; 'why did he not tell me to write to the Post Office? How can I tell him to write to Liverpool now? I shall never hear from him again:' and so she grieved that he would not know how or where she was situated.

In the dead of winter they sought a home in a strange place. They rented a small four-roomed house in N—— Street. Mr. Bates, after some difficulty, obtained a situation in an architect's office: he was very clever, and fortunately quite unknown in Liverpool; and to avoid recognition by name, he adopted the pseudonym of Bryant.

For a time he went on steadier, and hope began to revive in his

his wife's heart. She would have gladly taken in a little sewing, but, to use her own words, 'her hands were tied' by a baby of five months old. The home and children were kept very neat and clean. Had a stranger peeped into the little room designated 'the parlour' (although it was made a sleeping-room at night), and had he noticed how well brushed the bit of faded carpet was; how tastefully the very coarse white curtains were looped up; how nicely the cheap pictures were hung, and how well the whole of the poor furniture was arranged, he would have said that the place belonged to some one who had seen 'better days.'

Mr. Bates had not been in his situation three months before he exposed himself. All along he had drank deeply, but secretly, which his employer had reason to suspect. But one day he presented himself completely intoxicated, and was forthwith ordered out of the place. Mr. L. was a stern, proud man: he looked upon a drunkard from only one point of view, and judged him mercilessly. He had 'no sympathy with men who made brutes of themselves; where was their self-respect?' and so on. The declaration, 'No drunkard shall inherit the kingdom of God' seemed perfectly just and right in his eyes. But he never cared to light on such texts in the Bible as—'It is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor anything whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is made weak.' He considered himself included in the brethren addressed, 'Ye who are spiritual,' yet he heeded not the exhortation made to such, 'If a man be overtaken in a fault, restore such an one in the spirit of meekness.'

Without having any recollection of his abrupt dismissal, poor Bates went the next morning to business as usual. Great was his astonishment to receive a severe reprimand from Mr. L. How the old proud spirit rose up and could scarce be restrained from resenting the unnecessarily harsh words! Thoughts of his wife and children deterred him, however, and with tightly-compressed lips, and a face dark with suppressed feeling, he bowed to the decision of the man (whom he felt to be his inferior in many respects), that he should receive 'a prompt dismissal on the repetition of the offence.'

Within a month from that day the 'offence' was repeated, and the threat put into execution.

That was a time of sore trouble whilst Bates was in search of another situation. The family could not live without food, the father would not live without drink, and so they were reduced to great straits. There were the same old difficulties to be met and overcome in applying for employment. Character was inquired into, recommendations, &c., required. One day, weary and worn, Mr. Bates entered a large warehouse, and made the usual inquiries. A gentlemanly-looking man, with a pleasant, benevolent countenance,

countenance, came forward to speak with him. He saw at a glance what sort of a man Bates was and had been, and he felt for him. He thought of the temptations that surrounded the drunkard, and could make allowances for his circumstances.

Mr. Bates told him much. Mr. Harris was a man who could easily win the confidence of those in trouble. He listened patiently and kindly to what Bates had to say, and finally offered him a situation which would engage him in writing the whole of the day. This, though different from what he had been accustomed to, was gladly accepted, and he went home fully determined to merit the kindness and good-will of his benefactor, and to prove himself worthy of the trust reposed in him when he should enter upon his new duties.

Very pleased was his wife to hear the welcome news. 'Now, Aleck,' she said hopefully, 'if you will only mind, this will prove the beginning of better things, I believe. Do you think, dear, you would like to take the pledge? *Do*, now.'

'Not a bit of it, Marian; I shall take care of myself this time, never fear. I always feel weak and low; I am sure I need stimulants.'

His wife sighed. 'Do be careful, Aleck,' she said earnestly.

Time went on, and Bates kept pretty steady, at least during the daytime. But he never went to bed perfectly sober, and consequently felt the craving for the early morning dram, in which he regularly indulged. Throughout the hours of business he made strong efforts to control himself.

At the time he was earning nothing for a week or two, Mary, their eldest child, had sought for something to do, and had been successful in getting 'a little place'—viz., to take care of a baby for sixpence per day. However, now that their prospects were becoming brighter, Mrs. Bates thought she might give it up, to attend school with Jessie. So one evening she said, 'I think, Mary, dear, you might leave Mrs. Smith, and get to school again for a time; you will be learning something.'

Mary looked pleased. 'I should like to, indeed, mamma. I do want to learn so much.' Her eyes were tearful.

It was arranged, therefore, that on the following Monday she was to be free once more for school.

But (alas! for the 'buts') the very day succeeding the one on which this arrangement had been made Mr. Bates came home sadly intoxicated. It was a lovely afternoon in early summer. The warm, pleasant sunshine streamed through the little window and danced on the kitchen floor, and the soft breeze, which plays as kindly in the dirty streets of the city as around the tree-embowered cottages of the country, dallied with the few cheery-looking though common geraniums that bloomed on the window-sill.

Jessie,

Jessie, poor little fragile, delicate Jessie, was out with her two brothers. The baby was asleep in one corner of the kitchen; and Mrs. Bates every now and then had to look up from her sewing to say 'Hush!' to a bright little fellow who was building a house of empty cotton-reels on the floor. 'Don't you talk, Harry dear,' said she, as the child was chattering to some old gentleman who he fondly imagined was the keeper of his 'house.' 'Ma doesn't want baby to wake yet; she has such a lot of work to do before tea.' And so Master Harry carried on his conversations in whispers for the next five minutes. Then came some one bursting in at the street door. Mrs. Bates rose hastily, thinking it was the children. She raised her finger as the door opened; but it was not they. Her heart sank. What could have happened to make her husband like this again? She put the question very softly to him. He swore at her, and commenced raving like a madman. The baby woke up screaming, and the little boy hid his face in his mother's dress. Words were unavailing at such a time; so Mrs. Bates silently moved about, preparing the children's tea, with the baby in her arms. Poor children! On their return from a very happy walk they became gloomy at sight of their mother's distress, moved about half-frightened, and spoke only below their voices. Jessie went to her father, and slipped her thin hand into his, but was told to go away, and not tease. It was a miserable time for them all. Many such afternoons they knew throughout the beautiful summer. Mr. Harris bore long and kindly with poor Bates. Time after time he listened to his promises of amendment, and encouraged him in every possible way. He talked to him as an equal and a brother, and advised him as a true friend. Indeed, he was a man of a thousand.

Bates knew what he owed to him. He knew how he had requited him for his kindness; and, when sober, his self-reproaches were bitter indeed. He wished, above all things, to show how he appreciated his generosity, but, alas! he was bound. He had the will—sometimes strong, and sometimes very, very feeble, but he lacked the power.

Summer faded away and died, and the fairest of her flowers drooped and paled, and vanished. Autumn, with sober mien, commenced her march across the beautiful earth, chanting low, solemn dirges over the bier of summer, the while her train of faded leaves rustled strangely in the winds. Sometimes the nights were glorious with mellow moonlight; sometimes wind and storm held carnival on the earth. Mrs. Bates dreaded the coming winter. Last winter she knew how her poor children's faces had been [illegible] by hunger as well as cold—provisions had been so [illegible] was so unwell. She feared the cold for h[illegible] suffer much.

It was a cold October day. Large masses of gray cloud had drifted for hours across the gloomy sky, but no rain had fallen. The shades of evening were darkening, and the wind, which had been moaning all day, was fast rising to a gale. Johnny and Fred came in from school, and settled themselves near the fire. Mrs. Bates put the baby in Jessie's keeping, and brushed the little boys' hair.

'You mind you are good lads this evening,' she said pleasantly, 'and perhaps pa will stay at home with you, and help you to do your lessons.' She always liked to talk cheerily to the poor children.

'Ma,' said Johnny, starting up, 'there's the lamplighter; we ought to have the shutters shut. Let me go and do it, ma; and we can have a candle lit, and have tea jolly to-night.' He ran outside and closed the shutters. 'It does blow, ma,' he said.

'Yes; the wind's rising, my dear.'

'When shall we have tea, ma? I'm hungry.'

'We must wait for papa, dear; it would not be kind to go on without him.'

'We had drawing to-day, ma,' said Freddy. 'And didn't I get some marks? I'm going to try to draw as well as papa.'

'That's right, Freddy,' said his mother. 'You'll learn to do grand things, I know.'

'I shall, mamma,' said the boy, with an earnest face; 'and Johnny too. He's at the top of his class.'

'I know mamma will be proud of her good little sons some day,' said Mrs. Bates, stroking their soft curly hair. Such motherly encouragement used to help her children much. She never heard them say they could not do their lessons, no matter how difficult they might be.

How sad that any circumstance should cloud that bright home that evening. Mr. Bates came in intoxicated as usual, but unusually excited. It was the same old, old story he had to tell. Mr. Harris had given him notice to leave.

'Aleck,' said his wife, 'don't trouble. He will have you again. He has been kind and forgiving hitherto.'

'I won't go back!' cried he, almost at the top of his voice, and speaking in thick, guttural tones. 'I'll never ask him again. I'm a devil! I hate myself!'

The children cowered. 'Hush!' said his wife. 'Come and have tea, and let to-morrow bring its own troubles. "Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof."'

'Don't talk like a fool, Marian,' he replied. And sitting down on a chair that stood near the table, he pushed aside the tea-tray, which sent a plate or two clattering to the floor, and leaned his head down on his folded arms with an air of utter weariness.

Jessie

Jessie stooped to pick up the broken pieces, and to hide her tears too. Having tea was out of the question now; so the little boys got their lesson-books, and engaged themselves with slates and pencils.

Presently Bates looked up, and said, with strange calmness, 'It's a wonder that I came home; the temptation was fearfully strong to-night. I shall be sure to do it some day. Mark me, Marian, I shall! I am burning, soul and body; and the water is cool! It gives me an idea of rest. And there is no rest here: no rest anywhere! I wanted to get away from myself. But all the fiends rushed past me, shrieking—I heard them in the wind; and I disappointed them this *one* night.' Then the face was hid again. Mrs. Bates trembled. The blast howled down the street, and flapped the shutters, which Johnny had not securely fastened.

'Hear them knocking at the door,' said Bates, mysteriously. 'That's just how they wake me in the night. I get no sleep—no rest. I wish I were dead!' He rose, and walked backwards and forwards like a caged tiger. His hands were clasped behind him, and they trembled visibly. He kept up a continual inaudible mutter, save when an unusually loud gust of wind seemed to struggle at the front door. Then for a moment he paused to listen.

'Now, Aleck, come and have a cup of tea,' said Mrs. Bates, affecting not to notice his strange manner. 'Here, come round to your old seat by the fire.' He gazed vacantly at her for a moment, and then turned away, speaking more naturally. 'Oh! yes; I remember,' he said. 'No, I don't want any tea. Where's Jess?'

'Here, papa,' said the child, springing forward. He smoothed her silken hair, saying, 'Poor darling!'

'We'll have tea now, papa, eh?' said Jessie.

'Yes, anything; but don't tease, dear. You shouldn't come near me.'

Jessie looked astonished, but went away quietly. After much persuasion poor Bates took a cup of tea, which seemed to do him good. Then he asked Jessie to reach his hat. A shocking bad hat it was.

Mrs. Bates had hoped so much to have kept him at home. She was alarmed at the idea of his going out after what he had disclosed of his state of mind. 'Don't go out, dear,' she pleaded.

'I must, Marian. I could not stay here. I should go mad—raving mad!'

She followed him to the door. The cold, damp air rushed in and chilled her. It was reviving to him. 'It is such a rough, miserable night. Do stay,' she implored.

'The night suits me, Marian. It is full of unrest and darkness. It is glorious!' And he passed away.

'The

The wife returned to her children, and the long pent-up feelings burst out in irrepressible sobs. 'Darling mamma, dont cry,' said Jessie. 'Let me run and ask him to come back.'

'No, no, Jessie, not you.' She glanced across at the happy unconscious babe. Jessie understood the look.

'Not you, mamma, because if anything should happen to baby. Let me run, now, quickly. Do, ma.' She ran and snatched up a shawl of her mother's. 'Put this round me and let me run quickly,' she urged. 'Suppose if he should do *that*, ma!'

That was enough. The shawl was folded about her, and she was at the door.

'It is spotting with rain, my dear. Here, Jessie, wait, your shoes are thin.'

'Oh, don't mind, ma. I will run. It isn't much.' And she sprang off, a mother's prayers following her all the way.

A sudden gust dashed the small, blinding rain into her eyes. She stopped short for a minute; then recovering breath, held her arms tightly across her chest and started again. The rain came on faster and faster; the pavements became slippery with it, and shone in the flickering light of the street lamps. Jessie strained her eyes to endeavour to discern her father in the distance; but when hurrying up to one or another whom she supposed to be him, the figure would suddenly disappear in a doorway. Yet she would not give up. There were not many people about, that was one advantage, for it enabled her to keep a good look-out, and likewise spared her the jostling which she would surely have encountered had the streets been fuller. Nothing but urgent business would have called people out on such a night.

The tempest rushed sobbing along, and poor Jessie's clothes were wet and heavy with the angry rain. She was beginning to feel faint and despairing, when just as she turned into D— Street, she caught sight of her father some way on. Yes, there was no mistaking that tall, bending form. She knew it well; and keeping her eyes steadily fixed on it, she quickened her steps. Suddenly he came to a large doorway, whence a stream of light issued and glared on the muddy pavement. He passed in, and the child's heart sank. She hurried up and stood gasping under the sheltering portico.

People passed in and out, but heeded her not. It was no uncommon thing to see children waiting about there for their parents.

Presently a poor haggard wreck of a man came up his clothes dripping with wet, and passed along the passage to the door at the farther end. Jessie moved a step or two in, gazing earnestly forward. He threw the door wide open. A huge fire was blazing in the grate; there were two large tables, around which men, in all attitudes, were sitting. There was Mr. Bates, a steaming glass of dark liquor before him and untasted, for it was filled to the brim

brim. All this Jessie saw at a glance, and with a smothered cry of joy she sprang along the passage, and in a moment was at her father's side.

'Heyday!' shouted a burly tipsy fellow. 'Where the dickens—'

'Jessie!' exclaimed her father, rising hastily, and hurrying her out of the place. 'Where—how did you come?'

'Papa, I only came,' she said, in her childish winning way. 'We wanted you at home so much. Come along, pa.'

He walked mechanically into the street without speaking. He held Jessie's hand so tightly that it pained her. After a while he said, 'Your hand is so hot, Jessie. Stop! are you wet? are your feet wet? I forgot that, my darling. You are wet through, Jessie! Why did you come?'

'It was not wet when I came out, pa. It won't hurt. We shall soon be home.' He lifted the slight little form and carried her tenderly; even so light a burden was almost too much for the enfeebled man. The wind had somewhat fallen, and the rain descended with a sullen decided splash on their unsheltered heads.

Mrs. Bates was in an agony. Twenty times had she reproached herself for letting Jessie out in such weather. 'She will catch her death,' was her continual plaint.

How was her heart relieved when she entered, and with her father too! 'Thank God!' she murmured while stripping off the child's outer clothing.

'Let me go to bed now, mamma,' said Jessie. 'I'm tired.'

'Very well, darling. Mary can help you while I get some dry clothes for papa to put on. I will bring you something up in a few minutes.'

It took her some time to hunt up an old change of things for Mr. Bates, for his wardrobe was lamentably scanty. Then baby had to be settled with playthings between Johnny and Freddy; so that by the time Mrs. Bates had got hot water ready for Jessie's feet, full a quarter of an hour had elapsed, and when she took it upstairs Jessie was quite asleep.

'Mary,' said Mrs. Bates, 'she ought not to have gone off without this water. She will have a dreadful cold.'

'Mamma, she was too weary to sit up another minute. I rubbed her feet well with this rough towel.'

'Perhaps that will do,' said Mrs. Bates, with a sigh; glancing anxiously at the thin, flushed face of the little girl.

It was between nine and ten o'clock that evening. The children were all in bed except Mary. She was finishing the turning of Jessie's school cloak. Mr. Bates had taken nothing to drink since before tea; and his wife thought [illegible] to have him, nearly sober, at home that night [illegible] just getting out

out some coppers for Mary to fetch 'something to keep him from catching cold,' when they heard a low cry proceeding from the room where Jessie was sleeping. Mrs. Bates rose saying 'Hush!' and the next minute the much-dreaded hoarse, thick cough startled them. 'There! she has the croup,' said Mrs. Bates, and her heart sickened with apprehension.

Mr. Bates hurried up to her. She was awake. 'Can I have anything, papa?' she gasped.

'Yes, darling; mamma is getting something.'

She started up in the bed, the terrible cough almost choking her. 'Try to lie down, my dear,' said her father in alarm; 'you are in such a perspiration, and must keep warm.' She shook her head; and her mother brought a flannel and hot water, and gave her a simple remedy which she had prepared. All seemed to be in vain. Still was the wild struggle kept up for breath; still sounded out the stubborn choking cough. The hours passed away in the fight for life. An emetic was administered, which gave no relief; and with agonized hearts the parents watched beside the bed of distressing suffering.

'What can we do, Aleck?' groaned his wife when Jessie had dropped to sleep for a moment, the quick breath rattling continuously in her throat.

'God knows!' he replied, with feelings of bitter remorse as he considered how he was the indirect cause of this trouble. 'She has got over it before, you know, Marian. We must hope for the best.' He was himself now—the kind considerate husband, the affectionate father.

Morning dawned cold, gray, comfortless. The earth was damp from the night's storm; and the ragged, broken clouds moved steadily before a bitter east wind. 'Papa,' gasped Jessie, turning her eyes towards him with an earnest unearthly gaze.

'Yes, my darling,' he replied.

She tried to speak, but the choking feeling in her throat prevented her, and the tears streamed down her face with the mere effort.

'What do you want to say, my pet?' said her father.

She pointed upwards and nodded her head. 'Going,' she said.

'No, no, Jessie, you'll be better presently: the doctor will be here.'

She shook her head and beckoned. Her little strength was all spent; and when he stooped down as she wished, she had scarcely power to clasp her arms round his neck.

'Pa,' she whispered hoarsely, 'promise that you will—turn—over—a—new leaf.' The words were at last got out with difficulty, and then the large blue eyes pleaded more than any words possibly could.

Mr. Bates groaned. Big, burning tears rolled slowly from beneath his closed eyelids. Jessie took his hand.

'Will you, pet?' she still pleaded.

'O Jessie,

'O Jessie, don't! I'll promise anything, my darling, only be quiet.'

Still the child looked anxious and dissatisfied. Mrs. Bates stood by weeping. 'Promise her, Aleck,' she whispered.

But he remained silent, perfectly still, save that his breast heaved laboriously. There was a mghty struggle going on within him. In a moment all the events of his past life came crowding back upon his memory. There was the happy home of his early childhood; there was the good mother speaking to her little son words of holy counsel and wisdom; there was the youth—the man—the new home—the happy wife—the gleeful children. There was the yielding to fierce temptation—the first downward step taken. There was the horror of thick darkness settling down on the once happy dwelling, then the exodus; the going forth, branded, to wander through the world; there was the remembrance of hours of disgrace and anguish; the sinking lower, lower into the 'horrible pit and the miry clay;' there was the feeling of utter helplessness; and the man wept. He raised his head. Low, indeed, he had fallen, but life and comparative strength were still his. He looked up to the future, but it seemed dark, very dark. There were thorny paths to tread, rocky heights to climb, whose rugged outlines stood out in gloomy relief against a gloomy sky. The way looked very rough. 'Turn over a new leaf.' Ah! that involved so much. The conflicts with old habits would be sharp and sanguinary; the fight would be long and desperate; the upward ascent toilsome and wearying. But as he thought, a ray of light shot athwart the gloom and mellowed the scene. The bold rugged heights were softened down; the unsightly parts thrown into pleasant shadow; yea, that sunshine of hope revealed flowers strewn along the rough upward pathway; and behold! the lofty summits were bathed in light ineffable. And thrilling his inmost soul came to memory the inspired and inspiring words: 'In ME is thy help.' Weary, and with soiled garments, the man stood in the quagmire of degradation; but his uplifted brow was radiant with the glow caught from that sunbeam of hope, and his breast throbbed and heaved with noble, earnest aspirations. Then to the dying little one before him he answered, with husky voice—

'I will, my child!'

The clouds have rolled away. The western sky is gorgeous with blending, fading tints. Far up in the zenith the stars gleam out, pale and lustrous. Another spirit has passed within yon mystic portals.

Hush! tread softly in this shadowy little room. Angels awhile since trod its roughly-boarded floor! A child sleeps her last sweet sleep upon that lowly bed. Still the [illegible] while gazing on the white form, the folded [illegible]

Weep not over the beautiful clay—all that remains of little Jessie! She sleeps well; she has fulfilled her mission!

In that solemn eventide hush a man sits pale and statue-like beside the dead child. There is something unnatural in his outward calmness. The eyes are red and tearless; the hands are pressed so closely together that the nails and knuckles are white as marble. Within the man, grief, yearning love, remorse, hate, determination, alternately rage and struggle. His bosom is torn with strong, conflicting emotions. He would weep, he would pray, but just now is powerless to do either; and so he keeps his silent, solitary watch, as immoveable as the dead by his side. A little boy steals on tiptoe into the room. The presence of death awes him. The curly head is thrown back, and the ruby lips whisper: 'Somebody wants you, papa.'

Gone is all the nervous bitterness that has rankled in the father's bosom for so long a time in the past; gone the harsh, thoughtless manner of rebuff, and he replies: 'Who, my darling?'

'A gentleman, pa; he is waiting to see you.'

Mr. Bates leaves the still quiet chamber for almost the first time that day. As he enters the 'parlour,' unlighted save by the street lamp which gleams through the window, a dim figure advances with outstretched hand to meet him. 'Bryant, I have had no rest to-day thinking of you; you must come back.'

Bates draws his tall form to its full height, and answers proudly, and withal bitterly, 'Thank you, Mr. Harris, I shall intrude no further upon your benevolence.'

As he turns his fine face—fine still, through branded with his sin—towards the window, Mr. Harris is startled. Pale and haggard it is, but the expression is indescribable. He perceives, too, that he is sober. 'Bryant,' says the gentleman, with delicacy of tone and feeling, 'you are suffering.'

'Not from anything that has transpired between us,' says Bates, quickly. 'I have lost a child, Mr. Harris, and the pain of separation is somewhat acute.'

'God knows it is, Bryant! I will not offer a word of sympathy, which in such a case would seem burdensome and intrusive. You will allow me to be your friend?'

'Mr. Harris, you have been more than a friend to me. I and my family owe much, very much, to you. I have ever appreciated your kindness, though I have given no proof of it. I have not requited you in any single instance. I have been bound, kept down, down! No man could sink much lower. However, it is of the past, I trust. The business of my life shall be to repay the only man who has reached a helping hand to Alexander Bates in

in his degradation. I shall decline availing myself of your disinterested offer to return.' And he bows haughtily.

'Alexander Bates!' echoes the astounded merchant. 'Surely you are not the architect of the ——?'

'The same, sir.'

'O, Mr. Bates, be true to yourself! You have been bound; you have been kept down, and sorely tempted, I know. Set your face like a flint against the temptations that surround you; they will seem stronger and more subtle than ever as you take your first struggling steps in the upward way. Lean upon God, Bates; lean upon Him, and may you hear his voice saying, "This is the way, walk ye in it, when ye turn to the right hand, and when ye turn to the left."'

Neither spoke for a minute. Then says the gentleman, 'You are determined, Bates?'

'*Determined!* Mr. Harris, I have made promises to you again and again, and as soon as made they have been broken. I feel in no mood now to parley with any one, neither to make promises to man. But a few hours since I was ordained to stand, for the first time, by the bedside of a dying child. She was aware that I was—what it costs me a bitter effort to pronounce—a drunkard. It is useless to deny the fact. She is gone, and with her bears the vow which she entreated of and received from me—that henceforth I would be free from the curse that has dragged us down to this, and that has been the indirect cause of her death.' The lips tremble and the eyes flash as he adds, 'And, Mr. Harris, I'll fulfil that vow! so may God help me!'

And by God's help he did fulfil it.

Fifty-six times had the moon waxed and waned since that eventful night.

It was a lovely morning in early summer. The old bell of St. Paul's had just struck the hour of eight; the million-peopled city was all astir. Very cheering the pleasant sunshine seemed to the myriad pedestrians who were hurrying to their various avocations.

Two gentlemen were walking along the Strand engaged in earnest conversation. One of them was short and thickly built. His bearded face glowed with quiet, scarce-repressible humour. His step was firm and independent, and he walked with his hands behind him under the tails of his coat. The other gentleman was tall, graceful in manner, and very anxious-looking. His handsome face was bronzed, his dark eyes were restless [illegible] piercing. He looked like a man who had travelled much [illegible] seen much of the world.

Mr. F., the shorter gentleman—[illegible] build[illegible]ay

—suddenly broke short the conversation by exclaiming, as he pointed across the road, 'There, what d'ye think of that? That's what I call elegance and substantialness combined; and a very happy combination too. Ha! ha! Plenty of room for improvement in our street architecture, you think, eh?'

Yes; Mr. Sharland assented abstractedly, perhaps there was, &c. Then a confab was commenced about American buildings, and buildings in general.

'I'll show you a concern presently,' said the enthusiastic little builder, 'worthy of the grandest city in the world. I'm just going to run in to have five minutes with the architect. A fine fellow! Clever and——'

'Pardon me,' said Mr. Sharland, interrupting; 'but while I think of it, have you heard anything lately of my brother-in-law, Bates?'

'Bates!' echoed Mr. F. 'Oh, to be sure, he married your sister; well, I quite forgot.' A strange roguish smile played round his mouth and lurked at the corners of his small gray eyes. 'He was sold up some five or six years ago, and went off to Liverpool, or somewhere, like a shot. I lost sight of him for some time, and I believe he got down very poor; but he is doing well now, to my certain knowledge.'

'How? where? where is he?' asked Sharland, breathlessly.

'Hey-day! prythee keep cool, old fellow; remember, 'tis June.'

'Excuse me, Mr. F., I'm anxious to know. During the past few years I have suffered much. At times I have despaired of ever finding my sister again.'

'But how is it you ever lost sight of them, Sharland?'

'By the merest bit of thoughtlessness. I wrote to my sister when I left Charleston, and told her to defer answering me until I sent her a proper address. She must have received it, as I afterwards concluded, just as they were starting for Liverpool. One day the thought occurred to me that she might have addressed a letter to the Post Office at New Orleans; and on inquiry I found one had lain there a long time for me; it contained sad news, and was dated from Liverpool. I was then about to start for home, and you may suppose how great was my disappointment on arriving and inquiring for them in the locality she mentioned, to be told that no one of their name was known about there. I have since then crossed the Atlantic three or four times, but each time of my return to England my stay has been necessarily so short that I have been utterly unable to make thorough inquiries about them. Will you give me their address, Mr. F.?'

'Yes, in a minute,' said the tantalizing builder. 'Just step in here with me; I've a little business to transact.'

They had turned into a bye-street, and were now at the door of a handsome

a handsome house. Mr. F. gave a noisy rap, and then turned his back to the door, placing his pert, consequential little figure in such a position that the brass plate should not be visible to Sharland.

'Master at home?' was his laconic query to the servant. He was evidently no stranger there, for without waiting her reply, he commenced a quick march to the first door on the left of the hall.

'Come in,' cried he to Sharland.

Perceiving the apartment empty, he bounced out again, saying, 'Call the master quickly, my good girl.'

'I feel like some one who has no right here,' said Sharland, with a smile.

'All the right in the world, my dear fellow. I'll introduce you in a trice.'

A child's musical laugh rang through the hall, and a deep manly voice was heard saying, 'I'll catch you, you rogue!' Then the door was flung wide open, and a little boy bounded in, his cheeks glowing with excitement; but seeing two gentlemen, he coyly shrank back, and the next minute his face was hidden in his father's morning gown.

'You see, I'm with you bright and early this fine morning. I just want five minutes with you; but I beg pardon—allow me—Mr. Sharland, Mr. Bates.'

There was no regard paid to the rules of etiquette as the two last-named gentlemen stood staring at each other. Then hands were grasped. Such a grasp!

'Frederic Sharland!'

'Alexander Bates!'

We readily confess our inability to describe that meeting, though it may be easily imagined. Suffice it to say that the eyes of both were moistened with tears; and while a few eager, earnest sentences were exchanged, the dapper little builder stood at the window regarding the passers-by with uncommon interest, and anon making a noise with his pocket-handkerchief, suggestive of the explosion of a miniature powder-magazine.

'Where is Marian?' asked Sharland.

'You'll find her in the room at the farther end of the passage.' Whither he immediately repaired. He knocked with a trembling hand at the door.

'Come in!' said the well-known voice—his sister's voice. He entered. It was a pleasant room, tastefully furnished. A young lady was standing near the window picking faded leaves from a few choice flowers that bloomed there. She had just finished arranging a vase of flowers on the nicely laid breakfast table.

A matronly-looking lady was sitting in an easy

little girl of three summers on her lap, who was impatiently waiting whilst mamma, with pardonable pride, was looping up the dainty white sleeves with blue ribbon, so as to display the round dimpled arms to the greatest advantage.

A young gentleman of some seven or eight years was sitting on the carpet, puffing and panting and pushing back the brown curls from his heated brow. 'Harry musn't play at ball this weather; he gets too warm.' Then perceiving a stranger in the room, instead of the servant, whom she supposed had entered, the speaker rose hurriedly and made an apology.

'Marian! dear sister!' and before she could speak she was clasped in her brother's arms. Then came a flood of happy, thankful tears.

'Oh! Fred, what a weary time we have waited for you!'

'And what a weary search I have had for you, dearest; but, thank God! found at last.'

The young lady at the window was looking round in astonishment. In a moment she comprehended it all, and approached. 'This is Mary?' asked Sharland, as he stooped and tenderly saluted her. 'God bless you, dear child! I scarcely recognize you—grown almost a woman. Where's my little pet, Jessie?'

A shade flitted across the mother's brow as she said softly, 'She sleeps away in Liverpool, Fred.'

'Nay, Marian! not dead?'

'Not dead, but sleeping,' returned the mother.

He placed his hand across his eyes, and said with emotion, 'Oh, Marian, I expected to see her sweet face once again. Will you tell me all about it?'

'I cannot just now, Fred. Wait awhile.'

There was a solemn, tearful silence. Sharland broke it by saying, 'Time works sad changes.'

'And happy ones, too, thank God!' returned Mrs. Bates.

'Marian!' said her brother, suddenly; 'how was it I could not find you in Liverpool?'

'Oh, Fred! I have remembered with much pain that I forgot to tell you we had changed our name. It was so thoughtless, but at the time of writing we were in such great distress.' After a pause she added: 'Our long estrangement is attributable solely to inadvertence of this kind. I have grieved much and often about it.'

'How strange that it should be so!' said Sharland, musingly.

Just then two fine lads came in. Mr. Sharland rose to meet them.

'John and Fred,' said Mrs. Bates. 'Boys, this is your long-lost uncle.'

After greetings and much chat, Mrs. Bates explained. 'They are home for their holidays just now. Mary arrived only yesterday. How

How delightful to have such a happy meeting!' Her eyes were filled with tears.

'I hope excess of happiness will not blunt your appetites,' said Mr. Bates, entering the room just then with his youngest boy. 'Mary, my darling, the table looks quite gay with your charming flowers; and they are well arranged,' he added, playfully stroking his daughter's hair.

Whilst little Harry was getting the large Bible on the table, and placing the chairs, Mr. Bates was standing by the window conversing in low tones with Sharland.

'Don't regret it,' he said in reply to something just uttered by the latter. 'Doubtless it was ordered for the best. I might perhaps have looked too much to you; as it was I leant only upon God.'

'How did this reformation work come about?' asked Sharland, smiling. 'You are the last man in the world I should have expected to see shining in the teetotal ranks.'

Bates did not reply for a minute—he was looking down thoughtfully on the floor; and as he raised his head, he said slowly, as if musing, 'And a little child shall lead them.' Then he proceeded to speak briefly of Jessie's death, and the circumstances attending it, not omitting to mention the disinterested kindness of the Liverpool merchant; and in conclusion, said, 'That turning over a new leaf was hard work; but I tell you, Fred, what I went through then—the battling against the most terrible of all besetting sins: and all that was nothing in comparison of what I experienced whilst going down. "The way of transgressors is hard"—hard!' he repeated, with emphasis. 'Never were truer words uttered than those.'

'Are you an abstainer, Fred?' he asked suddenly, with changed tone.

'Well, no!' replied Sharland; 'but as you know I am particularly moderate, I cannot think I shall ever overstep the mark.'

'Nor do I think you will,' said Mr. Bates; 'still you are not out of danger. If any one had told me once that I should have done so, I should have scorned the bare mention of such a thing; but—you see. Well, here is a motive for you—"the weak brother." Oh, those weak ones! It harrows one's soul to think of them in the midst of such manifold temptations. Look at the allurements on every hand! Look at the drinking dens that can be counted by hundreds in our streets. It's shameful!'

Mr. Bates always grew warm when touching upon this theme, as every true patriot would be expected to do who had a wealth of love in his heart for his kin and country.

Turning his head at that moment, he observed that the servants were in the room, and that all were waiting for him.

Mr.

Mr. Sharland proceeded to the seat which Master Harry had assigned him close by himself. Then the father—the priest of the household—read in clear, beautifully-modulated tones, the sweet words—'It is of the Lord's mercies that we are not consumed, because his compassions fail not. They are new every morning: great is thy faithfulness. The Lord is my portion, saith my soul, therefore will I hope in Him;'—and so on. Then prayer was uttered—such prayer! rising from hearts that remembered the wormwood and the gall. Sometimes as it gushed up, it fell from the lips in broken words: but was it less acceptable for that? God knoweth!

Why should we linger around that table when our pen fails us to do justice to the scene? Why need we tarry to hear the explanations that have to be given and received? We know somewhat already; let that suffice us.

In conclusion, we may say, for the satisfaction of the inquisitive reader, that upon a plain white marble tablet that adorns the quiet grave of a little child, is recorded the very day of the month and year on which Alexander Bates 'turned over a new leaf,' and it is written immediately after the words, 'To the beloved memory of Jessie Bates, who fell asleep in Jesus.'

## ART. VII.—SOCIAL STATISTICS.

No. I.—PUBLIC INCOME from EXCISE for the Year ending March 31st, 1861.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Chicory | 357 | 7 | 2 |
| 2. Game Certificates | 129,906 | 9 | 0 |
| 3. Hackney Carriages | 87,571 | 4 | 6 |
| 4. Hops | 582,727 | 9 | 5 |
| 5. Licenses | 1,492,687 | 7 | 3 |
| 6. Malt | 6,208,813 | 8 | 10 |
| 7. Paper | 1,306,253 | 11 | 9 |
| 8. Race Horses | 6,244 | 14 | 0 |
| 9. Railways | 366,280 | 6 | 2 |
| 10. Stage Carriages | 127,883 | 6 | 3 |
| 11. Spirits | 9,225,538 | 19 | 10 |
| 12. Sugar used in Brewing | 180 | 1 | 0 |
| 13. Law Costs recovered | 342 | 0 | 6 |
| 14. Fines and Forfeitures | 6,369 | 8 | 0 |
| 15. Sums received from contributions to late Scotch Excise Incorporated Fund | 1,000 | 12 | 11 |
| 16. Miscellaneous | 5,977 | 1 | 4 |
| | £19,548,133 | 7 | 11 |

No. II.—INCOME from CUSTOMS on SPIRITS.

| Colonial and Foreign :— | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Rum | 1,733,445 | 12 | 6 |
| Brandy | 747,150 | 12 | 9 |
| Geneva | 107,263 | 6 | 7 |
| Other Sorts | 35,755 | 5 | 0 |
| | £2,623,614 | 16 | 10 |

No. III.

No. III.—Expenditure on Law and Justice.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. England | 1,262,559 | 18 | 8 |
| 2. Scotland | 239,041 | 7 | 5 |
| 3. Ireland | 1,013,860 | 6 | 11 |
| 4. Convict Establishments at Home | 366,100 | 0 | 0 |
| 5. Convicts in the Colonies | 13,238 | 1 | 5 |
| 6. Expenses of Transportation | 25,782 | 0 | 0 |
| 7. Maintenance in County Gaols, &c. | 205,544 | 0 | 0 |
| 8. Prisons—Transportation | 18,000 | 9 | 0 |
| 9. Superintendence of Prisons | 18,545 | 0 | 0 |
| | £3,184,670 | 14 | 5 |

## Art. VIII.—RECORD OF SOCIAL POLITICS.

WHILST we write a great sorrow and bereavement have come upon our beloved Queen and her nation. The Royal Consort, Prince Albert, the husband of our monarch and the father of our princes, has been called away, suddenly, in the prime of life and plenitude of public usefulness. This is the second great family bereavement which the Queen has sustained during the year just ended. First her revered mother, the Duchess of Kent, was taken, and now her beloved Consort has been removed from her side. Signs of mourning and voices of lamentation are in all the land; for never was there an event that stirred the heart of a loyal people with more sincere sympathy and condolence. The most illustrious personage of this great realm has, at a moment of great national anxiety and peril, been deprived of her greatest source of earthly comfort, protection, and guidance. The Queen of England is now a widow, and her children are orphans. We trust that the prayers of the people so largely offered on behalf of the Queen and the royal household may be abundantly answered, and that consolation may be afforded to the widow; and that the youthful members of her family may imitate the virtues, the prudence, and the magnanimity of Prince Albert. This is not the place for an eulogium; but that has been pronounced already from pulpit and from chair, and the press of the country has been unanimous in its tribute to the memory of the illustrious Consort of our Queen.

During the past month the all-absorbing question of 'Peace or War' has been discussed by all our public men and journals. The American civil conflict between North and South, not only drags its slow and ominous length along, but whilst we write the complications are extending to other countries, and Old England is being drawn into the fray, and instead of being a neutral may soon become a belligerent. We need not record the details of the unfortunate affair of the 'San Jacinto' and the 'Trent.' The facts are familiar to all our readers. The 'rebel,' or 'contraband,' commissioners, Slidell and Mason, were taken by force from beneath the British flag in neutral waters. How far this act has violated international law we do not pretend to decide. Opinion inclines against the act as being illegal in form, if not in substance. Much indignation has been manifested through the newspaper press, and in various ways; but we sincerely hope that the affair, grave and threatening as its aspect is, will be settled by an appeal to reason, law, and mutual interests, rather than by a resort to force of arms. It cannot be that the cabinet of Abraham Lincoln can wish to offer a deliberate insult to, or outrage upon, the flag and honour of England. He is too sober-minded, sagacious, and law-abiding to attempt anything of the kind; and we doubt not the President will act with calmness and moderation in this great exigency. And we have equal confidence that our British Cabinet will endeavour to steer clear of the rock ahead, and carry us safely through the breakers into

into the bay of peaceful neutrality. No truly enlightened statesman, who is a friend to either nation, and cares for the progress of humanity, will for a moment desire to plunge Great Britain into a war with America. The cause of freedom, good government, and commercial prosperity cannot be advanced by England and America coming into conflict.

It is sad to be spectators of the awful strife now going on between the Federal Government and the Confederates; and we cannot but suffer, as a people, so long as the war continues. Still we trust that the conflict will not be prolonged, but that peaceful and righteous counsels will soon prevail. The Federal Government has at length begun to develop a policy of 'Emancipation.' The unanimous cry for 'Union' is now giving way to the higher and nobler cry for 'Freedom.' It begins to be clearly discerned that a return to the old state of things is not possible. The instructions of the Secretary of War, on the recent landing of the Federal navy in South Carolina, involves, in principle, the liberation of all slaves, the acceptance of their services, their arming and enrolment, and compensation to loyal masters. In this policy and issue we *must* sympathize and pray God speed the Federal cause. This is not the moment, surely, for Old England to allow herself to be drawn into a conflict that would inevitably place her flag, side by side, in friendly alliance with the black flag of slavery.

Turning from these transatlantic and international questions, we must briefly notice some of our domestic matters. The returns recently made to the Poor-law Board show that the increase of pauperism goes on, though to a much less extent than might have been expected. At the close of September it was 5·56 per cent over the corresponding period of 1860. At the close of October it had reached 5·93 per cent. The chief change in October was in the north-western district—Lancashire and Cheshire, which are remarkable in ordinary times for the small number of their paupers. At the end of September last there were 5·53 per cent. more than at the same date in 1860, but at the end of October they had increased so greatly as to be 10·38 per cent. more than at the end of October, 1860; but still these two counties, with, as compared, for instance, with the south-eastern district of England, a population of three to every two persons in either of those districts, have much fewer paupers than they.

Some dreadful disclosures have recently been made before the Marlborough-street Police Court in London regarding an immoral traffic in Belgian girls and women. The protection of the law has been sought for a number of young girls brought over from Belgium, some under pretence of being provided with situations, and others without the knowledge and consent of their parents. All were compelled to enter upon a course of prostitution. The principal agent in this scandalous traffic was a Belgian, who kept a house of ill-fame in Marylebone, and who had already been convicted and punished in his own country. The girls whom he contrived to get into his power had no possible means of escape. They were supplied with clothes, jewellery, and board at his expense, and no matter how large the profits of their unhappy life, such accounts were kept with them that they were always shown to be in debt. Besides being confined to the house, they were frequently beaten and otherwise ill-used by the keeper of the house. The Society for the Protection of Women and Children had been at great pains to collect evidence, and they had so far succeeded as to be able to prove that there existed a regular trade in young girls of the ages of thirteen to fifteen, who were imported from Belgium to London, and that the person who conducted the traffic abroad, received a stipulated sum, according to the youth and attractions of the victim. Some of these unfortunate girls were the children of respectable parents; some had even been enticed from boarding schools without the knowledge of their parents. The majority were deluded by false pretences of one kind or other. The difficulty which the society experienced was to get at these girls to ascertain from their lips whether they were detained against their consent, and by what means they had been induced to leave their homes. They were, however, too strictly watched for the society to hope to get such positive proof as they required. The proceedings referred to both here and in Belgium had become so notorious, and the traffic was increasing to such an extent, that

that the society, who had fully prepared themselves with evidence, had resolved to attempt to deal with the evil, and had authorized the applicant to lay the matter before the magistrates of this court for their advice, in the hope that they would point out the course of law the society ought to follow to effect their object. Mr. Tyrwhitt suggested that some person should be sent to the house to collect statements from the girls themselves privately. There could be no difficulty in getting access to the house, and if it was then found that any of the inmates were kept there against their will, they might insist on their being released. We sincerely hope that the law of England will be found strong and righteous enough to put down such a revolting and cruel system of social infamy and wrong.

At Edinburgh there has been a fearful catastrophe through the fall of a tenement in the High Street, by which between thirty and forty lives have been sacrificed, many persons injured, and much property destroyed. The accident, or rather the calamity, seems to have occurred through some portions of the foundation walls having been undermined thirty or forty years ago to make way for a boiler, the heat of which had helped to crumble the thin remainder of the wall. The wall had been further weakened by hollowing out a chimney for the boiler, and by carrying through a door. The timbers also, in many parts of the building, were perfectly rotten with age. A local fund has been raised for the relief of the surviving sufferers. At a meeting of the citizens in the council chamber, Dr. Begg urged the necessity of providing better houses for the working classes. It seems to us that proper persons should be appointed to inspect dilapidated houses, and that such fearful occurrences should be prevented.

Another great public swindle has been detected and exposed in regard to the management of the National Assurance and Investment Association, better known as the Bank of Deposit, the affairs of which are pronounced to be irretrievably, hopelessly, and ruinously insolvent, and well known to have been so by the managing director, if not every person at the board; and yet up to the time of the bubble-bursting crisis, the public were invited by advertisement to deposit their money on the promise of receiving five per cent. Numerous small depositors will lose nearly all of their little savings by this 'joint-stock villany,' as in the case of the Royal British Bank, and other similar corporate frauds.

A circular has just been issued from the War Office, regulating the supply of Bibles and Prayer Books to the army at home and abroad. The books supplied are expected to last ten years, unless the regiment is called into the field, when losses of books will be replaced at the public expense. Books lost by soldiers are replaced at exceedingly low rates—a Bible and Prayer Book, bound together, being supplied at 1*s.* 4*d.*, a Bible at 8½*d.* Provision is made for supplying Roman Catholic Prayer Books and Testaments, and Presbyterian Bibles, with Psalms, at equally low rates.

The great question of National Education has been stirring the minds of vast multitudes during the past quarter. Meetings have been held, and resolutions adopted, in regard to the revised code of the Committee of Council, in various parts of the country, and the newspapers, previous to the affair of the 'Trent' outrage, were filled with leaders, speeches, and letters on the question *pro* and *con*. A numerous deputation, representing the National Society, the Church of England Education Society, the Metropolitan and Provincial Training Institution, and other bodies, waited upon Earl Granville, on the 10th December last, to present a memorial urging his lordship 'to withdraw the new code which has occasioned wide-spread alarm, and thereby restore that confidence and co-operation between the educationists of Great Britain and the Committee of Council which had hitherto so happily prevailed.' In reply, Earl Granville admitted that blots existed, and that alterations as to details were needful, and would be made, but that he could not promise the withdrawal of the measure. Mr. Martin, on behalf of the memorialists, complained that the pupil teachers had had held out to them advantages after passing through their pupilage, and obtaining certificates of merit, which the new code would deprive them of. Mr. Lowe, on behalf of the Government, could not admit that any positive engagement had been entered into; and Earl Granville remarked

marked that it was impossible to say that a rule which depended upon an annual vote of Parliament, and which the Committee of Privy Council had power at any time to alter, could be regarded as permanent. A large and influential body of gentlemen opposed to the Government system of education, met in conference on the 27th November, at the London Coffee House, Ludgate Hill. Mr. Baines, M.P., presided, and moved a lengthy resolution, expressing the opinion of the conference 'that the present system of Government education has been productive of varied and serious evils,' and 'that in view of all these considerations, and relying on the many and powerful forces which now stimulate and necessitate education, independently of Government aid, this conference is of opinion that the parliamentary grants for that object should, year by year, be reduced, until they shall wholly cease.' Mr. Edward Miall, Mr. S. Morley, the Rev. G. W. Conder, Sir S. M. Peto, Mr. Charles Jupe, and others, took part in the proceedings. Mr. Jupe remarked on the great obstacle to self-education among the masses, arising from the drinking customs, and the abounding temptations and facilities afforded by the liquor traffic now licensed and sanctioned by the State. He urged that efforts should be made in the direction of the removal of these fearful obstacles to education and social and moral progress. Mr. Miall also adverted to the same evils, and deprecated their continuance.

The annual meeting of the United Kingdom Alliance was held in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, on the 23rd October, and but for an attack of serious illness, would have been presided over by Lord Brougham, who has given his full adhesion to the organization, by consenting to occupy an official position, as vice-president. At no former meeting has the Alliance movement stood out before the public with such power and prominence, or indicated such signs of rapid progress in the public mind. The 'Times,' the 'Daily News,' the 'Scotsman,' and hosts of journals, not only noticed the proceedings, but favoured their readers with elaborate leading articles, criticising the arguments, principles, and policy of the Alliance. The anniversary proceedings were unusually animated, and a perfectly unanimous expression was arrived at on all points that were put forward. The great public meeting was presided over by Sir W. C. Trevelyan, Bart., and was ably and eloquently addressed by Sir John Stewart Forbes, Bart.; the Rev. G. T. Fox, M.A., Durham; the Rev. W. N. Molesworth, M.A., Rochdale; Handel Cossham, Esq., Bristol; Wilfred Lawson, Esq., M.P., Carlisle; Samuel Pope, Esq., Hon. Sec.; Rev. Dr. M'Kerrow, Manchester, and Rev. W. Griffith, Derby. The subscription list in the council meeting amounted to nearly 2,500*l*.

The Great Exhibition of 1862 promises to be one of the grandest, most varied, and most interesting that the world has yet seen. For the first time in the history of art, all the rarest and most valued masterpieces of modern art will be assembled under one roof. The inestimable works, the possession of which makes public galleries and great collections famous throughout the Continent, will all be together next year at South Kensington, marshalled according to the various epochs they represent with the most consummate skill and care. There is not now a single state or country in Europe, no matter what its size, which has not applied for and received space for the exhibition of works in this section. Even Russia has demanded and received a proportionate allotment of the picture galleries for the display of works belonging to the Russian school of painting, which as a distinct school of art is heard of now almost for the first time. It is said, however, that this Russian gallery will contain many fine, though all very large works. When such preparations are made by all foreign countries in this great art contest, it is satisfactory to know that such wide-extended efforts are making in this country for the proper representation of the English school of art as must result in raising the fame of our painters throughout Europe even higher than it has stood before. All the national collections in England and Scotland will furnish important works both living and deceased masters whenever it is found difficult to illustrate satisfactorily their merits and characteristics from other sources. The Council of the Royal Academy, the Trustees of the National Gallery and the National Gallery of Scotland, the Corporation of the City of London, the Commissioners of Greenwich Hospital, the Governors of

of the Foundling Hospital, and other public bodies, have offered a selection from the works of art under their control. From these sources the display next year will be enriched with the rarest and most striking examples of the works of Hogarth, Gainsborough, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Northcote, Opie, Turner, and others. It is to be hoped in this general competition that the Trustees of the Soane Museum will depart from their usual exclusiveness, and for this occasion at least allow some of the art treasures under their care to become more widely known and appreciated.

## ART. IX.—REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

*The Golden Opportunity, and how to improve it.* Being Prize Essays on the best means of infusing a Missionary Spirit into the Education of the Young. With an Introduction by the Rev. W. W. Champneys, M.A. London: Elliot Stock. 1861.

THIS work is worthy of its subject, and the first essay of the Rev. John Stock is written with considerable power and pathos. Its circulation among teachers of day and Sunday schools would be sure to produce good fruit. The other two essays are short though good. It is an interesting fact that no fewer than four hundred and seventy-one essays competed for the prizes offered, which were 50*l*., 20*l*., 10*l*., and 5*l*., respectively. The adjudicators had therefore much work ere giving their award.

*A Few Words on Women's Work.* By Mrs. Baines.

*Popular Education, What it is and what is not.* By the Same.

MRS. BAINES has written several pamphlets on the proper work of women and the proper care of children. They all evince a well-informed mind, full of sound principles and real philanthropy.

*Bright and Dark Spots in Life.* Founded on fact. By W. Bradley, Temperance Missionary, Exeter.. London: Caudwell.

THIS story contrasts the advantages of abstinence from intoxicating drinks with the miseries of intemperance. It is pleasingly written, pervaded with a religious spirit, and calculated to promote the cause of temperance.

*The Temperance Meeting Melodist.* Compiled by Walter Ludbrook. London: Caudwell.

THIS is a good selection of temperance hymns and songs, and is published at a penny.

*The Grand Alliance* (not the Ascetic Alliance). By George Lucas, Gateshead-on-Tyne. London: Caudwell.

THIS is a sharp reply to the misrepresentations of the United Kingdom Alliance made by the Rev. Wm. Binns. Mr. Lucas deserves credit for his courage and for his argument.

*The Temperance Spectator.* Published monthly. London: Caudwell.

THIS periodical continues to advocate the temperance cause with ability, and keeps its readers abreast of the science involved in teetotalism.

*Intemperance and Crime: their Causes and Remedies.* By William Hoyle. London: Caudwell.

THIS is a local defence of the suppression of the liquor traffic, and is written with good spirit.

*Philanthropy, Proselytism, and Crime.* A Review of the Irish Reformatory System, with a glance at the Reformatories of Great Britain, and at Mr. Maguire's Industrial Schools Bill. By the Rev. Richard Smyth, M.A. Londonderry: R. Hamilton.

THIS pamphlet contains an enlightened review of the reformatory system, and shows many weaknesses and failings which our legislators and social reformers would do well to consider and amend. Mr. Smyth supports his arguments with facts sufficiently startling.

*Tracts for the Thoughtful on matters relating to the Religious Condition of the Age.* 1. *The Strife of Sects.* London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

THE present agitation in religious thought is calling forth many publications; and if the series, of which this is the first, be as sensible and sound as this, it will aid in the reformation and unity which are desired by all good men. We commend it [illegible] readers.

*The*

*The Fourth Annual Report of the Ladies' Sanitary Association.*
*Tracts published by the Association.*

THE Report before us illustrates what a society of earnest and philanthropic ladies can do in promoting social reform. The tracts which have been issued are all well written, very intelligible, and admirably adapted to convey instruction in common things to the most ignorant. The poor can do much to improve their own sanitary condition by observing the plain and simple prescriptions of these tracts. 'The Value of Fresh Air,' 'The Use of Pure Water,' 'The Influence of Wholesome Drink,' 'The Cheap Doctor,' 'The Power of Soap and Water,' 'The Health of Mothers,' and, indeed, all in the series, including the verses on sanitary subjects, so happily expressed, are models of their kind, and deserve to be circulated over the length and breadth of the land. We sincerely trust that none of our readers will be unacquainted with them; and we strongly recommend the purchase and distribution of such good counsel. Such would largely promote the *meliora* which this review seeks to advance.

*Has Sir Benjamin Brodie spoken the Truth about Homœopathy and its Practitioners?* By J. Harmer Smith, M.R.C.S., L.S.A., &c. London: Tressider.

HOMŒOPATHISTS are always ready when any of their opponents make an attack upon their system to prepare and publish a reply. Mr. Smith has met the objections of Sir Benjamin Brodie in a spirited lecture. One of his answers is to the effect, that of one hundred and fifty homœopathic practitioners, one hundred and thirty-eight are on the Government register as properly qualified medical men who passed through the ordinary curricula of education. These were all educated according to the allopathic system. Credit should therefore be given to them for their sincerity, and we are of opinion that the same toleration should be allowed for the one system as the other as to schools of medicine, hospitals, and practice. Thorough education is of growing importance in a profession on whose skill the health and happiness of the lieges depend; and if this be guaranteed and secured by law, let there be a rivalry in their benevolent operations.

*Etymological Dictionary of Scripture Names.* By W. G. Hird. Second Edition. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

IF Professor Pillans considered the origin of the verb a subject becoming the attention of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, the author of this 'Etymological Dictionary' is warranted in sending his work to the *Review of Social Science*. He has bestowed great pains upon his production, which is well fitted to open up the meaning of many names in Holy Scripture, which are often of great practical significance. The accentuation of these proper names gives the dictionary much utility. Sunday-school teachers will find Mr. Hird's labours of great service to them.

*The Life and Times of George Lawson, D.D.*, Selkirk, Professor of Theology to the Associate Synod. With Glimpses of Scottish Character from 1720 to 1820. By the Rev. John Macfarlane, LL.D. Edinburgh: Oliphant and Co. 1862.

SCOTTISH character has of late received ample illustration in the autobiographies of Drs. Carlyle and Sommerville, and in the collections of anecdotes and *ana* which Dean Ramsay, Dr. Rogers, Alex. Leighton, and Mr. Kennedy have given to the press. Dr. Macfarlane has cultivated a distinct field of the same period, and has produced a work of equal interest, full of anecdote, thoroughly Scottish, and delineating the life, labours, and influence of a man of high scholarship as a divine, exemplary fidelity as a pastor, beautiful piety as a Christian, and of healthy influence for good as a professor. Dr. Lawson and Dr. Carlyle are 'wide as the poles asunder.' The one was as fervent as the other was cold, as evangelical as the other was moderate, as honourable to the ministry as the other was discreditable. Both were able, and calculated to mould and lead the minds of others.

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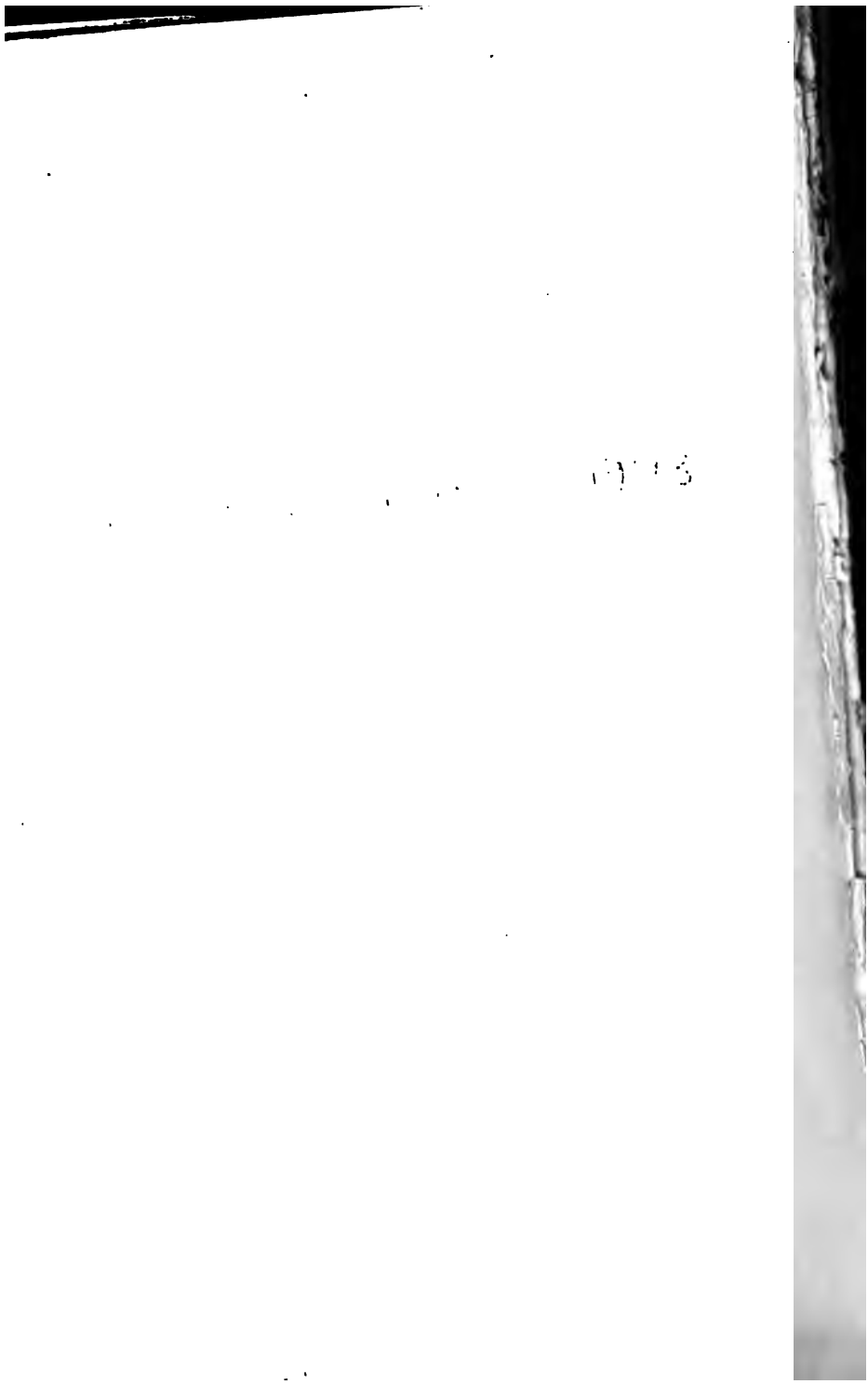

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